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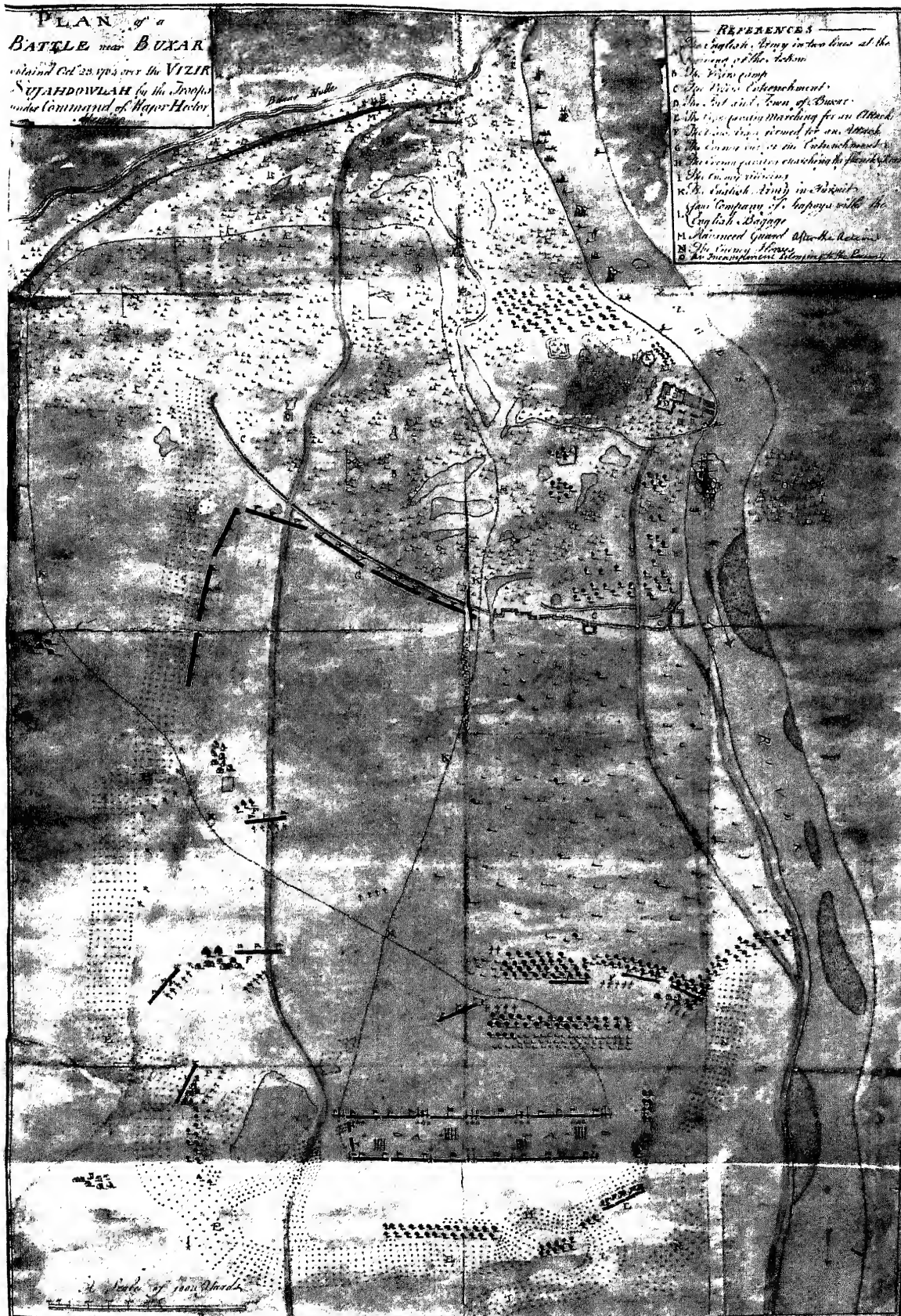
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# PLAN of a BATTLE near BUXAR

on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of May 1764 over the VIZIR  
SAJAH DOWLAH by the Troops  
under Command of Major Hector  
Mordaunt



## REFERENCES

- A The English Army in two lines at the beginning of the battle
- B The Mughal camp
- C The Mughal Encampment
- D The British line of Buxar
- E The line passing through for an attack
- F The line of the British for an attack
- G The line of the British for an attack
- H The line of the British for an attack
- I The line of the British for an attack
- J The line of the British for an attack
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- N The line of the British for an attack
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- R The line of the British for an attack
- S The line of the British for an attack
- T The line of the British for an attack
- U The line of the British for an attack
- V The line of the British for an attack
- W The line of the British for an attack
- X The line of the British for an attack
- Y The line of the British for an attack
- Z The line of the British for an attack

A Scale of 1000 Yards

# JOURNAL

OF THE

## BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

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[ PART I.

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### LEADING ARTICLES.

#### I.—The Battle of Buxar.

By C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I.

A great essayist, in one of those striking sentences for which he was famed, wrote in 1840 that he doubted "whether one in ten, even among English gentlemen of highly-cultivated minds, can tell who won the battle of Buxar." Whether it be due to the glamour of Clive's name or to the fascination exercised by the picturesque periods of Macaulay upon his countrymen, quite nine out of ten know who was the victor at Plassey. Indeed the relative importance, as affecting the destiny of India, of the battles of Plassey and Buxar has rarely been fully appreciated. As a battle, Plassey may well be dismissed with the verdict of Malleston, that it was not a fair fight; and the best contemporary opinion would go to show that if Mir Ja'far 'Ali, Durlabh Ray and others had remained faithful to their master, the issue would have been wholly different. The immediate fruit of Plassey was the exaction of an overwhelming retribution for the action of the young Nawab Siraj-ud-daula, a dissipated youth, whose weak and capricious character alienated the respect of his own court and sapped the allegiance of his chief officers; though the effect of that campaign, perhaps most pregnant of future consequences, was the assump-

tion by the Company of authority to set up and depose the Muhammadan Subadar of the province. Except for the grants of the lands of Calcutta and vicinity and of the *chaklas* of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong to defray the expenses of the troops, the position of the Company as a merely commercial body remained as before. Some seven months after Plassey, we are told, the Nāib Faujdār of Hooghly placed a guard round the Company's old factory there. After the deposition of Mir Ja'far 'Alī, when Mir Qāsim 'Alī Khān had matured his plans and preparations, the very existence of the Company in Bengal was threatened; and the Black Hole incident paled before the massacre at Patna. Major Thomas Adams, in his very remarkable campaign of 1763, no longer had to contend against inefficient and undisciplined ranks, and traitorous leaders, but against well-equipped and well-organized forces, supported by powerful artillery, all trained after the fashion of his own troops. Some of these disciplined brigades, under the skilful direction of Samru and Madec, formed the van of the strong army which in the succeeding year, after Major Carnac had hesitated to attack it, confronted Munro at Buxar. The command of this army was in the hands of a bigger man, who had already acquired a military reputation in northern India. Qāsim 'Alī, who had been driven beyond the confines of Bihar by Adams, had prevailed upon Shujā'-ud-daula, the Nawāb of Oudh and "Wazīr of the Empire"<sup>1</sup>, to take up the cause against the English Company, in association with the emperor, Shāh 'Ālam. However nominal the latter's title may have been at that time in Hindustan, the influence of his name was still an asset of real importance on the side of Shujā'-ud-daula, that should not be underestimated.

The contest at Buxar was finally to decide the fate of the English Company in northern India. Had it gone against Munro and his troops, there was nothing to prevent the victors from sweeping across Bihar and Bengal to the mouth of the

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<sup>1</sup> The fact that he had been selected by the Emperor to hold the pre-eminent office of Wazīr shows the estimation in which he was held.

Hooghly. There were not sufficient troops elsewhere to make a stand against them, even had there been another commander capable of organizing it. Clive was not in India; Adams and Knox were both dead. For Munro retreat was impossible. Ghulam Husain informs us<sup>2</sup> that when he advanced from Bankipur he took but ten days' provisions with him, telling the Company's representatives at the Patna Factory, in explanation, that he would either defeat the enemy within that time, and then get plenty of provisions, or else be defeated and lost;<sup>3</sup> in the latter case there would be no coming back, and no need for further stores! We learn from Munro's Order-Book that with effect from the 21st October only two days' provisions were kept in the lines: the baggage and remaining provisions were to be "sent off."<sup>4</sup> We know from Munro's own report, as well as from Champion's and Harper's diaries, that all the baggage and equipage were plundered by the enemy. Gentil tells us<sup>5</sup> that the English lost all their munitions and provisions as well as their baggage. Champion mentions that Captain Wedderburn with the boats did not arrive at Buxar till the evening. Defeat, therefore, meant either surrender or annihilation. Even Caraccioli, the biographer of Clive, wrote that Munro was the man to whom the East India Company owed their existence in Bengal. Williams, who fought in the battle and lived for 45 years thereafter, says the fate of Bengal depended on the issue. René Madec, who also fought and was wounded in the battle, wrote that the victory assured the possession of Bengal to the English, and enabled them to invade the Nawāb-Wazīr's dominions as well. Broome, than whom no more sound and conscientious writer has dealt with the military events of the period, was of opinion that the fate

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-ul-Mutākhharīn*, Lucknow edn., p. 781.

<sup>3</sup> The word used is *mafqūd*, literally "disappeared" or "missing", which means here "exterminated" or "wiped out".

<sup>4</sup> It is not related where, but (as the boats must then have been a long way off) probably to the rear, under guard of Lieutenant Mair and his horse.

<sup>5</sup> *Mémoires sur l'Indoustan*, Paris, 1822, p. 238.

of India depended upon the issue at Buxar. Even the Company in London (vide letter dated the 24th Déeember 1765) wrote of this battle as deciding "whether we should not be extirpated from the country."

Besides the accounts of the battle in Broome's invaluable pages and in Malleson's *Decisive Battles of India*, the briefer references in the numerous histories, and much interesting detail given in Caraccioli's *Life of Lord Clive*, we have several contemporary records written by men who actually took part in the fight. Among these, the first place should be assigned to Major Munro's own reports, viz. (1) a very brief note to the "Governor", written apparently from the field of battle on the 23rd October,<sup>6</sup> (2) a more detailed report, dated Buxar, the 25th October, addressed to the President and Council at Fort William, and (3) his evidence given before the Select Committee in 1772. Besides these, there is his letter to the Earl of Sandwich, dated Buxar, the 26th October, which was published in the *London Gazette*<sup>7</sup> and the *Gentleman's Magazine*<sup>8</sup> in 1765. We have also the Order-Book<sup>9</sup> kept during the campaign.

Munro's report and evidence are chiefly of value for the statistical information they contain as to the strength and disposition of his troops, the casualties, artillery engaged, and guns, etc., captured. They are most remarkable perhaps for the absence of detail as to the progress of the battle, which lasted three hours. Indeed, were it not for the evidence of other witnesses, we could form no idea of the vicissitudes of the fighting, and the errors of his opponents that enabled him eventually to win so signal a victory.

Next may be mentioned the accounts of the battle given in the diaries of Major Alexander Champion,<sup>10</sup> who commanded the

<sup>6</sup> Simply stating that his troops had "gain'd a compleat Victory over the Enemy this Moment, and we are in full Pursuit. [Sd.] H. Munro."

<sup>7</sup> *London Gazette*, 15-18 June, 1765.

<sup>8</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 35, p. 256.

<sup>9</sup> British Museum, *Add. MS.* 6049.

<sup>10</sup> India Office, Records Department, *Home Miscellaneous*, Vol. 198.

right wing of the front line, and of Captain (then Lieutenant) Gabriel Harper,<sup>11</sup> who commanded a battalion of sepoys in the second line. Then there is the description given by Captain John Williams,<sup>12</sup> who fought in the ranks of the Marines in the right centre of the front line. As generally happens in such cases, it will be found that the details given by those eye-witnesses do not tally in all respects, each recording incidents as they appeared to take place from their own point of view. Champion's account is particularly interesting from the insight it gives us into Munro's confidence in his own opinion, and his inclination perhaps to discard advice even from a man of the great experience of Champion, who had already fought in so many campaigns (with Caillaud in 1760, with Carnac in 1761, and with Adams in 1763) in the province where Munro had only recently arrived.

From the point of view of Shujā'ud-daula's side we have only the memoirs of J. B. J. Gentil<sup>13</sup> and René Madec,<sup>14</sup> both of whom have left brief references to the battle. Gentil had been in the service of Shujā'ud-daula for nearly a year, and appears to have been acting as a staff officer, or aide-de-camp,<sup>15</sup> and adviser on matters of European military organization.<sup>16</sup> Madec had joined the Nawab-Wazir later with a force of 200 men, which according to Gentil increased afterwards to more than 600 men.<sup>17</sup>

Of the Indian historians, the account given by Saiyid Ghulam Husain Khān in his *Siyar-ul-Mutākhharin*<sup>18</sup> is most

<sup>11</sup> India Office Library, Orme MSS. O.V. 219.

<sup>12</sup> *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry*, London, 1817. According to Dodwell and Miles, Williams did not get his commission as Ensign or Second Lieutenant till 1772. He became a Captain in 1781, and being invalided in 1809, died on his way home in that year. See *Bengal : Past and Present*, vol. XII, p. 108.

<sup>13</sup> *Mémoires sur l'Indoustan*, Paris, 1822.

<sup>14</sup> *Le Nabab René Madec*, par E. Barbé, Paris, 1894.

<sup>15</sup> *Mémoires*, p. 238, note (1).

<sup>16</sup> See the account given in the *Siyar-ul-Mutākhharin*.

<sup>17</sup> *Mémoires*, p. 264.

<sup>18</sup> The Lucknow (Naval Kishor Press) edition in Persian has been used.



valuable. Ghulām Husain, whose intimate friendship with Goddard had apparently already started, was in close touch with the British at the time, and had first-hand knowledge of the main incidents of the battle from relatives and friends in the Nawāb's camp. It is only from him that we learn the general composition of the troops forming the Wazīr's force, besides certain details of the fight that are corroborated by others of those present. The story told in the *‘Ibrat-nāma* of Khair-ud-din Muḥammad of Allahabad is obviously based on Ghulām Husain's history, embellished (as the writer doubtless thought) by a few variations of his own. He was obviously quite ignorant of the locality, as he calls the Thorā Nadi the Durgāvati. The account given in the *Chahār Gulzār Shujā‘i* of Harī Charan Dās, although from his own account he had been long in the service of Qāsim ‘Alī Khān, is practically worthless. The descriptions of this momentous battle in the English histories are singularly meagre and inadequate. Even the laborious Mill disposes of it in a few lines, though he did recognize its important and critical character. The most complete and accurate account is that published by Captain Arthur Broome in 1850.<sup>19</sup> This has formed the main basis for the details given in Chapter VII of Colonel Malleeson's *Decisive Battles of India*, so much so that certain errors that had crept into Broome's account have been reproduced by Malleeson.

With the exception of two conjectural and misinformed sketches, which will be referred to later, no plan of the battle-field has hitherto, so far as I am aware, ever been published in England or in India. James Rennell evidently intended to publish such a plan in his *Bengal Atlas* (1779—81). In the list of plates in the Table of Contents appears—  
 ‘No. XXII. Plan of the Battle of Buxar’; and in the “Advertisement” to the *Atlas* he wrote: “Some Plans of Fortresses are also added, together with the Attack of Oudanulla and Battle of Buxar; each of which successfully terminated

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<sup>19</sup> *History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army*, Vol. I (all that was published), Calcutta, 1850

a Crisis of the most momentous Kind to the British Power in Bengal." But no Plate XXII is to be found in any of the many copies of the *Atlas* that have been examined. In one of the copies in the British Museum (Maps 13. e. 5.) is a note written in ink by hand, within brackets, thus:—“(Not given at present, but promised for an additl. price.)” Broome published plans of the principal battles he describes; and it may reasonably be presumed that had a plan of this battlefield been published, or been known to him, it would have been reproduced.

In the Records Department of the India Office, Whitehall, there is a copy of Major Alexander Champion's diary, containing his account of the battle,<sup>20</sup> accompanied by a plan entitled “Plan of a Battle near Buxar obtained Octr. 23, 1764, over the Vizir Sujahdowlah by the Troops under Command of Major Hector Munro.” This has now been reproduced, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, on a reduced scale by photography and the collotype process (facing page 1). As being probably the only contemporary plan ever drawn of the area over which the battle extended, it is of peculiar interest and value. It is to be regretted that the only topographical names shown on the plan are the Ganges river, the Fort and Town of Buxar and the “Buxar Nulle.” The sites of seven villages are indicated by representations of houses. Had the plan been drawn correctly to scale, it would be a comparatively easy matter to identify these sites: unfortunately it is out of scale, more particularly in respect of the area lying to the east of the Nawab's entrenchments, [as will be explained later. The area between the entrenchments and [the “Buxar Nulle” has been shown in greater topographical detail and accuracy, which may possibly be due to the survey work done by Lieutenant Nichol the previous year. Nevertheless, with the aid of a large-scale survey sheet, the several contemporary accounts of the fighting quoted above, and local knowledge, these villages may be identified almost with certainty. Towards

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<sup>20</sup> *Home Series, Miscellaneous*, Vol. 198, pp. 99–107.



this identification we have two fixed points from which to start, namely the fort, the lower part of which is still in existence, and the confluence of the Thorā Nadi (the "Buxar Nulle" of the plan) with the Ganges, almost exactly two miles in a straight line from the middle of the fort. There is also a third site that can be definitely fixed, namely the village marked with the letter L on the plan, where there were "four Company of Seapoys with the English Bagage." This is Churāmanpur. The Akhauri family of Churāmanpur still possess records, and preserve specific traditions, often related to me by the late Akhauri Rām Udāraj Nārāyan, that the large house of their ancestor Suvamśa Simha, then *qānūngo* of the pargana, was to a great extent demolished, and the baggage and ammunition of the English army stored there. According to the "Plan of the Order of our Army in the Battle of Buxar" appended to Munro's report of the 25th October, the "black cavalry" were with the baggage, and four companies of sepoy with the magazine. These cavalry were commanded by Lieutenant John Mair. Champion's plan does not show where they were posted, but there can be little doubt that ultimately both baggage and magazine were stored in Churāmanpur and its outskirts, guarded by Lieutenant William Virtue with four companies of sepoy and Mair with his Indian cavalry.

Before proceeding to identify the other village sites marked on Champion's plan, it is essential to remember that the topographical features of the locality have greatly altered since it was drawn. In the first place the river Ganges has shifted its course below Sārampur and Ahirauli into a more northerly channel. In 1764 the southern bank appears to have been close under Arjunpur and Manjharia. Harper says the extreme right of the British lines was "about 200 yards from the river". But Harper estimated the distance of the village on the right front (Ahirauli) as "about 250 yards in front of our right wing", whereas no one else puts it under 1,000 yards, and it must have been even more than this. The bank of the Ganges must have been close on a mile away, as the village

of Arjunpur appears to have been in existence at the time.<sup>21</sup> Then the construction of the East Indian Railway embankment in the fifties, and of the Buxar Canal and its branches in the early seventies, of last century has altogether changed the drainage system of the area concerned. These embankments have diverted the surface drainage, and the large *jhāl* that once stretched in a west-north-west and east-south-east direction between Jāso and Kulhariā has largely silted up. There are still, however, a number of old depressions and ditches containing water between Jāso and Nādāon, the whole area generally remaining under water during the months of September and October. Further east again, close to the north of the railway bridge between Nādāon and Parasiā, is another depression, known locally as Chakdah, which at the end of last October, according to information sent me from the locality, was nearly half a mile long and some seventy feet wide. There can be little doubt that this is a remnant of the main portion of the *jhāl* or "morass" mentioned in all the accounts, and marked on Champion's plan. In fact the railway bridge here was evidently intended to afford a passage for the drainage that formerly filled the *jhāl*. The road shown on Champion's plan as passing from east to west on the left of the British lines, evidently the road by which Munro's army arrived at the camping ground, no longer exists. There is ground for believing that the East Indian Railway more or less follows the line of this old road between Parasiā and Nādāon, taking a straight line across the south-eastern end of the old *jhāl*.

The old highway from Arrah to Buxar, according to Rennell<sup>22</sup>, did not, as now, pass through Bhojpur, but turned west-south-west, after leaving Nuāon, direct to Dumrāon, whence it went westwards, between Samhār and Nenuān and north of Boksā, to Kulhariā and Nādāon, and so into Buxar. The only camping grounds named in Munro's Order-Book after

<sup>21</sup> It is marked on Rennell's 1778 sheet, which was drawn from surveys made in 1767-71.

<sup>22</sup> *A Description of the Roads in Bengal and Bahar*, 1778.

Arrah are (October 19th) "Camp at Puthall" and (October 20th) "Camp near Old Budgepore." The camp before Bhojpur would ordinarily have been Nuāon, but the army seems to have halted a little beyond this village, within the boundary of mauza Kathār (which is possibly Munro's "Puthall", there being no village of such name). Thence he probably followed the line of the existing metalled road<sup>23</sup> to Old Bhojpur where the army may have encamped in the well-known large mango tope on the south side of the road. There is no information in any of the accounts that would afford a clue as to the route followed beyond Bhojpur (Qadīm). It was thence only seven miles in a direct line to Churāmanpur; but it took two marches (mornings of 21st and 22nd) to get there: so it is possible that the army went south by west from Old Bhojpur towards Samhār, and thence followed the line shown on Rennell's earliest map. On the other hand, the marches would naturally be shortened when approaching the enemy; and there is evidence from the orders recorded in the Order-Book to show that Munro was moving slowly and cautiously during these last marches, the enemy's horse hanging on the flanks most of the way.<sup>24</sup>

Williams says that about 9 a.m. on the 22nd, when the army "entered the plains of Buxar", about three miles from the Nawab's front, the advance guard and King's Battalion "inclined to the right towards the river, in order to leave room for the several corps to form as they came up", that is to say to form up in two lines with the corps de reserve between them, as laid down in full detail in Munro's General

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<sup>23</sup> The line adopted for the road made under William Augustus Brooke's directions a quarter of a century later.

<sup>24</sup> On the 16th, order was given that the officer commanding the line of march should "move on very slow", on the 17th, to "parade the old Picquett the moment they come to the ground", and likewise to advance immediately the battalion of sepoy for the advance post; on the 19th that a six-pounder was to go ahead with the advance guard, that all baggage was to be sent off on arrival at the next camp, and no straggling allowed, etc.; on the 21st that twenty rounds were to be served out to Europeans and sepoy alike, and all arms inspected; and so on.

Order of the 13th. From Champion's plan it will be seen that the road passed round the north of the main portion of the *jhil*, and between it and two smaller outlying portions thereof. On halting, therefore, the troops would obviously deploy to the right, towards Churāmanpur and Arjunpur, and camp more or less on the ground shown at AA on Champion's plan as occupied by the army at the commencement of the action next day.<sup>25</sup>

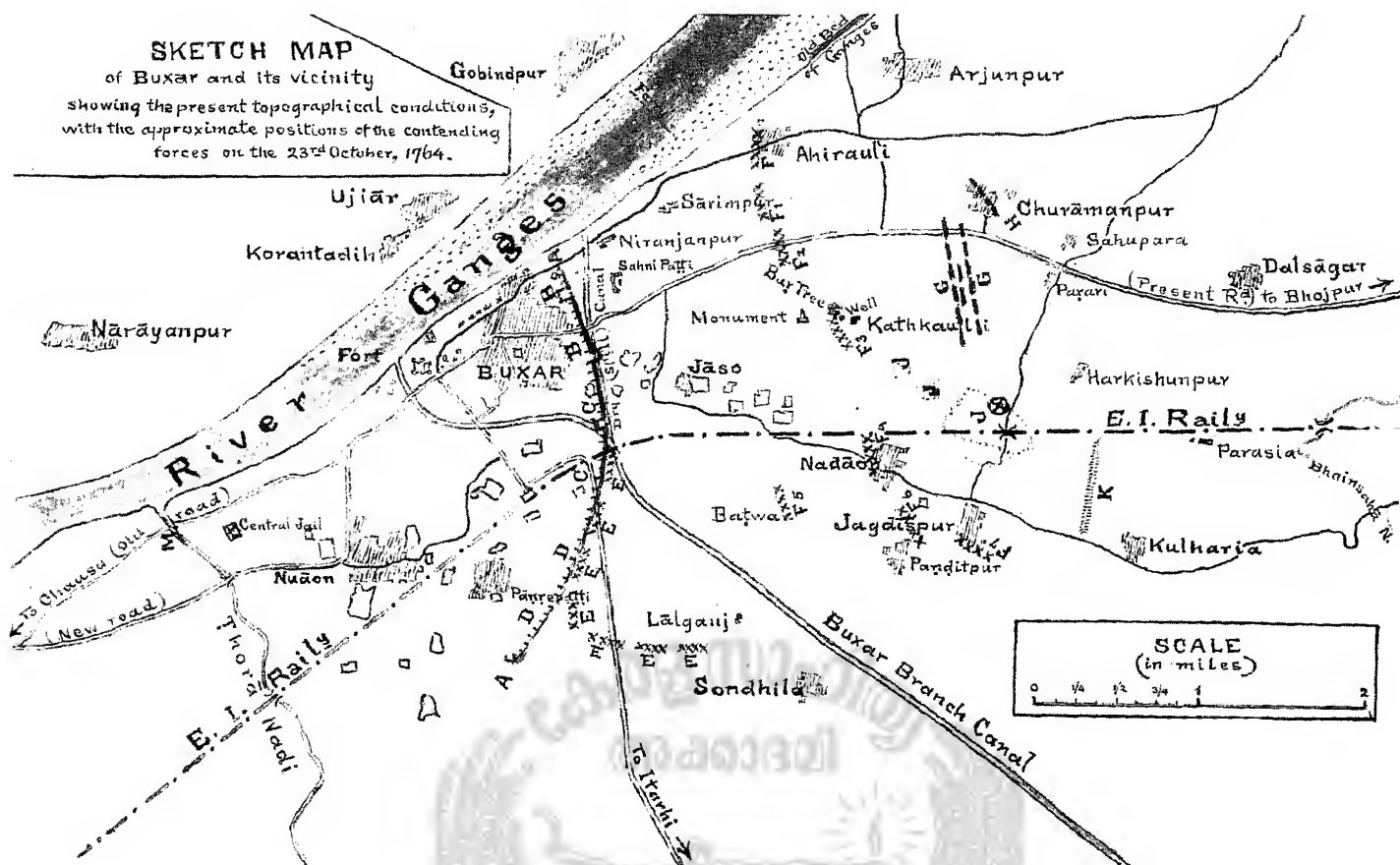
There are references in nearly all accounts of the battle to a grove in front of the right wing. Champion has marked more than one grove of trees on the right front. Caraccioli says that in front "a little way to the left of the road", there seemed to be a battalion or two of men drawn up regularly, but a reconnoitre proved that these were stumps of trees that had been cut down, about four feet from the ground, for firewood by the enemy. Here "left" is either a slip for "right", or means to the left from the point of view of the Nawāb's forces. This grove is clearly shown in Champion's plan, with three lines of stumps indicated, thus corroborating Caraccioli's description. It would screen most of the other groves further west from the view of the troops; so it is obvious that the accounts refer to this one. To the right of it (i.e. to the north or north-west of it), we are told, was a village. This village (indicated on Champion's plan) may be identified without any reasonable doubt with Ahirauli, which is an old village, and is marked on Rennell's 1773 sheet. The remnants of a tope still exist to the south of Ahirauli, occupying a site that would correspond with the northern portion of the tope that stood

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<sup>25</sup> The contemporary estimates of the distance from the British camp to the Wazir's entrenchments are divergent. Munro says he encamped "just without range of the enemy's shot"; Ghulam Hussain writes that Munro encamped near the edge of the *jhil*, at a distance of three *kos* (from the Wazir's camp); Williams says the Wazir's troops just outside the entrenchments were "about three miles" away; Harper puts the entrenchments at "about 1½ miles" distant. According to the scale on Champion's plan, the distance would be under 3,000 yards. Williams is generally the most accurate as to distances. The actual distance from Munro's camp to the entrenchments was about 2½ miles.

there in 1764. Now we know that Churāmanpur was to the rear of the lines—and from Champion's plan we can see that it was behind the extreme right of the second line—and we also know that the village on the right front (which I identify with Ahirauli) was at least 1,000 yards from the extreme right of the front line. We can therefore locate with approximate accuracy the position occupied by the right flank of the army when in line of battle. Taking our bearings from these points, and assuming that the total length of the British lines from north to south has been shown with approximate correctness on Champion's plan, we may identify the village (indicated in Champion's plan as lying south-west of the main portion of the *jhil*), which is mentioned in several accounts as lying to the left front, with Nadāon. Williams says this village was about 1,000 yards from the British lines (i.e. from the left flank of the front line); and this corresponds fairly with the distance shown on Champion's plan. The plan shows the village on the right front (Ahirauli) as rather closer to the right wing than the village on the left front (Nadāon) was from the left wing. From this, and for other reasons, it seems that the British lines did not run due north and south, as might appear at first sight from Champion's plan, but roughly north by west and south by east; they would naturally be drawn up parallel to the part of the Nawāb's lines that lay immediately opposite them.

The village indicated on Champion's plan as lying to south of the main area of water and to the east of Nadāon may be identified with Jagdispur; and the houses to the south-east of this again are apparently meant for Kulhariā. The houses shown to the west again of Nadāon I take as probably meant to represent Batwā, now I believe a *be-chiraghī* (uninhabited) mauza; but "Butuar" is marked as a village on Plate XIV of Rennell's *Bengal Atlas*. There were evidently some houses there in those days. The houses to the south-west of this last-mentioned site, near the edge of the plan, cannot be definitely identified: possibly they are meant (though, if so, quite incorrectly placed) for Sondhilā, which is an old village. It is rather



### EXPLANATION.

- AA** ... Shujā'-ud-daula's entrenchments.
- BB** ... Benā Bahādur's Division, Najibs, and Shaikhzādas commanded by Saiyid Ghulām Qādir.
- CC** ... Samru and Madec's brigades, and, behind them, horse and foot commanded by Shaikh Mahammad 'Isā, generally called Shujā' Quli Khān.
- DD** ... Balwant Singh's troops, Durrānī and Mughal horse commanded by the Wazīr.
- EE** ... The Wazīr's army as seen by Champion outside the entrenchments before the action.
- F, F<sup>1</sup> to F<sup>7</sup>** ... The Wazīr's army in advanced positions, attacking.
- GG** ... British forces in line of battle, between 8-30 and 9 A.M. *NOTE*—Length of frontage shown to agree with length indicated on Champion's plan, but the lines probably extended some 300 yards further on each flank.
- H** ... Baggage and Magazine, guarded by Mair's horse and Virtue's sepoy, respectively.
- JJ** ... Approximate position of *jhil* and morass, as indicated by Champion's plan.
- K** ... Embankment of present day, possibly indicating S. E. limit of *jhil* in former days.
- M** ... Site of bridge (or bridges?) of boats destroyed in Wazīr's retreat.
- ⊕** ... Chakdah, where stretch of water still remains for considerable time after the rains.

*NOTE*.—For *Kathkauli*, read *Katkauli*.

curious that Jāso, which is also an old village site, should not have been indicated on the plan. Too much reliance must not, however, be placed on the correctness of Champion's plan. A scale in yards has been given in the bottom left corner, which might lead to the conclusion that it had been drawn accurately to scale; but any one with a knowledge of the locality can see at a glance that this is not so. For example, even the relative position of the villages Kulhariā, Jagdīspur and Nadāon, all of which certainly existed at the time, is incorrectly shown. The distance from Jagdīspur to the Ganges near Ahirauli is quite 5,000 yards, but from the plan the distance would be less than 3,000. Churāmanpur, according to the plan, would be about 1,100 yards from Ahirauli, but the distance is actually twice as much. Churāmanpur is about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  miles even from the old bank of the Ganges, but the plan shows the river as about 800 yards away. And so on. The chief error lies in the fact that the length of Champion's scale, which purports to represent 1,000 yards, really represents between 1,500 and 1,600 yards. If calculated on this latter basis, the distances will be found to approximate more closely to the actual facts.

On the accompanying Sketch Map (facing page 13), which is based on the 1914 edition of the mile to the inch Survey of India sheets, I have endeavoured to show the approximate positions of the opposing forces and the probable line of the Wazir's entrenchments. It should be noted that the length of the front of the British lines has been shown as about 1,400 yards, in accordance with the length shown on Champion's plan as measured by his scale. It is probable, however, that the extreme width of the front line was not less than 2,200 yards, so that the right wing would have overlapped Churāmanpur, and the left wing would have been close to the main area of the *jāzī*, and therefore the outlying portions of the *jāzī* would have lain in the immediate front of the battalions on the left wing, thus preventing them from advancing straight ahead.

Rennell, both on his 1773 sheet and in his *Bengal Atlas* (Plate XIV), indicated the site of the battle by a sword, with date, marked approximately where the present village of Sahnipattī stands, almost midway between Ahirauli and Buxar fort. This, however, is certainly not the place where the brunt of the fighting took place, though it is probably the spot where Benī Bahādur's troops and the Shaikhzadas under the command of Ghulam Qadir were surprised and put to flight. In the absence of any published plan, and largely in consequence of the mark on Rennell's map, the positions of the contending forces had always been misunderstood. The ignorance prevailing until quite recent years as to the actual site of the battle, not to speak of the alignment of the entrenchment and the positions of the various corps, will best be understood from an inspection of two conjectural sketches that appeared in 1902<sup>26</sup> and 1910,<sup>27</sup> respectively. When I went to Buxar as Subdivisional Officer in the autumn of 1892 there was a current, yet indefinite, belief that the battle had taken place on the eastern outskirts of the older part of the town. Some old residents of the neighbourhood, however, informed me that cannon balls and bones had been found from time to time in the vicinity of Katkauli; and I was also told that an old earthen rampart near Sahnipattī had been obliterated in the course of the construction of the abandoned channel of the Canal, to the south-east of the Sub-jail. This latter must have been a remnant of the Nawāb's entrenchment, which is found from Champion's plan to have run by the site.

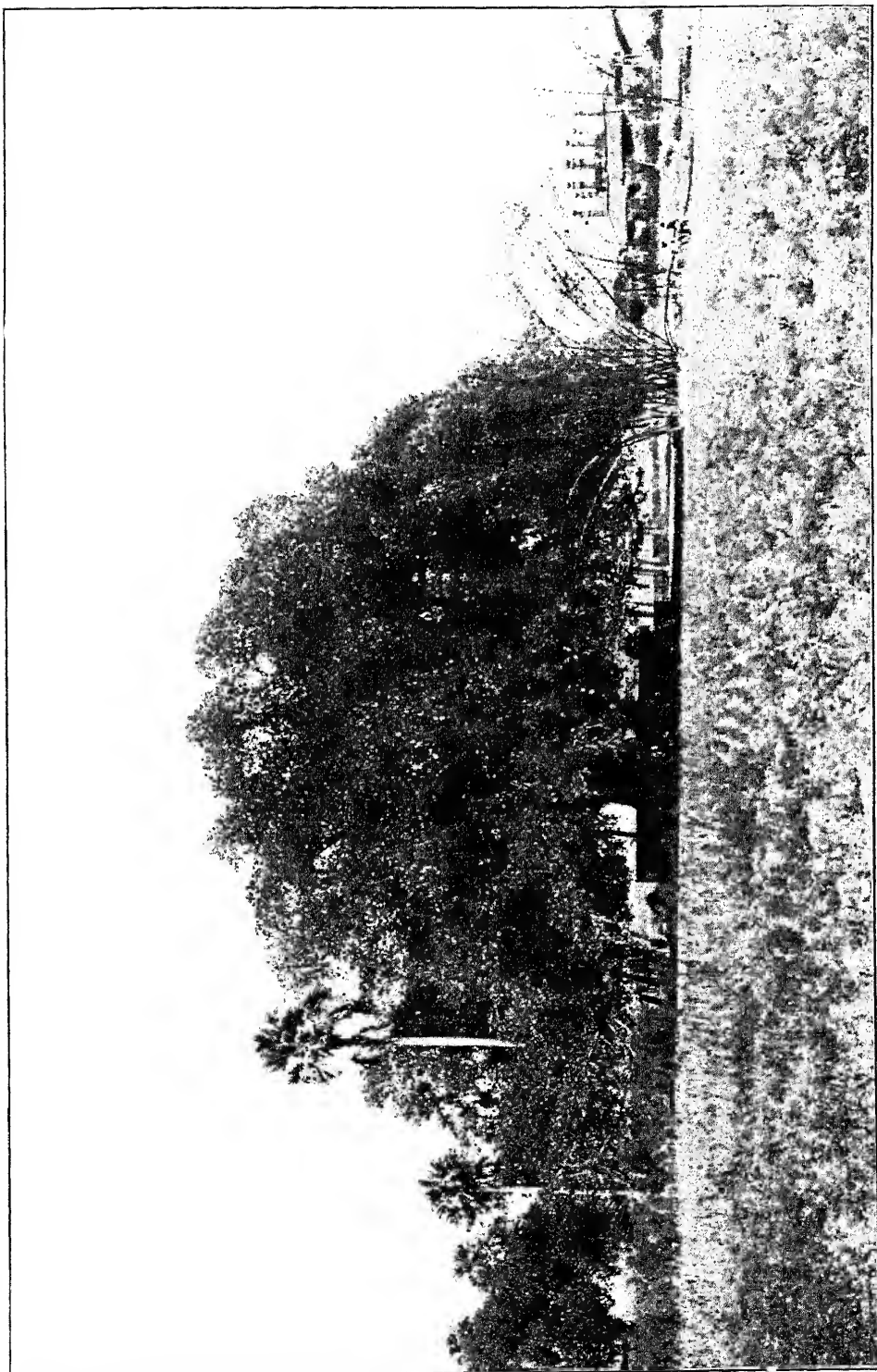
One morning in the cold season of 1893-4, when riding through the fields near Katkauli, then growing sparse crops of *arhar*, I passed by an old banyan (*bar*) tree, and by chance looking up into it, noticed some large flag stones in the tree about six or eight feet from the ground. As they seemed to have been cut and shaped, they excited my curiosity; so tying up my pony, I climbed the tree, and found the stones had inscriptions

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<sup>26</sup> *A History of the British Army*, by the Hon. J. W. Fortescue, Vol. III, Plate IX.

<sup>27</sup> *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. VI (1910), p. 129.





engraved in Arabic characters. They were partly sunk into the tree, which had evidently grown round them and lifted them up in its growth. As not infrequently happens in the case of this tree, a seed had evidently been dropped by a bird between the tombstones while they were still on the ground, and the tree as it grew had enveloped them and raised them to the position in which they were found. Only portions of the inscriptions being visible, and none of the village people being able to explain what they were, I had the stones extricated and deciphered by my friend (now Khān Bahādur) Saiyid Zahir-ud-dīn. They proved to be inscriptions<sup>28</sup> to the memory of Shaikh Muḥammad 'Isā, otherwise known as Shujā 'Qulī Khān, and Saiyid Ghulām Qādir, two celebrated leaders who fought and fell in the battle on the side of the Nawāb-Wazīr. Further inquiry on the spot led me to what was then still known locally as the "*ganj-shahīd* well", i.e. the *ganj-i-shahīdān*,<sup>29</sup> or "heap of martyrs", within a few yards of the *bar* tree. The annexed illustration<sup>30</sup> shows the old *bar* tree, under which the tombstones, now on the books of the Public Works Department, have been suitably set up, with the mosque and hamlet of Katkaulī in the right distance.

The fact that the *ganj-i-shahīdān* and the graves of the two most famous Muhammadan generals that fell in the battle are situated at this spot (see Sketch Map) indicates that the hottest fighting took place there or thereabouts; and this seemingly incontrovertible conclusion serves to corroborate the identification of the sites marked on Champion's plan already suggested above. The little village itself and the mosque have been established on the field of battle since 1764. There was

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<sup>28</sup> For translations, see Appendix.

<sup>29</sup> It was customary to collect the bodies of the slain in battle who were not of sufficient standing to call for separate graves, or whose relatives were not at hand to take charge of the bodies for burial, and to inter them all together in a large well or specially dug pit, which served as a general grave, and was called the *ganj-i-shahīdān*.

<sup>30</sup> From a photograph kindly supplied me in 1917 by Mr. H. Pandey of the Archaeological Department.

no village there at the time. Caraccioli specifically states that the ground between the village on the left front (Nadāon) and the tope on the right front was a plain. In no account is there any suggestion of a village being situated to the immediate front of the British lines: and had there been one there, it would no doubt have been indicated by Champion on his plan. I have not been able so far to obtain any reliable evidence as to the foundation of this little village, and the derivation of the name,<sup>31</sup> but the most reliable local tradition ascribes its establishment to a Muhammadan soldier to whom the site was granted by its owner, a Hindu soldier of Ahirauli, out of gratitude for a signal service rendered in the war at the time. However this may be, there can be no reasonable doubt that it was established on the very site of some of the fiercest fighting. The original position of Munro's "Line of Battle" as first drawn up between 8-30 and 9 a.m., before any advance forward was made, can thus be established within a possible error of perhaps a couple of hundred yards at most.

Though the Muhammadan historians, including Ghulam Husain, who is generally so reliable, say that the Wazir's entrenchments extended from the bank of the Ganges up to the Thorā Nadi, it is quite clear from Champion's plan that they ended far short of the Thorā, somewhere near the present village of Pānrepattī, or to the south-east of Nuāon, more than a mile from the Nadi. The plan seems corroborated in this respect by the fact of Munro's inquiring from Lieutenant Nichol whether he could lead the army round to the rear of the Wazir's lines so as to attack them on their right, that he "might have a better chance to drive them into the Ganges than the should us."<sup>32</sup> It was probably through this gap that the then proposed attack was to be made.

In the preceding paragraphs attention has been devoted chiefly to questions of topographical detail and the correct

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<sup>31</sup> It is possible that the name embodies the word *katal*, the vernacular pronunciation of *qatl* (قتل), "slaughter" or "carnage"; but other suggestions are also made.

<sup>32</sup> Caraccioli, and Munro's evidence.

identification of the positions referred to in the several accounts of the fight. We may now proceed to sketch the movements of Munro's army in its short but memorable campaign and the course of the battle itself.

When Munro completed his dispositions for the advance from Patna in the beginning of October, Major Alexander Champion, the next senior officer then with the army, was at Chhapra with the Marines commanded by Captain Wemyss, the 6th Battalion ("Trevannion's") and the 15th (the "Matthews") commanded by Captain John Trevannion and Captain John Stables, respectively. Champion was directed to cross the Ganges and, marching up the west bank of the Son, to reach Koilwar on the morning of the 10th, when Munro intended to arrive on the east bank of the river with the main force. Captain Thomas Goddard had been despatched with his battalion about a month previously (from Tekāri) to take possession of the fortress of Rohtāsgarh, a duty he had successfully accomplished. He was later directed to return from Rohtās and join the army on the same date (10th) at Koilwar on the west bank of the Son. Munro meanwhile had encamped at Bankipur. The army left Bankipur at 3-30 a.m. on the 9th October, and marched some 18 miles to Maner. At 5-0 a.m. on the 10th they continued their march to ground near the Son opposite Koilwar. Champion arrived with his troops about the same time on the other side of the river, coming up from the north, and dispersed the detachment of the Wazir's troops that had been posted with some guns at Koilwar to check Munro's advance. Munro's army crossed on the 11th,<sup>88</sup> the embarkation starting at 2-30 a.m., and encamped near Koilwar, where it remained on the 12th. On the 13th, leaving Captain Goddard with his battalion at Koilwar to guard the ghat, Munro advanced at 5-0 a.m. towards Arrah. The advance guard consisted of 500 Mughal cavalry and two companies of sepoy, while the Grenadier

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<sup>88</sup>A detachment seems to have been pushed across on the 10th to support Champion, though from the Order-Book it would seem as if the whole army had crossed on the 11th.

Company and two troops of European cavalry formed the "Front Guard", immediately followed by one 12 pounder and two 6 pounders. It was in this march from Koilwar to Arrah that the ambush described in much detail by Broome occurred, involving the loss of four quarter-masters, 10 or 12 European troopers and some 60 of the Mughal horse. Broome writes that this reverse was met "on reaching the Bonassnullah, beyond Arrah." Malleison accepts this, and adds "close to the spot where, ninety-three years later, Vincent Eyre gained his ever memorable victory." The fact seems to be, however, that this ambush was laid, not at the Banās river, which is six miles west of Arrah, but at the Qaimnagar bridge over the Nagin Nadi, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles east of Arrah; that is to say, not where Vincent Eyre gained his important victory on the 2nd August 1857, on his way from Buxar to the relief of the Arrah House, but where Captain Dunbar's relieving force from Dinapore was defeated and nearly annihilated about three days previously (night of 29th—30th July). This is quite clear from the account given by Williams,<sup>34</sup> who was in the Marines, separated only by two battalions from the advance guard. Williams writes that the army marched at 5 o'clock in the morning of the 13th towards Arrah, "just as the day began to dawn,"<sup>35</sup> the advance guard having passed the bridge at Arrah, a famous partisan<sup>36</sup> of Sujah Dowlah's lay in ambush with a select body of horse....."

The hour of starting agrees with that given in the Order-Book, so we may accept it as correct. The attack must therefore have taken place before 6-30 a.m., and the army cannot have marched quite five miles from the camping ground near Koilwar. This would mean that they were near the Qaimnagar bridge. Caraccioli (who commits mistakes as to dates elsewhere)

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<sup>34</sup> Harper in his diary also states definitely that this attack took place on the march from the Son to Arrah.

<sup>35</sup> The time of year, the position, viz. about 85°—45' N. and 25°—35' N., the later sunrise and the shortness of twilight must all be remembered.

<sup>36</sup> We are nowhere told who this was. Was it Mir Wali-ullah, the *'āmīl* in behalf of Shujā'-ud-daula of the adjoining parganas, who, Ghulām Husein tells us, kept the Wasir informed of Munro's movements?

describes this attack as having taken place on the 19th. This is obviously incorrect, as on that date the army was in the neighbourhood of Nuāon, little more than 15 miles from Buxar. On the other hand, Caraccioli's details as to the enemy retreating precipitately "for about a mile across a plain, until they arrived at a village called Arrall", clearly corroborates Williams' account. There is no village of a name like Arrall along the route further on; and the country between the Nagin Nadi and Arrah would correctly be described as a "plain." Arrall can therefore be no other than Arrah.<sup>37</sup> Caraccioli says that Munro "blamed Major Champion in this affair." On the 18th, according to the Order-Book, Champion was "Field Officer of the day." The army halted on arrival at Arrah, and remained there over the 14th. It was apparently after this disastrous surprise, when the army reached their camping ground at Arrah, that Munro sat down, and after noting he was "sorry to find that some part of his orders of the 11th inst. are not complied with", recorded his detailed instructions laying down the exact position to be taken up by each unit, in case orders were given to form in line of battle, in accordance with which the troops stood to arms on the morning of the 23rd.

At 4-30 a.m. on the 15th the army marched from Arrah (probably to Gajrajganj). After halting the 16th, it marched at 4-30 a.m. on the 17th (probably to Belauthi). On the 18th it marched at 5 a.m. (perhaps to Rānisāgar or, more probably, to Mahārājganj). On the 19th it marched at 4-30 a.m., and encamped at "Puthall" (see page 9 above). On the 20th, starting again at the same hour it camped near Bhojpur Qadīm. On the 21st it marched at 4-30 a.m. to some camping ground (unnamed) between Bhojpur and Kulhariā; and on the 22nd, again starting at 4-30, it arrived between Jagdispur and Churāmanpur about 9 a.m. These details disclose the slow and cautious nature of the advance already referred to. The troops encamped in the prescribed order on what appears from Champion's plan to have been open ground at the time, or a plain

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<sup>37</sup> A capital 'H' may have been reproduced as a double 'l' by a printer's error.

as Williams describes it, to the north of Jagdispur, and between the north-east flank of the *jhil* and a small grove of trees that lay close to the west of Churāmanpur. The Wazīr's army, Williams tell us, was drawn up in front of its entrenchments, and saluted the British with a few shot, which fell short, and "after looking at each other for more than an hour Sujah Dowlah withdrew within his lines." A battalion of sepoys was advanced to the villages on the left front (Nadāon) to watch the motions of the enemy.<sup>38</sup> *Khair-ud-din* Muḥammad writes in his *‘Ibrat-nāma* that Gentil and Madec sought an audience of the Wazīr, and advised him (in very forcible terms, according to our author!) to bestir himself and get his army ready for battle at once and attack the British forces suddenly, before they had time to make all their preparations and arrange themselves in line of battle, while they were still engaged in unloading their baggage and stores and pitching their tents, and before the boats that were coming up the Ganges, laden with arms and provisions, arrived. In this way the British, they said, might, by the grace of God, be defeated and put to flight; but if the attack were delayed till they had time to prepare themselves in all respects, it would be extremely difficult, nay rather impossible (*Khairī muta‘azzir balki muḥāl*) to overcome them. The Nawāb rejected the advice with a laugh.<sup>39</sup> This story may contain some germs of truth; and the French officers may have been responsible perhaps for the troops having been drawn up outside the entrenchments on the morning of the 22nd.

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<sup>38</sup> Broome says this was Morgan's battalion, but he seems to have had the positions on the 23rd in view. From what Champion writes in his diary, this would appear to have been another battalion in charge of Lieutenant Watts. It was retired to the Grand Guard at night by Munro. Next morning (23rd) it was again pushed forward to the village, but shortly afterwards it was directed to join Harper's battalion with the *beldars* (diggers) on the right front, when Morgan's battalion from the rear line was sent out to take its place in the village.

<sup>39</sup> Translated concisely from an extract from the copy of the work in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, kindly supplied me by Mr. Wali-ud-din Khudā Baksh,

Munro never dreamt that Shujā'-ud-daula would open the attack. After arrival on the 22nd he made a reconnoitre with some field officers, and made up his mind to attack the enemy that very night between 1 and 2 a.m.,<sup>40</sup> making a detour to the south-west and then round the right flank of their lines near the Thorā Nadi.<sup>41</sup> He sent out spies to ascertain their positions, and particularly to find out where their artillery lay and where the Wazīr's and Qāsim 'Alī Khān's camps were situated. He called up Captain Jennings and Lieut. Nichol, who had been encamped at Buxar with Major Carnac from the 17th March to the 4th April that year, and knew the ground behind the entrenchments. Caraccioli tells us that Nichol had measured (*sic* surveyed) from the fort to the Thorā; that Munro asked him whether he would undertake to guide the army round by the Thorā to the rear of the enemy's lines; and that Nichol agreed to do this, provided the *harkaras* (couriers; spies) could conduct the army from their encampment "across the plain to the nullah"—presumably by a rather wide detour. However, as the spies did not return to camp by midnight, Munro made up his mind to postpone the proposed attack for a day. Two of the spies who came in by daylight of the 23rd reported that the enemy had been under arms all night, moving their artillery and sending off their treasure and women. Munro went out immediately to reconnoitre and saw "many of the troops under arms, but not out of their entrenchments",<sup>42</sup> and came to the conclusion that they were simply making a feint to attack, "never imagining that they would quit their lines in order to attack us." Major Champion tells a different story. He says that when he went out with Munro to reconnoitre they found a large body of the enemy's sepoys and a considerable body of horse drawn out of their lines at cannon shot distance; that he gave it as his opinion to Munro that they intended to attack, but Munro

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<sup>40</sup> Munro's evidence. This decision seems to have escaped Broome.

<sup>41</sup> Champion's Diary and Caraccioli.

<sup>42</sup> Munro's evidence. His memory after eight years may have played him false.



"made some trivial answer and we retired." When they reached the Grand Guard several of the enemy's horse came near, and many shots were exchanged. Still Munro was so far from believing that they meant an attack that he ordered the advanced battalion (i.e. Watts' battalion then in Nadāon) to join Harper in the front to the right.<sup>43</sup> Champion says he was very uneasy at these two battalions being sent so far forward, especially as they were under the direction of two Lieutenants "and those very young officers (Watts and Harper)." The Grand Guard was then sent back to the lines, and Morgan ordered out with his battalion to the village where Watts had been. While Munro went to his tent to have breakfast, Champion, although invited to join at breakfast, remained on horseback and watched developments. Being convinced of their intention, he went to Munro's tent. The latter asked why he had not come to breakfast. Champion replied that it was no time for breakfast as a general action seemed imminent. He begged Munro to come to the front again and see for himself. Munro immediately went out and as a result agreed to recall Harper and Watts. Champion says the enemy were drawing very near the advance guard and there were large bodies of them on the left. He proposed to have all the troops under arms, but with difficulty Munro consented to have the left wing of the sepoys turned out and their arms grounded. "At this time he was sure they could never mean to attack our camp, but only came to look at us." A gun was sent out to Morgan's battalion (in Nadāon). Champion went out again with it and found the enemy very near in great force, bringing up their guns. Ordering three or four rounds to be fired and all kept in readiness for retirement, he galloped

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<sup>43</sup> Harper (Diary, pp. 39-40) says the two battalions with the *beldars* (diggers) and engineers were sent out "to the front of our right as near the enemy's works as possible to line out and begin a battery to amuse the enemy, imagining they never would attack us, and intending to attempt their lines in the night. The battalions had scarce drawn up and the people begun to work when orders arrived to march to camp immediately as the enemy were drawing out of their trenches."

back to Munro and told him.<sup>44</sup> An aide-de-camp was then despatched to Morgan, with order to retire at once; and the drums beat to arms. All accounts agree that Morgan's battalion suffered severely in their retreat. Champion says it lost 14 men before starting to retire; that one company retreated in pretty good order, covering the gun, while the remainder was in great confusion. Caraccioli describes the withdrawal in scathing terms. Williams tells us (p. 150) the battalion lost upwards of 100 men before getting back into the lines. Harper makes the obvious comment that the retirement was delayed too long.

Harper's battalion (the "Smith's") resumed its place on the right flank of the rear line; and Watts' battalion ("MacLean's") seems to have gone back to its own position as second from the left in the front line. Morgan's battalion apparently (see below, p. 25) came back to the left flank of the front line, exchanging places with Trevannion's battalion. Lieutenant Mair, who had been posted with a *risala* of horse in the topc opposite the right front, according to Caraccioli, seems to have been recalled and posted with the rest of his horse to the rear on guard over the baggage. When the troops stood to arms and formed line, the front line had to move forward a little, to allow room for the second line to form up, and for the reserves to take up their allotted position between the two lines. Delay also occurred, according to Champion, in getting the guns into their proper places, largely due to the many young and inexperienced artillery officers. Meanwhile the enemy's guns had taken up positions within range (see Champion's plan) and were beginning to cannonade and do much damage. The morass to the left and left front hampered their movement, but according to most witnesses their guns were well served and directed, and committed great havoc. Munro says the enemy's cannonade began

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<sup>44</sup> It seems only fair to presume that had it not been for the manner in which Munro had treated his other suggestions, Champion would probably have himself directed Morgan to retire forthwith, and thus have saved this battalion from heavy loss.

at 9 a.m., and half an hour later (Champion says at 9-20) the action became general; which reads as if their guns had a very appreciable start. Champion writes "soon after (*i.e.* after 9-20) the front line was obliged to face and march to the right, to give more room for the left wing of the front line to draw up; we then kept a slow march to the front, and we were obliged to halt frequently to dress the line." Here perhaps he is anticipating events; but before reviewing the actual battle it will assist the reader to have a diagram showing the positions, as far as can be ascertained, of the various units of the British force.

With his report of the 25th October to the President and Council, Munro attached what is described in the margin as a "Plan of the Order of our Army in the Battle of Buxar". This is merely a diagram showing the positions of the different units in the lines, and of the guns in the intervals and on the flanks. Extraordinary as it may seem, this diagram appears to be incorrect in some respects. Broome must have noticed this, because, while it is clear that he had examined Munro's report with its enclosures, his description<sup>45</sup> of the positions of the sepoy battalions does not tally with Munro's "plan". The latter seems to have been a reproduction (with one variation) of the plan laid down in the orders of the 13th. In both cases "Captain Campbell's" battalion is shown as posted second from the left in the rear line, whereas Campbell's battalion was not with the army at the time.<sup>46</sup> Stranger still is it that, while Trevannion's battalion is correctly so named in the orders of the 13th, in the plan of the order of battle it is called "Captain Duffield's." Now John Trevannion commanded his battalion throughout this campaign and fought at its head in the battle. Duffield did not get command of this battalion till after Trevannion's death, more than two months latter.<sup>47</sup> Again, "Captain Wilding's" battalion is shown in Munro's plan on the left wing of the front line. The name of the battalion

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<sup>45</sup> Broome, pp. 472-3.

<sup>46</sup> It had been left at Patna with other troops to protect Bihar.

<sup>47</sup> Williams, pp. 105-7.

# Diagram showing disposition of Munro's when the battle became general.



NOTE.—Major Alexander Champion commanded the right wing of the front line.

Major Giles Stibbert commanded the left wing of the front line.

Major Charles Pemble commanded the rear line.

Captain William Jennings commanded the artillery in the front line.

(This officer was also in general command of all the artillery.)

Captain Ralph Winwood commanded the artillery in the rear line.

The names of other Artillery officers are shown behind the guns.

REAR GUARD, over Baggage and Magazine.

"Mughal" Horse (918)

4 Co.'s Sepoys.

Lieut. Mair.

Lieut. Virtue.

(then the 13th) was "Swinton's,"<sup>48</sup> and its position in the battle seems to have been on the *right* wing of the front line, as stated by Broome. After collating the several accounts of the battle with Williams' scattered references to the positions of the battalions thereat, when he deals with the regimental histories, it becomes evident that Broome's arrangement may probably be accepted as the correct one. All accounts agree as to the position of the European troops, the reserves between the lines, and Mair's Indian horse and Virtue's sepoy with the baggage and magazine behind the lines. The discrepancies occur only in regard to the sepoy battalions. Broome<sup>49</sup> places Trevannion's battalion in the rear line, while Williams distinctly states<sup>50</sup> that it was in the front line, and Munro's diagram also shows it (as "Captain Duffield's") in the front line. On the other hand, Broome locates Morgan's battalion in front, while Munro shows it in the rear line. What actually happened, possibly, is that Trevannion's battalion stood originally in the front line, in accordance with the orders of the 13th, but the action having commenced before Morgan's battalion could get back from Nadāon, Trevannion's battalion was pushed back to the rear line, and Morgan's took its place in the front line,<sup>51</sup> these two battalions thus exchanging places. The annexed diagram, then, shows the probable positions of the various units of Munro's army, when the action became general shortly after 9 a.m. In the case of the artillery officers, I have entered the names in the positions laid down for them in the orders of the 13th October. The guns are placed as in Munro's "Plan." The battalion numbers given on the diagram are the numbers they bore at the time (under the orders of April 1764), numbers which they retained till 1775.

<sup>48</sup> Though Wilding was commanding it then, Swinton having lost an arm in the attack on Patua.

<sup>49</sup> His statement (p. 475) that half Stable's battalion wheeled to close the left flank is apparently a slip, as it would be half Trevannion's battalion that did this.

<sup>50</sup> Williams, p. 105.

<sup>51</sup> Broome distinctly writes (p. 472) that Morgan's battalion "was recalled into the front line." I have been unable to trace the source for this statement.

It will be clear from the positions of the Wazir's troops when they first issued from behind their entrenchments (see GG on Champion's plan) that the attack was aimed at Munro's left; and here perhaps occurred the cardinal error<sup>52</sup> in his strategy. The water and mud in the *jhil* and morass stretching across that front and flank were calculated to frustrate the attack, both in respect of the movement of artillery and the operations of cavalry, in both of which arms the Wazir was overwhelmingly superior. The texture of the soil on that side, containing as it does a large proportion of clay, approaching the nature of "black cotton soil" a little further on, produces a viscous, sticky mud after heavy rain. Whereas on Munro's right, towards the bank of the Ganges, the soil contains moresand, and affords far better ground for the action of cavalry. Had the Wazir attacked in force on that side, his cavalry, which might have been concentrated behind, and screened by, the groves on that front, could have been charged more suddenly and effectively, and his guns could have been run out behind them with comparative ease.<sup>53</sup> Delivered as the attack was, the nature of the ground on Munro's left front and flank served as a protection to him, possibly saving him from defeat.

The general action was opened by the Wazir's artillery, and as many of his guns were of heavier metal than Munro's, they were able to play upon the British troops the whole time they were forming up into lines, a process which, according to Champion, lasted the best part of half an hour. It was found necessary to move the front line forward, to allow more

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<sup>52</sup> This is the criticism of a mere layman, of course. Other mistakes that will strike the reader were the absence of control over the Durrānis, with their craving for plunder, and the assignment to the unwarlike Benī Bahādūr of command of the important flank on the river side.

<sup>53</sup> It was not till after the attacks on the flank and rear that the batteries at Ahirauli came into action. It may appear from Champion's plan that there was no room for the operations of cavalry on that flank; but the plan gives an incorrect idea of the situation. It may also be suggested that had the Wazir concentrated his artillery on the right front, and kept hammering the rear and left with his numerous cavalry, the issue might have been very different.

space between the lines for the reserves to be drawn up. When the lines were formed and order issued to move forward, it was discovered that the left flank could not clear the morass when it advanced, and the whole front line had to be marched to the right, and then faced to the front again, when further time was occupied in dressing the lines. According to Williams, all these evolutions consumed nearly an hour, the enemy's cannon and rockets playing upon the ranks the whole time. Thereafter, as it appears, Munro's artillery came into action. The army was then ordered to move forward slowly. About this time the Wazir's Mughal and Durrānī cavalry,<sup>54</sup> which came out by the right flank of the entrenchments (see EE in Champion's plan), emerging from behind the village and grove of Jagdispur, closed up, and passing round the south-eastern end of the *jāzil*, charged furiously upon the left rear and flank.<sup>55</sup> As soon as they were seen approaching, the rear line<sup>56</sup> faced about, and half of each of the battalions on the left of the front and rear lines wheeled half round to close the gap between the lines, and Captain Hay moved his reserves of grenadiers and cavalry to that flank in support.<sup>57</sup> The assault on the rear line was met by grape and musket fire, and does not appear to have been pushed home. On the flank, however, the attack was pressed in valiant style, and five or six of the gallant leaders rode right through the ranks of the sepoy on to the bayonets of the European grenadiers. "Had they been well seconded," writes Champion, "they must have carried that part." Harper also refers to this incident, and adds:—"I fancy had but one or two thousand of the enemy's cavalry behaved as well as those few that attacked

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<sup>54</sup> *Mughaliya va Durrāniyān* of Ghulām Hussin. I cannot find where Broome got his "Rohilla cavalry."

<sup>55</sup> According to Ghulām Husain, several charges (*gush-kā*) were made under the immediate direction of the Wazir. According to Champion, there were two separate attacks, first on the rear and then on the flank. Caraccioli says first on the flank, afterwards on the rear. Williams' and Harper's account would read as if all occurred in one general attack.

<sup>56</sup> Part of it, according to Harper.

<sup>57</sup> Thus giving effect to the General Order of the 13th October.

the Grenadiers we should have lost the day." After this, the Durrānī and Mughal cavalry devoted their attention to the baggage and stores at Churāmanpur in the rear. They completely routed Mair's horse, more than 900 strong, who fled for protection to the main army, scattered the camp-followers round by Arjunpur towards Ahirauli,<sup>58</sup> and drove Virtue with his sepoys out of Churāmanpur.<sup>59</sup> They then seem to have confined their time and energy to pillaging the whole of the baggage and stores.

All this while the guns with Samru's and Madec's brigades, which were skilfully handled, must have been raking the centre and left front; and with the *jhil* on that front and flank, and the Wazir's cavalry behind, Munro was practically hemmed in on three sides, as Ghulām Husain virtually puts it. Meanwhile, three batteries of guns had been posted in front of Ahirauli and the grove adjoining on the south, covered by foot soldiers and a troop under Madec. Firing obliquely on the right wing and flank of the British lines, they were doing such injury that Munro decided to detach a battalion from his formation to silence them. The order was passed by his aide-de-camp, Captain Gordon, to Captain Samuel Feake who was in command of the 1st Battalion on the front right flank. The several accounts of what followed are very conflicting. The only thing that seems clear is that Feake, after two attempts, failed, and command of the battalion was given to Lieutenant Nichol, Adjutant-General of the Sepoys, and Lieutenant Harper was sent forward with his battalion in support; when the village of Ahirauli and the guns in front of it were captured.<sup>60</sup> But another battery further to the south, covered by a large body of

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<sup>58</sup> Harper supplies this information; and this probably explains the statement made by Williams (p. 50) that "a vast number of our followers were killed and wounded between the lines", which would otherwise be difficult to understand.

<sup>59</sup> Virtue however made a plucky stand with his men, and retired steadily under cover of the guns of the rear line.

<sup>60</sup> From Harper's diary, though he suppresses his own name, it appears that his battalion captured the guns.



foot in a covered way,<sup>61</sup> maintained their ground, till the rest of the front right wing, moving forward under Champion, got within range of grape, when all the guns on the right were taken, and the enemy's troops supporting them were driven back towards their own left centre. Whatever the details of this phase<sup>62</sup> of the battle may have been, it was the turning point in the action. The advance of the right wing threw the advanced troops of the enemy on that front, not directly west towards the position occupied by Benī Bahādur's division, but towards Samru and Madec's artillery, forcing them to take up a new position further south, and perhaps also causing Samru and Madec's brigades (as Broome definitely states) to shift their ground. At all events, the movements caused some confusion in the Wazīr's ranks according to Caraccioli's account. The left wing of the British, commanded by Major Stibbert, which had been hotly engaged up to this, now pressed forward, and the right wing under Champion converging towards the centre caused further disorder and congestion. In the meantime the 1st and 8th battalions under Nichol and Harper, which had captured Ahirauli and the guns there, had pushed straight on westwards,<sup>63</sup> and reached the ruined houses behind which Benī Bahādur and the Shaikhzādas were drawn up, apparently quite unprepared for an attack. These were put to flight by a volley or two, but not until Ghulām Qādir, the brave leader of the Shaikhzādas, had laid down his life with a few staunch companions. If we may rely on Ghulām Husain's account, it was the noise made by these volleys that induced Shujā' Qulī Khān to make the plunge that changed the advantages just gained by the British into an overwhelming victory. The description given by the historian of what happened at this stage is most interesting and graphic, and though none of the English witnesses make mention of the events related, it is supported in no small measure by the memoirs of Gentil and Madec. A concise paraphrase is therefore given in the following paragraph.

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<sup>61</sup> Champion's diary.

<sup>62</sup> According to Champion, all this fighting on the right occupied two hours.

<sup>63</sup> Under whose orders, it is nowhere stated.

Owing to the cannonading by Samru and Madec's brigades in front, the successive charges of the Wazir's cavalry [in the flank and rear], and the position of the *jāzīl*, with its deep, sticky mud, precluding any movement in that direction, the British troops became cramped for want of space, and their situation became critical.<sup>64</sup> In the circumstances, Munro decided to move his army towards the Ganges, so that it might go and attack Benī Bahādur's position.<sup>65</sup> Moving slowly in that direction, his troops reached the ruined houses, under cover of which were drawn up Benī Bahādur and his division, the vanguard of which was formed by Shaikh (*sic*) Ghulam Qādir with his Shaikhzadas of Lucknow. These troops were taken by surprise.<sup>66</sup> Ghulam Qādir did what he could to get his men into rank, and defend the position; but the steadiness and volley-firing of the British sepoys was too much for them; and their gallant leader and his brethren were slain. Benī Bahādur then consulted a courtier named Ghālib Khān as to what he should do in the circumstances. The answer given was: "If you desire honour and glory, this is your chance to sacrifice your life: otherwise it is high time to be off." Benī Bahādur solemnly declared he preferred death and honour to flight: but the sepoys just then coming a little closer, he changed his mind and "turned the rein of his steed from the battle-field," followed by all his people. Shujā' Qulī Khān, hearing the sound of the volleys fired by the British sepoys, imagined it meant that Benī Bahādur was gaining a victory over his opponents. Apprehending that the Raja must be forestalling him in the honour of crowning the victory, and that he should thereby incur discredit in the eyes of the Wazir and other

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<sup>64</sup> The *Ībrat nāma* alone goes so far as to add that after the Durrānī cavalry had plundered the camp and baggage, they brought some English prisoners they had captured before the Wazir, who in the joy of victory ordered the kettle-drums to be beaten.

<sup>65</sup> It is easy to see how the combination of two different movements, i.e. Munro's shifting to the right to clear the *jāzīl*, and the advance of the right wing to capture the guns on that side that were galling the ranks, might lead an observer in the Wazir's camp to this conclusion.

<sup>66</sup> "It is related they were aroused by stones and clods being thrown at them."

onlookers, without any further inquiry and with the utmost precipitation, he charged out at the head of his cavalry from behind Samru and Madeo and across their front towards the English army, plunging into part of the morass. The result of this rash movement was to stop the fire of Samru and Madeo's guns, which had been pouring forth a veritable hail of fire, and to expose themselves and Samru and Madeo's brigades to still fiercer fire from the British lines. Floundering through the mire, Shuja ' Quli Khān and the very few horsemen who stuck to him became mere targets for the British troops, and they sacrificed their lives uselessly. The remainder of his cavalry turned back and fled. Their headlong flight demoralized the other troops that were still standing their ground ; and these latter turned and followed the lead given them. The sepoy battalions that had fallen upon Beni Bahādur's division passed over the entrenchments and continued their advance into the Wazir's camp, where they created such a panic that every soul fled helter-skelter, leaving all his possessions behind. The perfidious Mughals and Durrānīs then started looting and plundering their master's camp on their own account. The Wazir, who had been confident of a complete victory, but had witnessed only a partial success, was bewildered at the turn of events. He surveyed the changed scene for a while ; then, when but few remained with him, he turned and followed the runaways. Everything that was left fell into the hands of the British.

About four miles from the battlefield, and just two miles west of the fort, the small river Thorā crossed the route of the Wazir's fugitive army, flowing in a narrow but deep clayey bed into the Ganges. At the time the stream was low, but the mud was deep and tenacious. A bridge (or bridges) <sup>67</sup> of boats had been

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<sup>67</sup> Champion writes that " the three bridges " which the enemy had over the stream were broken and sunk by their pressing to get over. Caraccioli also says the bridge was broken owing to the numbers that crowded over it. Ghulam Husain merely says that the bridge had been " broken " (*pul kis shikasta bad*). He does not say that this had been done under orders : but by referring to the block caused by the rush of fugitives, he rather leads to the inference that this crowding was the cause.

thrown across; but the boats were either pierced by design, or (as is more probable) broken by the weight of the congested mass of fugitives. The result was appalling. In his report of the 25th October, Munro wrote that the bridge had been broken "either by design or accident"; but in his evidence given in 1772 he is reported to have said that the enemy "pierced the boats, and sunk them before the rear of their army got over," adding that this was the best piece of generalship Shujā 'ud-daula showed that day, as otherwise he would have overtaken the Wazīr's army at the Karamnasa, and secured treasure and jewels to an enormous value. This statement appears to be the only authority for saying, as Broome does (followed of course by Malleson), that Shujā 'ud-daula, as soon as he with his treasure and jewels, together with the regular brigades, had crossed, ordered the bridge of boats to be destroyed. At all events Munro was unable to pursue further, and leaving a guard on the east side of the stream, the troops bivouacked for the night in the open air near the fort, lying on their arms, as all the tents and baggage had been lost. Munro himself appears to have remained at Buxar till the morning of the 29th.<sup>68</sup> In his evidence, he said that as he had not sufficient surgeons to dress and assist his own wounded, he went every day for five days successively to every man of the enemy's wounded on the field, and gave rice and water to such as would take it, which was all the assistance he could give.

Broome writes that "on the 27th, the whole army crossed the Ganges at Buxar." Here again he is in error, as Munro's Order-Book shows. The advance division crossed on the 27th to the Korantadih side. The second division crossed on the 29th; and the last of the troops, all of whom had been helping to get the captured cannon into the fort, followed on the 30th. The army marched on towards Benares on the 31st. The crossing seems to have taken place at the *ghāt* (still in use as a ferry) between Sarimpur and Govindpur.

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<sup>68</sup> A large old well close by the fort on the east is locally supposed to have been constructed under Munro's orders.

We have already seen how eye-witnesses may give seemingly contradictory accounts of the same occurrence when viewed from different angles. Let us now see how this applies to the battle as a whole. The details of the fighting given above have been chiefly drawn from the accounts left by Englishmen who fought in the battle. In the *Siyar-ul-Mu'ākhharin* we have a description by a man who fought on neither side, but had special opportunities of knowing what went on in the Wazir's camp. Generally speaking, Ghulam Husain is remarkably impartial in his views on historical events. He always kept a soft corner in his heart for Qāsim 'Alī Khān, with whom in fact he was connected.<sup>69</sup> While he entertained high respect for certain characteristics of the English, he disapproved of many of their acts. He was beholden to General Goddard for much kindness; and when he wrote his history, the East India Company was supreme in the province where his family estates lay. From the point of view of the Wazir's army, I have not succeeded in tracing any account except what is found in the memoirs left by Gentil and Madec. As these memoirs have been published in French and are not easily available to readers of this *Journal*, translations of the relevant paragraphs are given below.

Colonel<sup>70</sup> J. P. J. Gentil, in his very brief description of the battle, writes: "After a very stubborn contest, the English were completely beaten, and lost their munitions and provisions, their baggage and their magazine. Munro, having lost everything, despatched an order to the boats to come up close to the battlefield as quickly as possible, the English army having no way of retreat except by the river. This order being much delayed in execution, and the Mughal army, instead of actively harassing the English and giving them no time to recover, having devoted their attention to plundering their camp, Munro, who had lost all, launched out in despair

<sup>69</sup> His mother's father was son of an aunt of 'Alī Vardī Khān.

<sup>70</sup> Gentil was given this rank in the French army in 1778; Madec received a similar honour in the following year—in both cases after their return to their native land.

against the division of Benī Bahādur. The latter, taking to flight immediately, carried away with him a portion of the Mughal army, laden with the spoil of an enemy it had just defeated. Through this act of despair, Munro became master of the field of battle, which but a few moments before he had thought he would have to quit.

“The valiant Shujā’ Qulī Khān, seeing everybody in flight, flung himself with four brave companions upon the English battalions, being unwilling to survive his master’s defeat.

“Shujā’-ud-daula and his brothers-in-law did all they could to rally their troops. They left the field of battle about four in the afternoon, with only a few horsemen for escort.”

Colonel Madec’s equally short, though rather more suggestive, account is as follows :-

“Fighting commenced on both sides ; but the English, overwhelmed by numbers, were forced to give way. Seeing that things were taking a bad turn, they detached a battalion with two field-pieces to take possession of a village which would be of use to them. I advanced with my troops, though much inferior to this battalion, and fought it so successfully <sup>71</sup> that I forced it to retire in disorder upon the main body, which was also contemplating retreat, seeing that it was, so to speak, all up with it. The enemy [i.e. British] would have taken to flight if they had had means of doing so. There not being, as a matter of fact, any possibility of flight, they found strength in despair. Noticing that the left wing of our army, which rested on the Ganges, was exposed, they attacked it furiously and routed it. Encouraged by this success, they fell upon the rest of our army with almost unexampled intrepidity. The Nawab’s troops that had been engaged in pillaging the English camp had caused disorganization in the army. The latter (*sic*) <sup>72</sup> took advantage of this, and made renewed efforts : and thus they won the battle after having lost it.”

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<sup>71</sup> In another place he says he was wounded by a musket-shot in this encounter and that he had to retreat.

<sup>72</sup> Meaning the English.

It has been said that "an Englishman never knows when he is beaten."<sup>73</sup> No impartial critic, however, who peruses Munro's orders from day to day and reads his laconic—not to say jejune—account of the battle, is likely to credit him with having thought of running away. He might with more justice perhaps have been charged, at this period of his career, with extreme self-confidence. He might have been defeated; he had himself contemplated this possibility, Ghulam Husain tells us: but defeat to him meant extermination. Stern disciplinarian, he showed at this time a cool and indomitable spirit. The chief trouble to a person seeking to discover the details of what actually took place is that, to read his records, no suspicion would arise of his troops having encountered any appreciable check. He never mentions the Wazir's cavalry having broken through the flank line, nor the reverse met by the 1st Battalion under Feake, nor the complete rout of Mair's Indian cavalry: and we are left to imagine for ourselves how every scrap of baggage and stores behind the lines was plundered, from the brief sentence at the end of his report of the 25th October, viz. "All the officers as well as myself lost all our camp equipage and baggage." Champion's and Harper's views about the flank attack have already been quoted. Harper adds: "The chance was more than once against us, and I am of opinion the sepoy would not have been able to stand the cannonade five minutes longer than they did—whenever they were ordered to advance, all thoughts of danger were laid aside." A tribute may justly be paid to the discipline and steadiness (so often factors in ultimate success) shown by all ranks while exposed to an incessant and galling fire and to the charges of veteran cavalry during the first phases of the battle.

Making every allowance for the strong feelings entertained at the time by both Gentil and Madec against the English, we must realize the critical nature of this contest. We can also understand the stubborn nature of the fighting from the fact

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<sup>73</sup> Hector Munro was a Scot<sup>ish</sup>man.

that the casualties were about 12 per cent. of Munro's total forces (at Plassey they were only about 2½ per cent.). The proportion was practically the same in both European and Indian ranks; and all accounts agree in commending the bravery of both, except in respect of Mair's Horse, of whose behaviour Harper gives an unfavourable account. The most remarkable feature of the casualty statistics perhaps is the large proportion of killed and wounded that occurred in the centres of the lines, since none of the accounts that have come down to us give any details of the heavy fighting that must have occurred on these fronts. It is possible that the greater part of these casualties were caused by the Wazir's artillery. Among the officers, Lieutenant Spilsbury of the 93th Regiment and Ensign Thompson<sup>74</sup> of the Company's Battallion were killed. Captain Crofton of the 96th Regiment, Lieutenant Menzey of the Company's Battalion and Ensign Shand of the Sepoys were wounded. Majors Stibbert and Pemble, Captain E. Hamilton (Major of Brigade), and Captain Gordon and Mr. T. Hamilton (two of Munro's aides-de-camp) had their horses shot under them—in three of the cases while Munro was giving them orders. Of those slain on the Wazir's side, we only learn the names of the two leaders, Shaikh Muḥammad 'Isā (Shujā' Qulī Khān)<sup>75</sup> and Ghulām Qādir Khān, who fell fighting valiantly. We do not know where the European slain were buried. No monument has survived to mark their resting-place. Possibly they too lie beneath the field of battle, not far from where the tombstones of their gallant opponents, Muḥammad 'Isā and Ghulām Qādir, are now conserved by the British Government.

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<sup>74</sup> James, according to Munro's report of the 25th, but Richard in Dodwell and Miles.

<sup>75</sup> Broome writes "Shooja Khoolee Khan, more generally known as Meeah Issa." His name was Shaikh Muḥammad 'Isa, Shujā' (the "intrepid") Qulī Khān was only a title.



**Appendix.***Inscriptions on the tombstones at Katkauli.*

(1)

Yā Allah !

Huwa ' l-bāqī wa kullu shai-in halik.

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Hāzā qabr maghfūr mabrūr.

Shahīd sa'īd Saiyid

Ghulām Qādir allahumma

Aghfirhu wa li-jamī' almūminīn

Sana yak hazār va yak sad va haftād va haft.  
1177.

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(Translation of above)

Oh God !

God is the everlasting (one) and all things are perishable.

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This is the tomb of the forgiven and accepted,

The martyr, the fortunate Saiyid

Ghulām Qādir. Oh God !

Grant forgiveness to him and to the whole of the faithful.

Year one thousand one hundred and seventy-seven.  
1177.

(2)

Huwa ' l-bāqī wa kullu shai-in ḥalīk.

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Hāzā qabr maghfūr mabrūr

Shahīd sa'īd Shaikh Muhammad

' Isā Mukhāṭab bihi Shujā ' Qulī Khān

Allahumma aghfirhu wa li-jamī ' almūminin.

Sana yak hazār va yak şad va haftād va haft.  
1177.

---

(Translation of above)

God is the everlasting (one) and all things are perishable.

---

This is the tomb of the forgiven and accepted,

The martyr, the fortunate Shaikh Muhammad

' Isā entitled Shujā ' Qulī Khān

Oh God ! grant forgiveness to him and to the whole of the  
faithful.

Year one thousand one hundred and seventy-seven.

1177.

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NOTE.—From the wording of the inscriptions it would seem likely that the tombstones were set up some years later, which may account for the slight inaccuracy in the date, as the Hijri year 1177, according to Cunningham's tables, ended in July, 1764, i. e. three months before the battle of Buxar,

## **II.—Annual Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.**

**Review of the work of the year 1925 by V. H. Jackson, Esq.  
Vice-President of the Society.**

Before I commence the usual review of the work of the Society during the past year, I must refer to the loss which it has suffered by the retirement of my distinguished predecessor, Sir Hugh McPherson. He assumed the office of Vice-President at a time when the society was sorely in need of reanimation and individual workers in need of encouragement. Those of us who have been concerned with the management of the Society during the period can best testify to the manner in which he discharged his duties and to the support which they received from him. But the improvement in the Society's affairs during the last three years is its own testimonial. We owe him a special debt of gratitude for the active part which he has taken in providing a permanent home for the Research Society and the Provincial Museum, as contemplated in a resolution moved at the inaugural meeting of the Society held in January 1915. Since the date of the last annual meeting, much progress has been made with this scheme. A conveniently central site has been chosen on the Patna-Gaya road near the Radhika Sinha Institute. The plans and design of the building have been prepared by Rai Bahadur Bisun Svarup, Chief Engineer, in consultation with the Museum Committee and the Research Society's Council, according to which suitable accommodation for the Society will be provided in the eastern wing. And we have recently learnt with much satisfaction that a vote for the necessary funds, amounting to 2½ lakhs, has been passed by the Legislative Council, so that it seems certain that by this time next year a building worthy of the province will be approaching completion.

Turning to the special affairs of the Society itself, our relations with the Provincial Museum have already been made closer by the appointment of the Curator, Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, as our Librarian. Amongst other valuable additions to the Library, the series of illuminated Persian manuscripts, purchased in Teheran in 1801 and presented by Rai Bahadur Ram Ran Vijaya Sinha, requires special mention. The reports of the General Secretary and of the Treasurer show another small increase in membership, though this is still considerably below the figures reached during the early years of the Society's existence; and on the whole a satisfactory financial position. Thanks to the generous donations of two of our Vice-Patrons, the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga and the Maharaja Bahadur of Hatwa, the Society has sufficient funds in hand to carry out two important pieces of special work to which I shall again refer; and I am happy to say that I am authorised by the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj, our latest Vice-Patron, to announce at this meeting that he will contribute Rs. 10,000 for the improvement of the Society's Library. This public-spirited donation is most welcome at the present time, when we are preparing to move into new and enlarged premises, and it will help to strengthen the intellectual relations which we are establishing through our Journal with the scholarly world beyond this province and outside India.

The Journal, which continues to be edited by Mr. Jayaswal with the assistance of Dr. Banerji-Sastri, has fully maintained its reputation during the past year. All four issues have been duly brought out and contain over 500 pages of original matter. Two publications of outstanding importance are Bhaṭṭasvāmin's commentary on Kāuṭilya's Arthaśāstra and the Shahabad Journal of Dr. Francis Buchanan. "The Kāuṭilya-Arthaśāstra," wrote Dr. Fleet in 1914, "is a work of very exceptional interest and value." It claims to date from the period 321—296 B.C., composed by Kāuṭilya, the minister of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty. Kāuṭilya is renowned as the greatest Indian exponent of the

art of government, and his work throws light on many obscure chapters in the early history of India. Since its publication in 1909, scholars in India and outside have been discussing its genuineness, and opinion is still divided. Between 1909 and 1925 four different editions by Indian and European scholars, and numerous special studies, show the keenness of the interest it has evoked. The publication in the Journal of the oldest-known "word-for-word" commentary of Bhaṭṭasvāmin, from a manuscript in the Madras Government Library, has therefore been welcomed by all students of ancient Indian polity. Begun in the March issue of 1925, it is expected that it will be completed in June 1926. Messrs. Jayaswal and Banerji-Sastri have consulted every available record which throws any light on the subject, and will discuss them in a critical introduction. Both text and interpretation assume a definiteness otherwise impossible. It is interesting to note in this connection that Bhaṭṭasvāmin corroborates Dr. Jolly's ascription of a knowledge of mercury to Kaṭilya's India, but his theory of a consequent late date has perhaps to be revised in view of Sir John Marshall's recent announcement from Mahenjo-Daro—"They (i.e. the Indus valley Indians of the third Millennium B. C.) were familiar with the working of copper, gold, silver and lead, and probably of mercury also." It is a pity that this valuable text and commentary survives only in the 8th to the 36th *Adhyāyas* of the second *Adāikaraṇa*, or chapter, whereas there are fifteen of the latter.

In the March issue Mr. Jayaswal records some new light on Hindu Political Science Literature. It is in the form of a commentary, by an unknown author, dated 1463 A.D. in the reign of Sultan Bahlol Lodi, on Somadeva-Sūri's *Nītivākyaṃṛta* (c. 10th century A.C.). The manuscript from a Jaina library has been published in the *Maniṭa Chandra Digambara Jaina Series*. The commentator gives the sources of his author with some extracts. About thirty of these sources are hitherto unknown authors of Indian Political Science. The study of politics seems to have developed *pari*

*passu* with that of law from early days, and Digests of politics and of law succeeded the age of original theses in either subject at much about the same time. Mr. Jayaswal quotes a few significant passages, and cites some important authors mentioned in the commentary.

In the same issue, Mr. A. S. Ayyar notices another interesting work on Indian Polity, called the *Chākṣuṣīyam-Arthasāstram*, known only from nineteen stanzas in an anthology entitled the *Sūktiratnakara*, which is still in manuscript in the Travancore Palace Library. The anthology dates from about the 12th to the 13th century. The *Chākṣuṣīyam* is mentioned by Mallinātha (c. 14th century A.C.) The 19 stanzas have been printed and evidently formed part of a systematic treatise now lost.

In sharp contrast to these persistent and widely-spread efforts to ensure ordered government, Mr. Brajendranath Banerji's study of Begum Samru in the March issue gives, from sources entirely Indian, a dismal picture of the misrule prevailing in upper India towards the close of the 18th century. The name of the Begam's husband, Walter Reinhardt, nicknamed Sombre or Samru, the "base renegade" of the inscription in the Patna cemetery, is familiar to us in connection with the atrocious massacres of the 5th or 6th and the 11th October 1763. Mr. Banerji traces how Samru subsequently established the Principality of Sardhana, and how the Begum, who was only 27 years old when he died in 1778, not only succeeded to the administration of his estate but assumed command of his armed forces and loyally supported Shah Alam, the Moghul Emperor of Delhi against his enemies. The narrative stops short at a climax in 1788, though the Begum herself survived it and died 45 years afterwards in full possession of her estate and on good terms with the British Raj. Nevertheless, the grim story of the acts of the traitor Ghulam Qadir and of his subsequent punishment by the Mahratta Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior serves as a reminder of the effects of anarchy and teaches its own lesson.

Dr. Sten Konow gives in the March issue an interesting interpretation of the well-known Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhist formula "*Om Maṇi Padme Hum*", which is specially important in view of the fact that it belongs to a common Indian mentality, particularly developed in Śaivism, and no new creation of Buddhism.

In the same issue Mr. G. Ramdas discusses the historical bearing of some of the aboriginal names in the Rāmāyaṇa. He has applied local knowledge of the south in testing many of the accepted derivations of the place and proper names in the Rāmāyaṇa, and has shown the obvious inadequacy of such derivations. Incidentally he raises many interesting points about the topography of India south of the Vindhya in the epic and classical ages.

In the June issue Mr. H. B. Hannah discusses in his paper, "Recent Discoveries and the Sumerians" the present state of our knowledge regarding the latter, with special reference to their possible Indian origin, and considers that the evidence is inconclusive. Though the work of excavation at Mahenjo-Daro and Harappa has since then been carried further and has been fruitful in finds of rare importance it is still only in its initial stage.

In his paper on Ajanta, Mr. Manuk describes some of the oldest Indian paintings that have survived the vicissitudes of both time and vandalism. He draws instructive parallels between Ajanta and Western Art, and suggests that the reason why the work of the painter and sculptor was left unfinished or has been deliberately mutilated at Ajanta is that Brahmanism reasserted itself over Buddhism.

In the same issue, Dr. Banerji-Sastri brings to light an alleged poem by Kalidasa in a Kashmiri manuscript in Mr. Manuk's collections. It is in Sanskrit, written in Śāradā characters. He

discusses the authenticity of the text, which he considers to be a distorted and incomplete fragment of a longer poem.

In the anthropological section Rai Bahadur S. C. Ray has drawn attention to the close connection between Totemism and Religion. An intimate relation between a group of kindred people and of a class of animals or natural or artificial objects is shown to be an institution known to most primitive peoples, and Mr. Ray has verified this among the Birhōrs, and Orāons and Mūndas of Chota Nagpur. According to these anthropological observations, totemism is claimed as an aspect of "animism" or early religion.

Among miscellaneous contributions may be mentioned one paper in the March issue on the "Impression of Five Fingers" and two in the June number on "The Cult of the Pillar-godling Laur Baba" and "The Deities of Jalkar in the district of Monghyr" by Mr. Kalipada Mitra. Such painstaking collection of local legends is of much value as affording sidelights on sociology and primitive culture. In his Dates of Sanchi Inscriptions Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda discusses the question of the origin and classification of the Brahmi alphabet. Every fresh version necessitates an evaluation of the new data and a revaluation of the old, especially in the field of epigraphy, and the story of the script-growth of India from Aśoka to the 1st century of our era is yet far from complete.

Notable progress has been made during the year as regards the publication of the Buchanan Journals and Reports. In the March issue Mr. J. F. W. James' article on the River Front of Patna at the beginning of the 18th century accompanies reproductions of two interesting plans, both dating from 1812, the year in which Buchanan was in Patna. Though drawn on crude and unorthodox lines, several of the houses still standing along the river bank can be identified on these plans. Mr. James makes it clear that none of these are Dutch, as has been generally supposed. The oldest English building in Patna



itself is the Factory, dating from about 1710, and in Bankipore, that now occupied by the Munsifs' Courts, which was built for the Commander-in-Chief in 1763-64.

One of these plans is reproduced from a photograph of the original manuscript Plan of the City of Patna in the Library of the India Office, which accompanied Buchanan's Report. Though reduced to two-thirds of the original size it shows clearly enough all the notes in Urdu omitted from the much more reduced copy in Martin's Eastern India, which is rendered almost valueless by the omission.

The major portion of Parts III and IV of our Journal for the current year, which have recently been published as a double number, contains the Shahabad Journal, edited by Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham. In broad outlines the arrangement of Mr. Oldham's edition resembles that of its predecessor, that is to say, he has contributed an introduction and maps as well as a series of appendices and footnotes to the Journal itself; but the latter are considerably more copious and are, as he himself says, deliberately intended for a wider circle of readers, who are not conversant with Bihar or its vernaculars.

During the year the Patna-Gaya Journal has been published as a separate volume by Government, other appendices and an index, for which I am also responsible, having been attached; and it is hoped that Mr. Oldham's edition of the Shahabad Journal will be similarly published shortly, together with the index which he has kindly supplied.

The only Journal, therefore, which still remains unpublished is that of Bhagalpur, including Monghyr and the Santal Parganas. The Journal itself is ready for the press but it still awaits an editor. Though I am perhaps in a special position to appreciate the nature of the work required, it must be evident to all who have examined and compared the two already published, that in order to maintain the standard which has been set, the editor must not only be personally acquainted with most of the districts concerned, and have access to all necessary references, but also must have sufficient leisure to

undertake the work. I trust that it will be possible to announce at next year's meeting that final arrangements have been made with regard to this Journal, which is in several respects the most interesting of the series.

As Sir H. McPherson stated last year, the Society is now in a position to commence the publication of a complete edition of Dr. Buchanan's Reports, thanks to the generous donation by the Maharaja Bahadur of Hatwa. The Secretary of State in Council has recently granted us permission to copy and publish all the portions omitted by Montgomery Martin, and in doing so has suggested that each volume should be provided with an index, and that possibly the Society might also include reproductions of those drawings which were omitted by Montgomery Martin. These suggestions have already been considered by the Council, and will as far as possible be carried out.

We have decided to publish the complete Reports relating to Bihar in their chronological order, commencing with the volume on Purnea, which Buchanan surveyed in 1809-10, and following this up with the reports on Bhagalpur, Patna and Gaya, and Shahabad, in the order mentioned. It is not proposed to undertake the task of adding notes, as in the corresponding series of Journals, and this we think is a task which may well be left to future contributors to our Journal. Hence the work of the editor of each Report will be considerably lightened, and we hope that the publications can follow one another without undue delay.

A complete copy of the extensive omissions from the Purnea Report has been made for us at the India Office by Miss L. M. Anstey, and has already reached India. I have undertaken to arrange and see this volume through the press. As the copy of the corresponding omissions from the Bhagalpur Report, which I took in 1924, is almost complete Miss Anstey has now started similar work on the Patna-Gaya volume, and we expect to receive this also during the current year.

The search for Sanskrit manuscripts started in Sir Edward Gait's time and vigorously prosecuted under Sir Hugh McPherson, is making satisfactory progress. The Mithila manuscripts have been arranged in eight volumes and the publication of a descriptive catalogue edited by Messrs. Jayaswal and Banerji-Sastri has been entrusted to the local Khadgavilas Press of Bankipur. The expenses will be met from the generous donation of Rs. 10,000 by the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga, announced last year. The first volume with a critical introduction and an index will be completed within the next month. The search Pandit is now carrying on his work at Bhagalpur. A similar arrangement for Oriya manuscripts is under contemplation.

In conclusion, I would like to refer to a paper on the Barābar Hills which I contributed to the Society's Journal in December 1915. As this was being reprinted for the volume containing the Patna-Gaya Journal, I have taken the opportunity to add a supplementary note based on later information. In that paper I had identified the Barābar Hills with Gorathagiri, as mentioned in the Mahābhārata, and it is now known from the papers on the Hathigumphā inscription of Khāravela which Messrs. R. D. Banerji and K. P. Jayaswal published in the Journal two years later, that in the eighth year of his reign the army of Khāravela, the Jaina Rājā of Kalinga, was at Gorathagiri. The inscription also states that in the twelfth year of his reign Khāravela reached Pāṭaliputra, where he recovered the trophies which Aśoka had removed from Kalinga. Hence it is evident that for a brief period in the second century B.C. there must have been close, if not exactly friendly, relations between Orissa and Bihar.

I have suggested, in this supplementary note, that in the Barābar Hills there still exists a memorial of this connection, this being the well-known Lomaśa Rishi cave. That is to say, I believe this cave was begun under Khāravela's orders, and left unfinished, the façade at least having been made by workmen from Kalinga. Dr. Banerji-Sastri who had accompanied me to

the locality in order to examine the evidence in favour of this suggestion, has just returned from a visit to the Khandagiri hills near Bhubaneswar, where he has examined the Hathigumphā with its inscription, as well as the other caves in the immediate neighbourhood. He now supports the theory so strongly that I think it is one of sufficient interest to bring to the notice of the Society at this meeting. If correct, it will explain the curious differences which have puzzled archæologists in the past between this cave and the other three Barabar caves, which all bear Aśoka's dedicatory inscriptions. These are, in particular, the unfinished state of its interior, and the absence of any dedicatory inscription, as well as the existence of the elaborately carved *chaitya* porch, with which it alone has been provided.



### III.—Notes on the Barabar Hills.

By V. H. Jackson, M.A. (Oxon.), I.E.S.

The following notes on the Lomaśa Rishi cave, and on the dedicatory inscription of the Karna Chaupar cave, are supplementary to those contained in a paper which I contributed to the second number of the Journal in 1915,<sup>1</sup> and are based on information which was not then available.

#### (A) *The Lomaśa Rishi Cave.*

In Part II of that paper I described two newly discovered inscriptions in Brāhmī characters, which established an identification of the Barābar Hills with Gorathagiri, the hill mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Sabhā Parva, Ch. XX. The larger of these, which reads *Gorathāgiro*, is found on an isolated boulder over 100 yards N. W. of the ridge which contains three of the four Barābar caves; but the other, which reads *Goradhagiri* in characters which seem to be of somewhat later type, has been cut on the western face of the ridge itself, only six or seven yards away from the entrance of the Lomaśa Rishi cave.

Two years after this identification of Gorathagiri was published, Mr. R. D. Banerjee detected the word *Goradhagiri* in his impression of the Hathi-gumphā inscription of Khāra-vela (in the Khandagiri Hills near Bhubaneswar) at the end of the seventh line. It is now clear from the editions of this inscription published by himself<sup>2</sup> and by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal<sup>3</sup> that in the eighth year of Khāra-vela's reign (about 165 B.C.) his army was at the Barābar Hills, and four years afterwards at Pāṭaliputra. The Hathi-gumphā itself and its inscription date from the following year.

This new fact regarding the relations between Bihar and Orissa in the second century B.C., together with the similarity

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<sup>1</sup> J.B.O.R.S., Vol. I, Part II, December 1915, pp. 159—172.

<sup>2</sup> J.B.O.R.S., Vol. III, Part IV, December 1917, pp. 486—507.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 425—485.

of the second of the two inscriptions described in my paper to Mr. Banerjee's discovery, and its close proximity to the entrance of that curiously anomalous cave called the Lomaśa Rishi, render it quite probable, in my opinion, not only that much of the remains of buildings, fortifications, etc., still traceable in the neighbourhood are those of Khāra-vela's army of occupation, but also that the excavation of the Lomaśa Rishi cave itself was commenced under his orders, and left unfinished because for some reason or other which is not yet known his occupation of Gorathagiri was suddenly abandoned. This cave, which was evidently intended to resemble its immediate neighbour, the Sudāma cave, in every respect internally, is the only one of the seven Barābar or Nāgarjuni caves, which is unfinished or which bears no dedicatory inscription. The polish of its walls, in the places where these are polished at all, is distinctly less perfect. On the other hand, it is the only one of these caves which possesses a well-finished and polished *chailga* porch, with a frieze of crocodiles and elephants. I believe that this is the only example in Northern India of the horse-shoe-gabled type of porch, which is not uncommon in the caves found in Southern and Western India. There are examples in the Orissa caves, e.g. the Rāni-gumphā ; and the striking resemblance of the Lomaśa Rishi entrance to that of the Guntupalle cave-temple in the Kistna district, and to the façade of a modern Toda dwelling, has been noticed by Longhurst in the Madras Archæological Report for 1916-17, page 31.

(B) *The Karna Chaupar Dedicatory Inscription.*

In the third section of the previous paper, I discussed the conditions most favourable for detecting or deciphering indistinct inscriptions, with special reference to the inscription of Aśoka by the side of the entrance to the Karna Chaupar cave, which is so much defaced that no two authorities agree regarding its proper interpretation.

Following up the suggestions then made, on the 30th December 1921 I examined this inscription after dark, using

a syringe to drench the rock with water and also employing a new idea, namely, a petrol lantern to throw a bright light at different angles upon the inscription. Under these conditions the improvement in visibility was remarkable, and it became evident that the inscription had been cut on a flat and polished surface, though this is now much weather-worn; that in certain places damage to the surface was perhaps accidental, but that in one place at least it was undoubtedly intentional.

Each of the first four lines originally contained ten letters. In the third line the first letter has been badly damaged and is now undecipherable, and the second is not much better. In the fourth line all the letters after the fourth, *kha*, have been intentionally and completely obliterated, and the chiselling extends upwards, probably accidentally, to include the sixth letter of the third line, and downwards into a portion of the polished surface on which no inscription has ever existed.

The remaining letters agree generally with Cunningham's transcript, except the last two letters of the second line, which are certainly not *meta*; the fourth letter of this line, *tha*, has a central dot just as in the *Gorāthagiro* inscription, and the eighth letter of the third line is undoubtedly *gam* instead of *ya*. The first letter of the fifth line, which is followed by a *svastika* and a sign resembling an upright dagger, which may be a *trisula*, though like *ni* is really *nā*. The fish mentioned by Caddy is below these symbols and is quite distinct. It possesses a well-marked dorsal fin and appeared to be headless, but closer examination in February 1925 has shown that the stone surface within the outline of the head, which can be traced, has either chipped off or crumbled away.

I found no signs definitely confirming Kittoe's idea that a sentence had been cut over the doorway of this cave, but the rock in this region is much more weather-worn and parts may have broken away. Polish acts as a preservative.

In the accompanying plate each of the first four lines, as recorded successively by Kittoe, Cunningham, Fleet and myself, have been photographed and set down in their proper sequence.

Owing to the definite statements of Cunningham, it has hitherto been accepted that the fourth to ninth characters of the fourth line give the name of the hill, either as *khalati* or *khalanti pavata*, thus resembling Khalatikapavatasi which is quite clear in the third line of the Viśvāmītra cave inscription; and that the last letter of this line was *di*, in order to complete the word *dinā*. If this assumption be correct, the re-examination shows that two facts are clear. First, that the name of the hill in this inscription began with *kha*, and that nothing else can possibly be deciphered now. Second, that this inscription differs from those of the other five in the Barābar and Nāgarjuni Hills in that it omits the name of the sect to which the cave was dedicated; unless indeed the combination of a *svastika* followed by a dagger (or inverted *trisūla*?) can be regarded as a symbol of the sect of the Ājivikas, who are definitely named in the other inscriptions.

There are several considerations, however, which justify the suggestion that Cunningham was so far misled by the clearness of the fourth letter *kha* as to imagine the rest of the line. While there can be hardly any doubt that the last letter was the first of the final word *dinā*, there is a missing locative, as Senart pointed out, in "*khalati pavata*" which cannot be supplied from the other five obliterated characters in this line. It will be seen from the plate that Kittoe, who set down exactly what he saw, could make nothing out of these letters. There is no reason to suppose that the general state of the inscription has materially deteriorated since Kittoe's time. His version of the second letter in the third line, at any rate, agrees almost exactly with mine.

We know that the word *Ājivikehi*, which contains five letters, occurs in each of the other five Barābar and Nāgarjuni dedicatory inscriptions, and that it has been intentionally defaced in four of them. Is it not probable that the same word *Ājivikehi* occurred in the fourth line of the Karna Chaupar inscription, which has clearly been deliberately obliterated, and that this inscription ended with the words *iyam kubhā Supiyekha Ājivikehi dinā*?



## IV.—The Ajivikas.

By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D. (Oxon.)

In the 6th century B.C., India was passing through a period of religious enthusiasms. The Upaniṣadic Brāhmaṇas were laying down rules of life in the Dharmasūtras.<sup>1</sup> Vardhamāna and Gautama were preaching their respective view-points of salvation in Jainism and Buddhism. It was at this epoch, Gosāla<sup>2</sup> founded his sect of *Ājīvikas*, noted for their dislike of austerities bordering on fanaticism. By the 2nd century B.C., the first three had coalesced into Hinduism<sup>3</sup>—each also counting a separate following, Buddhism specially in Bengal and Bihar<sup>4</sup> and Jainism in Orissa.<sup>5</sup> But the *Ājīvikas*, as a sect, practically disappear from history. An enquiry into their doctrines and practices as well as their relation to rival creeds may throw some light on their ultimate fate.

Vardhamāna, Gautama and Gosāla were one and all against the Brāhmaṇas.<sup>6</sup> They used the language of and drew disciples mostly from the mass. The Brāhmaṇa **Brahmanism.** looked on and ignored them. In the Maurya days (4th—3rd century B.C.) he lacked political prestige. At their close, (2nd century B.C.) Patañjali on Pāṇini II, 4·56 quietly sums up with an ironical reference to *Devānāṃpiya*.<sup>7</sup> Brāhmaṇism absorbs the lessons of five

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<sup>1</sup> Jolly, *Recht and Sitte*; *Z.D.M.G.*, L, 507f.

<sup>2</sup> Abhayadeva on the Kalpasūtra, Ed. Benares, pp. 1213b, 1214a. Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, 1925, pp. 29, 36, 59; 1918, p. 409.

<sup>3</sup> Glasenapp, *Der Hinduismus*, pp. 23-39.

<sup>4</sup> *J.B.Q.E.S.*, 1919, pp. 175; 19.

<sup>5</sup> *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II. Plate XXIV.

<sup>6</sup> Huber, *Aśvaghosa's Sūtrālaṅkāra*, Preface, p. VII.

<sup>7</sup> cf. Pāṇini, VI. 3-21.

centuries of territorial expansion and moral conflicts. Hinduism ushers in a new era<sup>1</sup> and closes the chapter to begin another. The Ājivikas in turn settled down as Vaiṣṇava ascetics in popular estimation (Kern. I.A. 20,361ff. ; Bühler I, 20,362).

But the internecine struggle between Vardhamāna, Gautama and Gosāla was bitter and abiding. Gautama and Buddhism followed a different path. It was a united camp for the uplift of the masses against the Brāhmanas and a new ideal of salvation. It accorded real, if not friendly, acceptance to every opposed

### Buddhism.

sect or creed, chiefly Brāhmanism, Jainism and Ājivikas.<sup>2</sup> It naturally reflects current conception. It is interesting to note that to a Buddhist there is not much to choose between a Brāhmaṇa, Jaina or Ājivika—all “followers of the wrong way” :—

(1)<sup>3</sup> *Ājivikānaṃ micchkhātapo.*

*Ājiviko aññataro.* I. 498-17. The Pāli Jātaka.

(2) ... *Pāyamato ājivo* ... The Puggala-paññatti.

(3) *Micchhājivo* ... The Saṃyutta Nikāya.<sup>4</sup>

(4) *Ājivaka-sāvako* ... The Aṅguttara Nikāya.<sup>5</sup>

(5) *Ājivakanañ esa anucchaviko* ... Jambukājivaka-vatthu :  
The commentary on the Dhammapada.<sup>6</sup>

(6) *Adrākṣit Upako Ājivako Chagiavantam durato*,<sup>7</sup> etc.

In most cases the Buddhist texts use the form *ājivaka*. It is equivalent to the commoner Sanskrit form *ājīvika*. The latter form is also found in MSS. C and C<sup>a</sup>, cited by Norman<sup>8</sup> in his edition of the commentary on the Dhammapada D. H. P. V. II.

<sup>1</sup> Bühler, *A. S. W. I.*, IV. 109.

<sup>2</sup> *Samannaphalasuttam.*

<sup>3</sup> *Puggala-pannatti*, IV.

<sup>4</sup> *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, Ed. by Mrs. Rhys Davids, Vol. V, 1904, pp. 14, 76.

<sup>5</sup> *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, Ed. by Morris, 1885, pt. III 72, III, 117-2-5; and Ed.

by Rhys Davids, 1910, Vol. VI., p. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Norman, *Dhammapada Commentary* D.H.P. 1911, I, 309; II. 55-6,

<sup>7</sup> Senart, *Le Mahāvastu*, Vol. III, 535.

<sup>8</sup> Norman, *op. cit.* II, p. 55, 56.

It is obvious from the above that while Brāhmanism ignored the Ājivika, Buddhism accepted him as a fact neither better nor worse than a Brāhmaṇa or a Jaina. He has no cause for special resentment against either an Ājivika or a Jaina. The Buddhist rulers Aśoka and Daśaratha bestow cave dwellings on the Ājivikas<sup>1</sup> at Barābar and Nāgarjūni Hills in the same spirit as they build *stūpas* for the Buddhists<sup>2</sup> or order alms to the Brāhmaṇas<sup>3</sup> elsewhere. The later resentment of the Buddhist centered against not the Jain or the Ājivika but the Brāhmaṇa.<sup>4</sup>

But the relation is different between Vardhamāna and Gosāla. The latter's antecedents<sup>5</sup> are noteworthy. Son of a professional mendicant Maṅkhali and his wife Bhaddā, he saw the light of day in the cowshed of the wealthy Brāhmaṇa Gobahula at Sāvātthi. Early in life he met Mahāvīra at Nalanda. At the sight of respects paid to Mahāvīra by the rich, viz. Vijaya. Ananda and Sudāmsana he foresaw his own vocation. He approached Mahāvīra to be accepted as a disciple. Mahāvīra declined. Gosāla "gave away his clothes, vessels, shoes and pictures to a Brāhmaṇa, shaved off his hair and beard" and got in. He practised asceticism with Mahāvīra for six years, but never really relished it. Outside Kumagāma sat the ascetic Vesiyayaṇa "with upraised arms and upturned face in the glare of the sun, while his body was swarming with lice."

### Jainism.

Gosāla goes out of his way to inquire "whether he was a sage or a bed of lice." The holy men of the Niggantha order were never particularly squeamish about mundane affairs. Their teachers sat "quite naked, with dishevelled hair, in the midst of the

<sup>1</sup> Barābar Hill Cave Inscriptions. Hultzsch, *CII*, 1925, pp. xxviii.

<sup>2</sup> Aśoka Rock Edict xii.

<sup>3</sup> Pillar Edict, vii. ; Rhys Davids, *S.B.E.*, xi-105, n-I.

<sup>4</sup> Huber, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *Bhagavati*, says xv, uddesa I.

most disgusting uncleanness, under a shed prepared for them".<sup>1</sup> It is a Buddhist appreciation. But the Jaina account itself leaves no doubt: "the mendicants, because they never bathe, are covered with uncleanness; they smell after it, they smell badly, they are disagreeable, they are loathsome."<sup>2</sup> And these were the earliest adherents of Mahāvira.<sup>3</sup> At any rate Gosāla pretended that he had enough of them. The apparent reason for separation was harmless<sup>4</sup>, viz. Gosāla's theory that not only plants but all living beings were capable of re-animation.<sup>5</sup> Gosāla now gave out that he had acquired magical powers, become a Jina and found his sect of Ājivikas—long before his master Mahāvira's Jinahood. He started preaching at a Sāvattthī shop of a lay disciple Hālāhalā by name. He attracted a number of ascetics and established his theory of "the eight Mahānimittas." Mahāvira strongly disapproved of these doings. In the mutual recrimination that followed Mahāvira's chances of founding an all-India religious movement were seriously jeopardized, while the Ājivikas and their chief drew upon themselves the inveterate hatred of every right thinking Jaina.<sup>6</sup>

This note proposes to trace not the philosophical precepts but the mutual relation of the warring parties. Gosāla classifies humanity into six classes—himself at the top; Bhikkhus (Buddhist), Niggaṇṭhas (Jains) and Ājiviyas (Gosālins), the good who appreciate Gosāla; and the bad who go against him.<sup>7</sup> It is clear that the Buddhists, Jains and Ājivikas formed the largest and most important groups of ascetics.<sup>8</sup> But Gosāla and his sect are sharply distinguished from the

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<sup>1</sup> Bigandet, *Life or Legend of Buddha*, Vol. I., pp. 257-9.

<sup>2</sup> Jacobi, *Achārāṅga Sūtra*, II. 2. 2. § 1.

<sup>3</sup> Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 226-34.

<sup>4</sup> Hoernle, *Uāsagadasāo*, Fascic. III. 1887, Appendix, pp. 3-4.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Leumann, *Ovassāya Sutta*, SS §§—116.

<sup>7</sup> *Sumaṇṇaphala—Sutta—Pannā* in *Sumaṇṇala—Vilāsini* Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya* II. 20.

<sup>8</sup> Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, Tibetan Dulva, page 104.

Jainas by their repudiation of the doctrine that setting aside a *mahāsatta* (Great Being), the rest of humanity can acquire *arhatship* and salvation through acts done by others, i.e. vicarious merit through the instructions and exhortations of others. "By this denial," exclaims a true Jaina, "that fool i.e. Gosāla, has given a blow to the authority of a Jina."<sup>1</sup> An added element of bitterness lay in the fact that this subversive propaganda was carried on by the disciple only after six years of austerities while the master continued his for full twelve years.<sup>2</sup> Thus this unclothed anchorite, who had abandoned his cloth to save his skin<sup>3</sup> marshalled his Ājīvika monks while the Master of the faithful was still seeking enlightenment.<sup>4</sup>

The Jaina sūtras<sup>5</sup> record the Jaina triumph. They took up the challenge.<sup>6</sup> "Now a monk who knows (the truth about) Mokṣa should answer them, i.e. revilers who are far off from perfection" (the Ājīvikas).<sup>7</sup> Mahāvīra told Gosāla that he acted like a thief who hard-pressed by villagers sought different disguises in out-of-the-way places fondly imagining that he would escape detection.<sup>8</sup> A contemplation of the placid Jinakalpas, Arhats and Tirthaṅkaras in painting<sup>9</sup> and sculpture<sup>10</sup> would hardly suggest such warmth of feeling, and much less of language. But the Jainas could be annoyed — "I will hold him" said Upali<sup>11</sup> an adherent of Mahāvīra with

<sup>1</sup> *Sumaṇṇaphala—Sutta—Paṇṇā*, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Hoernle, *E.R.E.*, Vol. I. page 259.

<sup>3</sup> Purāṇas; also cf. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, page 301.

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, page 53.

<sup>5</sup> Jacobi, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VII pages 472ff.

<sup>6</sup> *S.B.E.*, XLV, 267, no. I.

<sup>7</sup> *Silāṅka. Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, Bk. I. sec. 3, ch. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Bhagavati*, op. cit. page 1245a.

<sup>9</sup> Coomaraswamy, *Cat. Ind. Collec. Boston Museum*, 1924, pages Plates I—XXXIX.

<sup>10</sup> Cohn, *Indische Plastik*, Plates 77—82.

<sup>11</sup> Hardy, op. cit. page 276.

reference to Buddha, "as a man who seizes a sheep by its long hair, and it kicks and struggles but cannot get away, or as a toddy-drawer who takes the reticulated substance he uses to strain his liquor, knocking it on the ground that it may be free from dirt, etc."<sup>1</sup> The human touch gains in poignancy in Gosāla easily outdoing his much-wronged teacher in the use of abusive language.<sup>2</sup> Even the mild Savvāṇubhuī, one of Mahāvīra's disciples, is moved to protest against such shameless ingratitude towards his former Master.<sup>3</sup> Mahāvīra predicted dire consequences to the traitor—from "bilious fever"<sup>4</sup> to "an interminable series of existences". He exhorted all his followers never to hold any intercourse with the heretical Gosāla and the Ājīvikas.<sup>5</sup>

From the 6th to the 3rd century B.C., Buddhism under a common leader spread all over India and beyond. Divided counsel crippled Jainism at the start. But the Jains have had the satisfaction of knowing that the once powerful Ājīvikas survive only as a memory.<sup>6</sup>

This Jain-Ājīvika hostility one would expect to see corroborated in the domain of archæology. The following instance deserves special notice. The present Barābar Hill, 15 miles north of Gaya, was known in the 3rd-2nd century B.C.—Devānāmpīya (Asoka)—Daśaratha Maurya epoch as the Khalatika Hill.<sup>7</sup> In the 6th-7th century A.C. under Maukhari Anantavarman<sup>8</sup> it was called the Pravara hill. At

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Hørnle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, For. III. Appendix, page 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, page 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Bhagavati*, *op cit.* page 1250a.

<sup>5</sup> Rockhill, *op. cit.* Appendix I. pages 253-5.

<sup>6</sup> Barua, *J. D. L.*, II. 1-80.

<sup>7</sup> Hultzsch, *C. I. I. op. cit.*, p. 181.

<sup>8</sup> Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, nos. 48-50. Smith, E. H. I., 1914, page 312.

some stage between the two it bore the name of Goratha Giri

**Goradhagiri Inscription.**

as proved by two inscriptions discovered by Jackson<sup>1</sup> in 1913 and 1914, one reading *gorathāgiri* the other *goradhagirau*. R. D. Banerji held that the script of the latter was southern Brāhmī. The re-reading<sup>2</sup> of the Hathigumphā inscription of Khāravela, king of Kalinga at Udayagiri in Orissa, dated in the 2nd century B. C., brought to light the name in the same form and script, viz. *goradhagiri*, l. 7. "In the eighth year, he (Khāra-vela) having got stormed the Gorathagiri (fortress) of great enclosure (lit. wall barrier) by a great army".<sup>3</sup>

Of the seven caves, two in the Barābar Hill and three in the Nāgārjunī Hill mention the grant of those caves to "the Ājivikas" (*ājivikehi*). In three cases the word *ājivikehi* has been deliberately chiselled off, every other letter entirely untouched. Who could have done it? It must have been done by people who could read the script and who had some special cause of complaint against the Ājivikas. Three hypotheses present themselves. It was done either (a) by a Hindu, (b) a Buddhist or (c) a Jaina. (a) According to Hultzsch,<sup>4</sup> it might have been done under Maukhari Anantavarman who dedicated one Barābar cave to Kṛṣṇa and two Nāgārjunī ones to Śiva and Pārvatī.<sup>5</sup> Hultzsch's view is untenable: (i) he assumes without assigning any reason that Anantavarman in the 6th-7th century A.C. was familiar with Aśoka Brāhmī of the 3rd century B.C. (ii) a Hindu had no special grievance against an Ājivika, who was popularly regarded as a follower of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa (Kern)<sup>6</sup>, one of the Hindu

<sup>1</sup> Jackson, *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1915, pp. 159-172.

<sup>2</sup> *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1918, pt. IV. pp. 364-404.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 378.

<sup>4</sup> Hultzsch, *C. I. I.*, *op. cit.* p. xxviii.

<sup>5</sup> *Gupta Inscriptions*, nos. 48-50.

<sup>6</sup> Kern, *J. A.*, 20, pp. 361 ff.

Pantheon ; (iii) if anybody, it is certainly the name *devānampiya* Aśoka which might be supposed to invite comment from a Hindu<sup>1</sup> but this is left altogether unmolested. (b) That a Buddhist would think of damaging a work of their pious king would seem on the face of it improbable. It would be an act of sacrilege even if there existed a particular animus, it is unlikely in its absence. (c) The only alternative left is a Jain. The Jain-Ājivika enmity makes it almost a certainty. The only point to determine is whether it is the act of a stray Jain or one who can be localized in history. The Hathigumpha inscription supplies the answer. Khāravela a follower of Jina<sup>2</sup> was at Goradha Giri in the eighth year of his reign, i.e. just after the Aśoka-Daśaratha time. And as a pious Jaina, he attempted to wipe out old scores by obliterating the hated name of the impostor Gosāla's Ājivika followers.

This epigraphic evidence of Khāravela's visit to Goradha Giri is borne out by the remarkable façade of the Lomaśa Rṣi cave.<sup>3</sup> Jackson has sought to solve the present puzzle<sup>4</sup> by drawing attention to the details in the inlaid decoration of animals and its close proximity to the *Goradhagirau* inscription. In Jackson's photograph (see plate) taken in 1925 there are two crocodiles at either end—entirely missed by Fergusson.<sup>5</sup> The crocodile design is hardly ever found in the North. Like the solitary inscription to its left, the unique façade with its characteristic crocodile and elephant *motif* looks like an importation from the South. Khāravela's inscription once more offers a test and a verification. It lies in the very centre of a large number of caves with almost identical façades.<sup>1</sup> The details in decoration vary. Instead of elephants occur lotus or

<sup>1</sup> Patañjali on Pāṇini II, 4-56.

<sup>2</sup> J.B.O.R.S., 1918, pp. 385-6.

<sup>3</sup> Rapson, *Camb. Hist. Ind.* Vol. I, plate XI, no. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Fergusson, *Hist. Ind. and East. Architecture* (Burgess and Spies) I, 130ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Cave Temples of India*, pp. 37ff. Smith, *Hist. Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, p. 20.



lions in the same combination. But even the poorest cave has the same structural façade and the crocodiles at either lower end are almost always there. A comparison of the two sites leaves hardly a doubt that the Goradhagiri façade and inscription are intimately connected with the Udayagiri (Khāravela) inscriptions and façades both done by a Jaina who signed his creed in the mutilation of the letters "Ājivikehi".

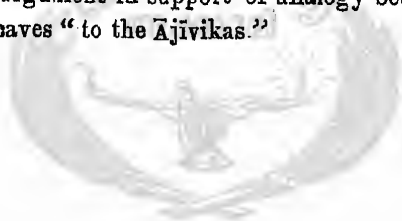
The above suggestion raises another interesting issue—a re-reading of the Barābar Hill Karna Chopar inscription. It was first lithographed and noticed by Kittoe in *J.A.S.B.*, 16, pp. 401ff., then discussed by Burnouf in *Lotus* pp. 779ff., edited by Senart in *Les Inscriptions de Piyādasi* 2, 209ff, *I.A.* 20, pp. 168ff., by Bühler in *A.I.*, 20, pp. 361ff., with Fleet's facsimile by Cunningham in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. I, Plate XVI. From the Plate (see Pl.) prepared by Jackson after a careful scrutiny on the spot, it would seem that the five broken letters were quite illegible when Kittoe took his impression. They begin to grow surprisingly clearer in Cunningham's successive versions. Ready imagination makes up for the unresponsive rock. Once the suggestion is made that it stands for *Khalatikapavatasi* on the analogy of the other inscription, it is copied and carried on, e.g. Woolner's *Aśoka Text and Glossary* Pt. II., 1924, p. 82 and Hultzsch's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I. *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, 1925, p. 182. Hultzsch positively misleads by inserting ten dots before the last letter 'di' in line 4 which make this line appear longer than the preceding three, whereas there is actually room for not more than five characters. Cunningham explained away one syllable\* of *Khalatikapavatasi* which could not be squeezed in. Hultzsch\* takes the full reading for granted and wrestles with the meaning "me, by me this pronoun may refer to an unnamed donor, or **Karna Chopar** with a clumsy change in the construction. **Cave Inscript.** the king himself." But clumsiness clings to the mentality that forgets that three things

\* Rapson, *Camb. Hist. Ind.* Vol. I. Plate XXVII.

\* Bühler, *I.A.* 20, 36, ff.

\* Hultzsch, *op. cit.* p. 182.

are essentially important in every grant—viz. the donor, the donee and the object given (a). In the first inscription “Piyadasi” is the donor, “Ājivikehi” are the donee and “Nigoha cave” the object of gift. (b) In the second “Piyadasi” is the donor, “Ājivikehi” the donee and “a cave in the Khalatika hill”, the object; as the cave has no special appellation like “Nigoha” or later in the third inscription “Supiye” it is necessary to describe it thus. (c) In the third “Piyadasi” is the donor, “Supiye cave” is the object of gift. But where is the donee? Moreover it is not at all necessary even by analogy to insert *Khalatikapavatasi* as the cave has a name like the first one and does not require further specialization. On the other hand, the name of the donee must come, both by analogy and to complete the sense. Jackson supplies “Ājivikehi” while the fact that the letters have become illegible through deliberate chipping off is another argument in support of analogy bestowing all the six inscribed caves “to the Ājivikas.”



## V.—The Meaning of the Words *Buru* and *Bonga* in Santali.

By Rev. P. O. Bodding.

In the late Dr. A. Campbell's Santali-English dictionary, up to this time the only Santali dictionary published, *buru* is found separately mentioned three times, not counting a number of words having *buru* as a defining prefix.

The meaning given of the first *buru* is "mountain"; the next *buru* is stated to be "a spirit, an object of worship. Cf. *bonga*;" the last *buru* is given as meaning "a religious festival and fair of the semi-Hinduized Bhūiyas".

The last-mentioned meaning I shall not say anything about; it is a very local use of the word, confined to certain parts of Bihar and not known to the ordinary Santal living away from the region alluded to. This *buru* does not belong to the language as a whole and will have to be explained as being a special application of the word, owing to the locality.

What I here wish to say a few words about, is the original meaning of *buru*, and incidentally the origin of the word *bonga*.

As I think Dr. Campbell's words are to be understood and as they have undoubtedly been understood by an authority like Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray (in his work on the Mundas and now quite lately in his paper Totemism and Religion,<sup>1</sup> published in the June 1925 number of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society), the original meaning of *buru* should be "a spirit". In his dictionary Dr. Campbell says: "The primary meaning of *buru* is the same as that of *bonga*

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<sup>1</sup> This last-mentioned article was the immediate cause of my writing this article. I also should like to say that I am very far from in any way wishing to criticize the late Dr. Campbell; we were friends, and like all his friends I estimated him highly and held him dear.

(q.v.). The two words are often joined together, as *bonga buru*, *bonga* being a gloss on *buru*. The modern word *bonga* has so entirely superseded the more ancient *buru*, that the present generation of Santals are ignorant of its real signification."

I once, many years ago, asked my old friend how he made this out; so far as I can remember he had nothing more to say than what is found in his dictionary. I am convinced that he was mistaken, both as to the original meaning of *buru* and also as to a recent introduction of the word *bonga*, and I shall in the following try to show why I think so.

I agree with Dr. Campbell that there does not seem to be any reason why we should suppose that we have to do with two separate words *buru*. If this were the case, we should have to presuppose two different sources for two words, sounding exactly alike. This might naturally be quite possible; but there is no such need here.

We have in Santali one word, *buru*, which has got two so widely different meanings as 'a spirit' and "mountain". Supposing the word, as we do, to be one and the same, the question to decide is, which is the probable original meaning and how has the one meaning developed into the other.

Before answering this question there are a few remarks of a more general nature to be made.

As is well known, the names of persons may be used for material objects. A look at a trade price-list will give any number of instances. A few of the names so used have become so common as to be incorporated in the dictionaries, words like a mackintosh, a brougham, a napoleon, and so on. We speak of a Rubens, a Tizian, etc., meaning not the man, but his work. The name of a person may, for some reason or other, be applied to a material object. As we are here to discuss "a spirit", it might be remembered that the word "spirit" in European languages has become the name of "strong distilled liquor", for obvious reasons.

If the word *buru* in Santali originally meant "a spirit", the second meaning of "mountain" would have to be the result of

a development analogous to what has just been mentioned. It seems difficult, and I cannot call to mind any example of the Santals making use of this kind of metaphor, and it is against the genius of the Santal language to use the name of a living being for anything inanimate.

There is another class of metaphor found all over the world, in use in remote antiquity and at the present day; the above mentioned mental process is reversed; the name of a material object is used to signify living beings, an individual or an assembly of such.

For some reason or other, e.g., to guard the sanctity and honour of a person, to avoid the necessity of bringing a person, even in speech only, forward or out, to have a tangible concrete reality, where perhaps no individuals are known, or no individual would be fully representative, where there is a number of individuals, and so on,—the place or residence of any one in power or authority, or of persons who work or do business there, is used instead of the person or persons in question.

We need only call to mind names like Pharaoh (lit. great house), Mikado (lit. august door), the Sublime Porte, Quai d'Orsay, Downing Street, Throgmorton Street, Scotland Yard, Rome, the House, Temple, Court, Crown, and so on. A large number of similar expressions might be brought forward from many languages.

What especially interests us here is that we among the Santals also find many examples of a similar way of expressing oneself, of using words ordinarily denoting the inanimate for the animate. We shall perhaps not find many metaphors exactly like the examples quoted above; but the tendency to make use of such metaphors is there. A couple of examples will show what is found. *Lq bir*, lit. burnt forest, is a commonly used word for the hunt-council. The Santals set fire to the jungle at the commencement of the hot season; during this they have their yearly hunts where the whole country-side is supposed to come along (naturally only men); after having hunted during the day they sit during the night to adjudicate Santal matters; the *lq bir* is their tribal

**High-court.** *Kulhi durup'*, it. street sitting, is another word for a council, the most used Santal word for a village panchayat or other council (they now also use other borrowed words). *Cikâr pindâ*, lit. the smooth veranda, is used as a veiled name for a prison. If a person has been bitten by a snake, the general way of telling it is to say, that so and so has been hurt by a twig (*kaḍec'*); here, however, the Passive voice is always employed, and the expression is likely due to a peculiarity of the Santals that shall presently be mentioned.

It should, however, be noted, that the Santal language does not seem to have reached quite so far as to wholly substitute the one term for the other. They will, to mention one peculiarity, when making use of these expressions, generally employ the plural (about the indefinite, or also literally, many) to signify the subject.

There is one peculiarity of the Santals that might be pointed out here; it touches the matter disussed.

To a Santal the name of a person seems to be something more than it is to us, anyhow at the present time. One's name is the property of the person concerned, in some way it is a part of himself and represents him. The mentioning of somebody's name may call the person to one's presence; to use somebody's proper name may be thought an insult or be resented as a liberty taken with him. To make use of the name of one's superior in calling him would be considered a gross insult; to mention the name of a dangerous animal within its possible hearing might bring it forward in anger. This is the reason, why they use *kaḍec'* (a twig) for a snake, *suṇ puka* (a hairy kind of caterpillar) for a bear, *runḍa* (a kind of wild cat) for a tiger or leopard, and *maha maṇ* (big girl) for an elephant, when they are in a place where such animals might be met.

Turning to the spirits we find a similar attitude. They may speak of and mention these spirits, often in most insulting language, so long as a metaphor is used. If the supposed proper name is used, the situation is at once altered; they are at once possessed by fear. The supposed proper name of the spirits are

not used by the ordinary Santals; when they have to address them at the time of worship, they use a metaphor. The *ojha* may in some cases use a proper name, but even with him it is frequently the name of a place, the supposed residence of a *boŋga* that is used. If we examine the Santal names for their *boŋgas* we will find that they generally are appellatives of some sort.

The Santal *gurus* have told that the real name of *Maran buru*, their principal national *boŋga*, is *Liṭa*, a word preserved in their name for the rainbow (*liṭa ak'*, the *Liṭa* bow), whether the old *gurus* are right in their statement or not.

With reference to this particular *boŋga* the Santal traditions have something to tell that has some bearing on the present argument. It is told that the following happened: After the Flood (the Santal traditions are uncertain whether humanity was destroyed by water or by fire-rain; anyhow, only one righteous pair was saved, having at Thakur's order gone into a cave on the Harata mountain) the descendants of this pair, i.e., all mankind came to a place called *Sasan beda* (lit. turmeric plain; *beda* is flat land along a river or a ridge); here mankind were divided up into races. From this country the ancestors of the Santals and related peoples wandered to a country called *Jarpi*, where they stayed for a long time. Ultimately for some not mentioned cause they were unable to stay on here and commenced to wander again. Whilst they were coming along through forests, they (I here give a literal translation of the traditions as taken down by the late Mr. Skreftsrud) 'reached a big mountain (*maran buru*). Wandering and wandering they became faint and exhausted trying to find a way across. As they could not find any they said: The *boŋga* of this mountain has surely blocked our way; come, let us make a vow, that he may let us pass. So they made him a vow, viz, "O great mountain (*maran buru*), if thou wilt allow us to pass, we shall worship thee (*boŋgawamale*, i.e. we shall make *boŋga*, sacrifice to thee), when we have found a country." O mother! a short while afterwards in the morning they all at once found a way to cross and saw the sun rising in

the early morning; otherwise whilst they were trying to find a way across, the sun had been very late in rising.'

From this time on, they tell, the ancestors of the people commenced to worship *Maran buru*, as will have been seen, the unnamed spirit of the big mountain mentioned in the traditions. Up to this time the ancestors had worshipped only *Ṭhakur*: from then on they commenced to worship *boṅgas*. We shall not discuss this matter here, only mention that the present-day Santals very frequently connect *Maran buru* with the highest hill or mountain known to them, thus especially with Pareshnath, the big mountain in the Hazaribagh district of Bihar.

There is one more matter that I should mention in this connection. The Santals have a curious tradition concerning the *boṅgas*. Originally they tell, the *boṅgas* did not have their abode here on the earth; they were living with *Ṭhakur* or *Cando* as the Supreme Being is often called by the Santals; they were His servants, called *godet* (this is used by the Santals as the name of one of their village officials, the headman's messenger or orderly), and *Maran buru*, the spirit now represented by this name, was their chief, to whom *Ṭhakur* gave all his orders and explained every wish of his. But *Maran buru* became discontented and rebelled, saying that they were doing all the work, and did not even get the name for doing it. One version is, that these spirits tried to take the power from *Ṭhakur*. The result was, that they were driven away from *Ṭhakur's* presence and in hundred thousands came down here to the earth, where they settled down in villages, after the fashion of man, building villages on every hill (*buru*), and otherwise living in rivers, springs, waterpools, tanks, trees, roots, rocks, etc., etc.; and because *Ṭhakur* loves mankind, these spirits have as a revenge decided to seduce men to get them into their power.

It is a curious story; it is unnecessary to point out that it has essential features in common with the story of the fall of the angels as told in the New Testament and in the Book of Enoch. A similar story is reported from the Hawaiian Islands (Dr. Hyde in Thrum's *Hawaiian Folk Tales*),



The story mentioned confirms the common Santal belief that every mountain or hill (*buru*) has resident *boṅgas*. That the above told traditional story gives the name of the leading rebelling spirit as *Marāñburu* does not necessarily mean anything more than that the leader has been identified by later Santals as the same as their present-day principal national godling whom they call *Marāñ buru*.

If we sum up what has been stated, it will amount to this: The Santals believe that *boṅgas* are found everywhere in to them suitable places, and that every hill is a *boṅga*-residence. Whilst it is uncommon for the Santal to apply the name of living beings to material objects, it is quite in accordance with his way of expressing himself to use metaphors when speaking of spirits. If nothing else, fear will make him try to evade the direct mentioning of names. The veiled way of expressing oneself appeals to the Santal mind.

I must confess I do not understand the mental process required to be able to make a word originally meaning a spirit mean mountain; and not only that, I cannot understand how a word signifying a spirit should become the only general name for mountain, and be in constant use in such a meaning, whilst the meaning of 'a spirit' is very far from being the generally applied meaning. So is the state of this matter in Santali.

This does not, however, take us further than to make it probable that the original meaning of *buru* is mountain. It explains how this word may be used, not about spirits in general (for spirit, as distinguished from a spirit, they have the word *jiu*; they have also special names for special kinds or classes of spirits), but about mountain spirits.

We shall then see how *buru* is used in Santali.

As already said, we need not trouble with the local use of *buru* for a certain Bhuya festival.

*Buru* is the only word the Santal language has for mountain in general, especially also for large mountains. For smaller hills, hillocks and mounds they have several words, such as *ḍungri*, *baṭkoc*, *ḍamgi*, to mention them according to the size of the

hills or hillocks. None of them could be used about mountains in general, a range of mountains or a large mountain. The Santals use *buru dandam*, lit. mountain handle, for the end of a mountain, a projecting lower range of the mountain; *buru nala* is the name for a small valley; if it is large and broad, it may be called *buru tala qtet*, mountains-between low-land.

Like other people Santals distinguish animals, plants, trees, etc., by calling them 'mountain—so and so,' a tree, etc., belonging to the mountains. It is always *buru*-something, never *qungri* or any other name for hill, if the reference is not to something found on some particular hill, and then never as a general name. They have a *buru-kahu*, a mountain-crow; *buru-pajhar*, a species of mountain-eagle; *buru citi bin*, a kind of snake; *buru raher*, a kind of leguminous cultivated plant, and so on. Figuratively they speak of *buru arak*, mountain vegetable, used about goat's flesh, at certain marriage ceremonies.

*Buru* is, as a verb, used in the meaning of growing up, *hara buru* (*hara* means grow) is a common expression for growing into maturity. *Curu buru* is used in the meaning of topful (the meaning give by Dr. Campbell of brimfull, overflowing, about liquids, is not known in these parts); in the same way *condo boro* and *condo buru* are used; in these doublets *buru* or *boro* may simply be a jingle to *curu* and *condo*; but even if this should be so, why should *buru* be used, if it did not remind of, or convey the idea of what is high or topping?

As will have been seen, we are everywhere met with the meaning of mountain or something high or topping.

We shall now examine the use of *buru* in the meaning of a spirit.

*Marah buru* has already been mentioned; it does not, so far as I am able to make out, mean 'a great spirit', 'but the great mountain', and metaphorically, 'the spirit of, or who has his residence on, the great mountain'. Significantly enough the expression *marah buru bonga*, lit. the great mountain spirit, is also used, showing that *buru* does not literally mean

mountain. Any great mountain may be the supposed residence, as is actually shown by the Santals attaching the spirit in question to the largest mountain known to them.

*Maran buru* is figuratively also used about the eldest son in the family ; the idea underlying is not, that the son is a great spirit, but that he is the greatest one among the children, topping above the others.

The word *buru* in the meaning of ' a spirit ' is, with possibly one or two exceptions, so far as I know, used only in combination with *bonga*, and always as the second word, and seems to stand, not for one spirit, but for a certain class in general. They say *boṅgako buruko* or *boṅga buruko*, spirits and mountain-spirits ; but they never speak of one *buru* in the meaning of one spirit. One never hears an expression, that e.g. one *buru* has shown himself ; about one *bonga* it may be said. It is significant enough, they often mention some *buru bonga* or other, always in the literal meaning of a mountain spirit.

Figuratively *bonga* may be used about the lady of the house, the wife, or about the bride ; *buru* is not so used. They speak of *orak' bonga* ; this ordinarily means the house or family godling, but is frequently used about the wife, the house-spirit. In the same way *ḍaura bonga* (*ḍaura* is the name of a large flat basket sitting in which the bride is lifted shoulder-high when she is to go through the binding part of the marriage ceremony, viz. to get the *sindur* painted on her forehead by the bridegroom) ; this is lit. ' the basket spirit ', namely the bride. I have never heard *buru* used in stead of *bonga* in these expressions, and the Santals deny that *buru* is so used. I have heard one single Santal say that he thinks he may have heard *orak buru* ; he was not sure and added that in any case it was very seldom.

The only possible exceptions, to which reference was made above, are the following : In a certain *binti*, a stereotype address made by the headman of the bride's village to the bridegroom's party towards the end of the marriage ceremonies, the following passage occurs : *Siñ bonga buru mōre marē hapramko*

*durup'kate sikriak makriak'bo joroketa*, i.e., the Day-spirit, hill the five, the ancestors sitting down, we (incl. plural) have joined together the chain (or what is chained), that is to say, they have married the couple under the authority and sanction of the Day-spirit (the sun representing the Supreme Being), the national godlings and according to the rules made by the ancestors. The *buru* may here possibly refer to a certain godling (or godlings) called *mōreko turuiho*, the Five, the Six ; more likely the expression is a reference to the whole of the national godlings, as represented by the five principal ones, in analogy with *mōre her*, the five persons, used about the community, specially also the representatives of the village community, in council assembled. Here *buru* is used about the *bongas*, but taking all into consideration, especially also, that the principal *bonga* is called *Marah buru*, it seems reasonable to suppose that *buru* also here is really a mountain spirit or mountain spirits.

The other possible exception is found in the name of a Santal subsept, the *buru beret' Marŋdi* so called. The name is connected with the way in which this particular subsept perform their *jəm sim* festival, a particular kind of sacrifice to the sun (originally perhaps to the Supreme Being, very seldom performed ; but the ancestors have enjoined on the Santals to perform these sacrifices every fifth year, anyhow once in one's lifetime). This particular *buru beret' jəm sim* is interesting, as it apparently has some traits in common with the human sacrifices of the Khonds, only that here no human being is sacrificed but a white cock who is torn to pieces ; those who succeed in getting a piece convey this home in a hurry ; it is believed to give good crops. I have asked Santals about the meaning of this *buru* ; they all say it is a metaphor ; the *buru* is not a mountain and not a spirit, for how can you raise these on end (*beret'*) ? It is simply meant for a pole fixed in the ground at the above-mentioned festival. It is not possible to say anything with certainty about this *buru* ; the Santals themselves

deny, and have no feeling, that it refers to a spirit ; the idea of something high seems to be there.

If we now examine the use of the word *boṅga*, we shall find that this word is practically always found in the meaning of a spirit. When it is metaphorically used, as mentioned above, the reference is always to somebody, so to say, playing the part of a spirit. Incidentally it might be mentioned, that the expression *bāku jiu*, lit. the bride (or daughter-in-law) spirit, is also used (cf. above *davṛa boṅga*). There is nothing that intrinsically refers to anything else than the spirits.

All the spirits worshipped by the Santals (also by their *oṛhas*) are called *boṅga* : if a name is used, *boṅga* may be added as a generic term, and often is added. The only spirit to which the Santal *gurus* will not readily apply the name of *boṅga* is the Supreme Being, by the old *gurus* called *Ṭhakur Jiu*, the *Ṭhakur* Spirit. He may sometimes be called *boṅgakoren boṅga*, the *boṅga* of the *boṅgas*. When He, as is common now-a-days in spite of the protests of the old *gurus*, is confounded with the sun or day-spirit, he is also called *boṅga*. *Cando boṅga* is common, in the meaning of sun-spirit or moon-spirit, both sun and moon and their children the stars being believed to be living beings. Being constantly used about the moon, *boṅga* is now, besides *cando*, used in the meaning of a moon-month, or even a calendar month, the time period shown by the moon-spirit.

*Boṅga* is further used in certain double words as an appellative, in all cases having reference to the spirits.

*Boṅga hatom* is used to signify the father's sister (because it is the father, or the men who are supposed to have anything to do with the *boṅgas* ; the men are the worshippers) ; *boṅga jigā* is one of the terms used for a paternal grandmother (bride's father's mother), the same idea underlying. Further : *boṅga oṛak* ', a *boṅga* house, a templ (Hindu, Santals having on such), *boṅga betha*, a supposed spirit-caused pain in the side, the name of a specific complaint. A number of plants and trees are called *boṅga*-something or other, because they are believed,

or have been thought, to be used by *boŃgas*, or in some way to be connected with these or their doings. There does not seem to be any great difficulty in explaining these side-meanings, and I do not think anyone has tried to find any other meaning of the word than what has here been stated.

It might also be mentioned that now-a-days *boŃga* is heard used as a term of abuse in the meaning of a dunce. The *boŃgas* are not so much thought of by the younger generation, if they have ever been anything else than objects of fear.

The result of the examination of these two words is, that *boŃga* is the common name for a spirit of the Santal spirit-world, and that *buru* really and originally means a mountain, but may in certain circumstances be used metaphorically for the same spirits, viz. the spirits supposed to have their residence on hills and mountains, those who are worshipped by the village priest (*ato naeke*), as distinguished from those worshipped by the *kudam naeke*, the priest who officiates for the village in connection with the *boŃgas* supposed to live at the back of the houses (*kudam*), i. e., on the outskirts and the village boundaries.

Before closing we shall say a few words about what may possibly be brought in to support what has been stated, from other languages, i. e. as regards the two words themselves.

We may look to the other Munḍa languages, to the modern Aryan languages of India (Santali has borrowed very extensively from the vocabulary of Hindi and in the last generations from Bengali), and to a number of languages found to the east and south-east of India, showing distant but undoubted relationship with the Munḍa languages.

First as to *boŃga*. So far as I know, there is nothing known to the Santals about *boŃga* being at any time substituted for *buru*. The Santals take it to be their own word, specially applicable to the spirits they themselves worship. Now-a-days the word is used also about the spirits or godlings of other races, of whom they have heard; it is used, because they have no other name suitable for such or similar beings. They may

now also be heard speaking "of *deko* bongas, Hindu *bon* as a general term; but they here generally use *deb* or *dibi*, feeling that their own *bonga* does not quite cover the Hindu idea. Whatever its origin, *bonga* is felt by the Santals to be their own word.

The word may possibly have been borrowed; if so, it must have happened very long ago.

*Bonga* is used by other Munḍa peoples, thus by the Munḍas very much like by the Santals, where the word has not been exchanged for some other. As a curiosity it may be mentioned, that the Kurkus (Kuris) according to Hislop's note (from 1856) used *Bonga* as a *nomen proprium* for males.

It does not seem possible to derive *bonga* from an Aryan word. Whether a Dravidian source could be found, I do not know. I have once made a note (which I am sorry I am at present unable to verify, because the book from which I took it has been lent out and not returned to me) that there is in Malto found a word *bonga*, meaning an ignorant fool, *boṅge*, to run away, and *biṅge*, the name of the god of thunder and lightning. The Khond name *pen* for a godling might also be mentioned.

Among the distantly related languages alluded to above, in Bahnar (according to Dourisboure, Dictionnaire Bahnar-Français) is found a word *bonga* (the *o* is pronounced like *eu* in French), meaning 'fatalité, destin mauvais', also a word *bongai*, meaning 'l'homme, le genre humain', and a word *buon*, 'vouer quelque chose aux divinités'. Also in Anamitic some words are found (according to Taberd, Dictionarium Anamitico-Latinum): *bong lai*, nomen montis sedis Sinarum immortalium (*lai* is the name of a plant believed to give immortality), *bay bong*, is altum volare, *bong*, umbra (the tones are different). The words are quoted more as curiosities than anything else. Dr. Sten Konow once suggested, that the Gipsy word for devil (*beng*) possibly is the same word as the Santal *bonga*.

So far as *boṅga* is concerned, the position seems to be as stated : *boṅga* is not an Aryan word ; a similar word may be found in some other languages (Dravidian and Austronesian), but connection is doubtful. It seems just as possible to take it to be a genuine Santal word.

As regards *buru* there does not seem to be any suggestion that the word should not be a genuine Munda-language word. Its real meaning has been shown above.

In Mundari, Ho and other Munda languages *buru* is used about mountain, and so far as I have been able to find out, not about a spirit, anyhow, not otherwise than in Santali. In Birhor the word is used about jungle ; the transition in meaning is not difficult. Even in Santali *buru* is often used about especially forest-covered hills ; the change from forest-covered to forest is not farfetched. As an analogous example may be mentioned that Santals in Assam use *bir*, forest, about the practically impenetrable stretches of high grass, where no tree is to be found.

In the aboriginal languages of the Malay Peninsula we find in Sakei *gerbo*, in Semang *gerbu* in the meaning of mountain, *bo* or *bu* here apparently meaning high or great. In the Pangan dialects we find *benom*, *benum* and *buhu* in the meaning of mountain. With this may be compared Santali *bunnum*, also found in other Munda languages, signifying a white ants' hill.

In Santali itself one might further compare words like *buruc' buruc'* about a crop of pimples, *bur buḍruc'*, about foam or water bubbles. The connection is, however, doubtful. Santali *botkoc'*, hill, hillock, might also be compared, and this again with Besis *bukit* and *bukau*, also meaning a hill (probably a Malayan word).

In some Andamanese dialects *boroin-da*, *burin-da*, *burin* and *burain* are found in the meaning of mountain ; these words have possibly little connection with Santali.

The Santali borrowed word *burinj* cannot be used for comparison ; it is Arabic in its origin.



Taking all into consideration, what was said about *bonga* may with even more certainty be said about *buru*. It is, so far as can be seen, a genuine Munda word, not borrowed, but indigenous, and meaning a mountain. In Santali the word is in certain circumstances used about mountain spirits. This is, however, a metaphor, the residence of a supposed being, for the resident himself.



## VI.—Notes on Aryabhata.

By Saradakanta Ganguly, M. A.

### I. Aryabhata's Rules for the Extraction of Square and Cube Roots.

Aryabhata's rules for the extraction of square and cube roots have given rise to controversy. Rodet maintains<sup>1</sup> that they were meant to apply to a place-value notation, while Mr. G. R. Kaye holds a diametrically opposite view. The rules in question are :—

“भागं हरेद्वर्गान्नित्यं द्विगुणेन वर्गमूलेन ।

वर्गाद् वर्गं शुद्धे लब्धं स्थानान्तरे मूलम् ॥”

“अवनाद् भजेद् द्वितीयात् त्रिगुणेन घनस्य मूलवर्गेण ।

वर्गस्ति पूर्वगुणितः शोधः प्रथमाद् घनस्य घनात् ॥”

Let us consider these rules in order. In refuting the contention of Rodet Mr. Kaye apparently misreads<sup>1</sup> the words भागं हरेत् as भागहरेत् which is grammatically incorrect and gives<sup>2</sup> the following translation :—

“Always divide the part that is not square by twice the root of the square, after having subtracted from this squared part the square of the root: the quotient is the root to the next term.”

This translation violates the rules of Sanskrit grammar and puts on the words *varga* वर्ग and *avarga* अवर्ग interpretations not warranted by them. In the original rule the word अवर्गात् which has its त् changed into न् owing to conjunction सन्धि is not in the accusative case as has been supposed by Mr. Kaye but in the ablative case. Hence it cannot be the object to the

<sup>1</sup> Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, July 1907 p. 493.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

verb **हरेत्** (divide). If it were so, why should it be in the plural number and what would become of the word **भागं**? Thus the word **अवर्गात्** cannot mean "the part that is not square;" it means "from an *avarga* (non-square) place." The word *varga* has been used both in the sense of a square and also in the sense of a *varga* (square) place. The words *varga* and *avarga* have been used to mean places in a previous couplet<sup>1</sup> where we have the statements **वर्गाक्षराणि वर्गे अवर्गे अवर्गाक्षराणि, द्विवर्गे स्वरा नव वर्गे अवर्गे नव अन्त्यवर्गे वा** (*varga* consonants in *varga* places; *avarga* consonants in *avarga* places; vowels in eighteen places—nine in *varga* places and the same nine vowels in *avarga* places; nine in higher places also). Mr. Kaye is wrong also in reversing the order of operations given in the rule.

The correct translation would be as follows :

"Always divide the part (obtained) from an *avarga* (place) by twice the square root (already obtained); if the square (of the quotient) can be subtracted from (the part given by the next lower) *varga* (place), the quotient is (the part of) the root in the next place."

That this is the meaning of the rule will be clear when we consider the rule for the extraction of the cube root. The words supplied in the above translation are suggested by the relative terms **वर्गमूल** (square root) and **वर्ग** (square). In Sanskrit, implications of this nature are by no means uncommon and are governed by the principles of grammar. Compare the principle of **उपलक्ष्य** for this purpose. The rule is also an illustration of a figure of speech, known as **यमक** (*yamaka*) which, unlike the English pun, is often used in serious writing; for, the word *varga* occurs in two different senses.

Being a foreigner Rodet was obliged to depend on a commentator of *Līlāvati* to understand Aryabhata. Mr. Kaye<sup>2</sup> considers this to be the basis of Rodet's conclusions which are, in Mr. Kaye's opinion, wrong in this particular case. Mr. Kaye writes : "Brahmagupta does not give any rule for the extraction

<sup>1</sup> Aryabhata, Chapter I, Sloka 2.

<sup>2</sup> J.A.S.B., July 1907, p. 494.

of square roots, although he gives identically the same rule for cube roots as is given by Aryabhata."<sup>1</sup> The object of this statement is evidently to suggest that the rule on which Rodet's conclusions are based is a later interpolation. But no such suggestion can be made with regard to the rule for the extraction of the cube root, which supplies a stronger argument in support of Rodet's contention. The rule states some operations, but the object is not mentioned. So it has to be borrowed from the preceding rule. The following is, therefore, the prose rendering of the rule :

त्रिगुणेन घनस्य मूलवर्गेण द्वितीयात् अघनात् (स्थानात्) [भागं] भजेत्।  
(लब्धस्य) वर्गः त्रिपूर्वगुणितः (घन) प्रथमात् [अघनात्] (स्थानात्)  
शोध्यः (लब्धस्य) घनः च (परवर्त्तिनः) घनात् (स्थानात्) [शोध्यः] (एवं  
सति) [ लब्धं स्थानान्तरे मूलम् ] ।

Here words in brackets [ ] have been borrowed from the context and the words enclosed in brackets ( ) have been introduced to make the meaning clear.

The following is the English rendering of the rule :

" Divide the part obtained from the second *aghana* place by three times the square of the cube root already obtained. The square of the quotient multiplied by three times the cube root (literally, the previously obtained result) should then be subtracted from the first *aghana* place. Lastly, the cube of the quotient should be subtracted from the next lower *ghana* place. Then that quotient is the part of the root in the next place."

Here the place corresponding to the unit  $10^{3n}$  where  $n$  is an integer or zero is called a *ghana* place and any other place is called an *aghana* place. In this rule the places are clearly indicated. A *ghana* place is preceded by two *aghana* places which may, in their turn, be preceded by a *ghana* place. The expression लब्धं स्थानान्तरे मूलम् shows that, when the square or cube root of a number has been found to any place, the above rules give the root to one more place.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

The rule for the cube root further shows how the elements of a number used to be written, at least at the time of extracting square and cube roots, if not always. Whatever be the notation, one must begin with the largest units to extract the cube root of an arithmetical number according to the rule. The largest *ghana* element must, therefore, be written first. According to the rule its place is followed by the *second aghana* place which is followed by the first *aghana* place. Then comes the *ghana* element of the next lower order. It is thus clear that the elements of a number used to be arranged from left to right in order of decreasing magnitude by those who used a script written from left to right. Thus, there is no foundation for Mr. Kaye's remark that "there is not in any part of Aryabhata's work the remotest indication of a knowledge of a notation with 'place-values'."<sup>1</sup> As an additional argument in support of his view he cites the present practice of learning big multiplication tables (including tables of squares of large numbers) on the part of the pupils in some of the provinces of India. "This enormous range of tables," writes Mr. Kaye, "was a necessary concomitant of the old notation and its survival is a curious phenomenon."<sup>2</sup> That this conclusion is not right is clear from the statement of Sir Richard Temple who says that under the old Indian system which still prevails in Burma and Tibet "it is not necessary to learn by rote beyond nine times nine"<sup>3</sup> and that in Burmese monastic schools, and he is told in Tibet also, "children are not taught to multiply by heart beyond that point."<sup>4</sup> So a different explanation will have to be found for the practice of learning big multiplication tables. Why does Workman's *Memoranda Mathematica*<sup>5</sup> (Oxford, 1912) recommend the memorisation of squares of numbers up to 27 and cubes of numbers up to 12? The advantage of memo-

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<sup>1</sup> J.A.S.B., July, 1907, p. 494.

<sup>2</sup> J.A.S.B., July 1907, p. 495.

<sup>3</sup> Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX (1891), p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 72

<sup>5</sup> Page 4, §6.

rising big multiplication tables is of course the ready utilisation of results without going through the process — a matter which cannot be lost sight of even at the present time.

It will appear from what has been stated above that in applying Āryabhata's rules for the extraction of square and cube roots elements of a number must naturally be arranged in order of increasing magnitude (i) from right to left by those whose script is written from left to right and (ii) from left to right by those whose script is written from right to left.<sup>1</sup> In other words, it is but natural to expect the inventor of a place-value notation to write the digits of numbers in the order contrary to that of his script. Our modern place-value notation has, therefore, been invented by a people with a left-to-right script. Thus Mr. Kaye does not seem to be right when he concludes that the "order in which we do write our numbers .....has been imposed on us by a people with a right-to-left script."<sup>2</sup> Other arguments than the order of the digits must, therefore, be furnished to disprove the Indian origin of the modern place-value notation.

## II.—Āryabhata's Value of $\pi$ (Pi)

Another point of controversy is Āryabhata's value of  $\pi$ . In the second half of the ninth couplet of Chapter II of his work he says that the chord of the sixth part of the circumference of a circle is equal to half the diameter. He implies thereby that the circumference must be greater than three times the diameter. Or, in other words, he takes the value of  $\pi$  (pi) to be greater than 3. But what is its approximate value? In the next couplet he gives this value as  $\frac{377}{125}$  which in decimal notation becomes 3.1416. In his *History of Greek Mathematics*, Volume I, page 234,

<sup>1</sup> This conclusion is borne out by inscriptions. Vide Mahaan inscription of the year 102 and Loriyan, Tangai inscription of the year 318, in which the characters used are Kharosthi and are written from right to left. (J.A.S.B. Vol. XVIII, 1922, no. 1. Plates IV & V). Also see Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, Plates II B, IV D, etc. in which a left-to-right script has been used.

<sup>2</sup> J.A.S.B., July, 1907, p. 477.

Sir Thomas Heath remarks, "But the way in which he (Āryabhata) expresses it points indubitably to a Greek source, 'for the Greeks alone of all peoples made the myriad the unit of the second order' (Rodet)". Āryabhata did not use the word myriad or any of its corrupted form, but he used the word अयुत (*ayuta*) which is equivalent to the Greek myriad. Was not *ayuta* an Indian unit? Was it not Āryabhata's square unit of the third order? Did he not use the sign of ₹ to indicate the place corresponding to this unit? Is this the first occasion on which the unit *ayuta* was used by an Indian? Was it never used before Āryabhata's time? Did not this unit exist in India before Greek civilisation came into being? A reference to the St. Petersburg Sanskrit Dictionary or any other Sanskrit Dictionary will show that the word *ayuta* was used in the sense of myriad in the *Rg Veda*, *Atharva Veda*, *Mahābhārata*, *Pāṇini's Sanskrit Grammar*, all of which were compiled or written long before Āryabhata's time. The *Rg Veda* had been compiled before the Greek civilisation was heard of. Following the argument of Rodet or Sir Thomas Heath one might suggest with equal force that the Greek myriad was borrowed from the Hindus. In the *Mahābhārata* there is a story of a king of the Puru dynasty, which states that the king was given the title of *ayutanayin* (अयुतनयिन्) for having performed 10,000 times a *yajña* requiring human sacrifice. According to the Purāṇas a sage who taught 10,000 pupils and supplied them with free board and lodging was called a *kulapati* (कुलपति). Would it be seriously contended that the ideas of *ayutanayin* and *kulapati* were undoubtedly borrowed from the Greeks because "the Greeks alone of all peoples made the myriad the unit of the second order"? Even if it be assumed, for the sake of argument, that Āryabhata did use the Greek unit, how does it establish beyond doubt that the result obtained by him and expressed in the Greek unit was borrowed from the Greeks? With due deference to the opinion of such a high authority as Sir Thomas Heath it might be stated that the way in which Āryabhata expresses his value of  $\pi$  (pi) points

indubitably to the absence of any foreign influence. The measure of the diameter is very significant. In finding the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter why was the measure of the diameter taken to be 2 *ayutas* or 20,000 instead of 1 *ayuta* or 10,000 as is natural? It suggests that the value of the ratio was obtained by direct measurement of the circumference of a circle constructed with a radius measuring 1 *ayuta* or 10,000 units of length. This practical method of measurement was employed also to find the square root of 2 at the time of the *Sulvasūtras*. About the middle of the 5th century A.D. it was adopted also by a Chinese mathematician Tsu Ch'ung-Chih of the Liu-Sung Dynasty. "He took a circle of diameter  $10^8$  as equal to 10 feet and obtained for the length of its circumference the upper and lower limits 3.1415927 and 3.1415926" with 10 feet as the unit and thence somehow deduced the values  $\frac{55}{113}$  and  $\frac{22}{7}$ .<sup>1</sup> This method is not such as could not be hit upon by a mathematician who, having no theoretical means of obtaining the value, had to depend on a practical method. So one is not justified in saying that the Chinese mathematician owed the idea to the *Sulvasūtras* or that Āryabhata borrowed it from a Chinese source. At any rate it is not possible to suppose that the latter can be true. For, in that case, Āryabhata would have certainly felt curious to compare his result with those of the Chinese mathematician and given two additional values of  $\pi$  obtained by the latter besides a more approximate value than what he has given.

### III.—Āryabhata's Inaccuracies.

Capital has been made of inaccuracies in Āryabhata's rules for the volumes of a triangular pyramid and a sphere for the purpose of establishing foreign influence on his work. It may be stated here that the principle of analogy is responsible for those two inaccuracies. The first half of a couplet gives the area of a triangle as half the product of the base and the altitude. False analogy leads to the same rule for the volume

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<sup>1</sup> Y. Mikami. *Development of Mathematics in China and Japan*. page 50.



of a triangular pyramid if for the base its area is taken. The second half of the same couplet states this wrong rule. The rule for the volume of a sphere seems to have been suggested by that of a cube. As the solid figure *cube* corresponds to the plane figure *square*, so does the solid figure *sphere* correspond to the plane figure *circle*. If a person has a sphere and a cube, he usually keeps them on the surface of the earth or any other horizontal surface. The volume of a cube so placed can be found by multiplying the area of the horizontal central section by the square root of the area. By analogy the volume of a sphere was taken to be the product of the area of a central section and its square root, as its central sections are all of the same area. Mr. G. R. Kaye remarks "The presence of a number of incorrect rules side by side with correct ones is significant",<sup>1</sup> and suggests that the rule, diameter of a sphere  $= \sqrt[3]{\frac{16}{3} \times \text{volume}}$ , which occurs in a Chinese work of the second century A.D., "possibly accounts for Āryabhata's strange rule."<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to see what connection exists between the two rules. If it be assumed for the sake of argument that Āryabhata's rule was derived from the Chinese rule, the value of  $\pi$  must have been taken to be  $\frac{3\sqrt{6}}{2}$  which is less than 3. But Āryabhata knew that  $\pi$  can never be less than 3; for, he says that the chord of the sixth part of the circumference of a circle is equal to half the diameter. Hence Mr. Kaye's suggestion regarding Chinese source is utterly unfounded. I have not thought it worth while to comment on the absurd explanation of Āryabhata's rule for the volume of a sphere, given by Mr. Kaye on a previous occasion<sup>3</sup>. The presence of correct and incorrect rules side by side points rather to a different conclusion. If the correct rules were obtained from foreign sources, what earthly reason could there be for not having the incorrect rules checked with foreign aid? We have a similar instance in our own times. Professor G. H. Hardy of Trinity College, Cambridge, wrote<sup>4</sup> as follows regarding the first

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Mathematics* (1915), page 20. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, page 39.

<sup>3</sup> *J.A.S.B.* (March, 1908), page 121.

<sup>4</sup> *Nature*, June 17, 1920, pages 494, 495.

letter he received from the late Mr. Ramanujan. "The first letter he sent me was certainly the most remarkable that I have ever received.....The body of the letter consisted of the enunciations of a hundred or more mathematical theorems. Some of the formulæ were familiar, and others seemed scarcely possible to believe. A few (concerning the distribution of primes) could be said to be definitely false. There were no proofs and the explanations were often inadequate .....One thing was obvious, that the writer was a mathematician of the highest quality, a man of altogether exceptional ability and power." It was not suggested that, as some of the formulæ were definitely false, the others or at least the familiar ones must have been borrowed from the West. On the other hand, Professor Hardy wrote "His insight into formulæ was quite amazing, and altogether beyond anything I have met with in any European mathematician."

#### IV.—Aryabhata's Solution of Quadratic Equations.

In his *History of Elementary Mathematics* (1921), page 102, Mr. Florian Cajori writes as follows:

"In the Hindu mode of solving quadratic equations, as found in Brahmagupta and Aryabhata, it is believed that the Greek processes are discernible. For example, in their works, as in Heron of Alexandria,  $ax^2 + bx = c$  is solved by a rule yielding

$$x = \frac{\sqrt{ac + \left(\frac{b}{2}\right)^2} - \frac{b}{2}}{a}$$

This rule is improved by Śrīdhara, who begins by multiplying the members of the equation, not by  $a$ , as did his predecessors, but by  $4a$ , whereby the possibility of fractions under the radical sign is excluded. He gets

$$x = \frac{\sqrt{4ac + b^2} - b}{2a}$$

In a preceding page <sup>1</sup> of the *History* Mr. Cajori has made a confusion between Āryabhata and Bhāskara. The order in

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<sup>1</sup> Page 99, 2nd line from the bottom.

which the names of Āryabhata and Brahmagupta occur in the above extract shows that the confusion is not accidental. Even if we overlook this fact, the remark made in the extract regarding Āryabhata is unfounded. By solving a quadratic equation of the form  $ax^2 + bx = c$ , Āryabhata got the root not only in the form attributed to him and Brahmagupta but also in the form attributed to Śrīdhara. In Āryabhata's work there are two rules depending on the solutions of quadratic equations. The first rule gives the number of terms of an arithmetic series when the first term, the common difference, and the sum of the series are given, and may be expressed in our modern notation thus :

$$n = \frac{\sqrt{(2a - b)^2 + 8bs} - 2a}{2b} + \frac{1}{2}$$

$$= \frac{\sqrt{(2a - b)^2 + 8bs} - (2a - b)}{2b}.$$

The second rule gives the rate of interest when the amount of a sum equal to the rate at that rate in a given time is known, and is derived from the root in the form found in Heron as  $b$  is an even number in this case. Or, in other words, Āryabhata solves the equation  $ax^2 + 2bx = c$  and gives the solution

$$x = \frac{\sqrt{ac + b^2} - b}{a}$$

In case we assume, however, for the sake of argument, Āryabhata's indebtedness to Heron of Alexandria for the solution of the quadratic equation, credit of improving upon the solution should belong to Āryabhata and not to Śrīdhara. And our textbooks on Algebra giving Śrīdhara's method of solving quadratic equations should be corrected accordingly. But was it difficult for a mathematician of Āryabhata's calibre, who knew the process of extraction of the square root depending on the formula  $(a + b)^2 = a^2 + 2ab + b^2$ , to solve the quadratic equation by completing the square? The rule for the extraction of the square root given in his work at once suggests the operations of multiplying the members of the equation  $ax^2 + bx = c$  by  $a$  and adding  $(\frac{b}{2})^2$  to both sides in order to have a perfect square on the left side. If a person solves the quadratic equation

without any external help, is it possible for him to get the root in any other form? If the answer be in the negative, identity of form of the root is not conclusive proof of the existence of foreign influence.

### V.—The Greek Rule Epanthema.

There is no foundation for the statement made by Mr. Kaye that the "rule known as the *epanthema* occurs in Āryabhata's work."<sup>1</sup> His misreading of a couplet alleged to give the rule is responsible for the statement which, if correct, would prove the indebtedness of Āryabhata to the Greek mathematician Thymaridas of Paros who was the author of the rule *epanthema*—"a rule for solving a certain set of  $n$  simultaneous simple equations connecting  $n$  unknown quantities."<sup>2</sup> This rule may be stated thus:

$$\begin{aligned} & r = n - 1 \\ \text{If } x + \sum_{r=1}^{r=n-1} x_r &= s, \\ x + x_r &= ar \\ \text{where } r &= 1, 2, 3, \dots, (n-1); \\ & r = n - 1 \\ & \sum_{r=1}^{r=n-1} ar = s \\ \text{then } x &= \frac{\quad}{n-2} \\ \text{and } x_r &= ar - x. \end{aligned}$$

The couplet in Āryabhata's work, supposed to contain this rule, has been translated by Mr. Kaye as follows:

"The sum of a certain number of terms diminished by each term in succession *added to the whole* (*italics my own*) and divided by the number of the terms less one gives the value of the whole."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Mathematics*, page 13, also *East and West* (July 1918), page 676.

<sup>2</sup> Heath, *History of Greek Mathematics*, Vol. I, page 94.

<sup>3</sup> *Indian Mathematics*, page 47.

This rendering in English may be expressed symbolically thus :

$$\text{If } \sum_{r=1}^{r=n} x_r = s,$$

$$\text{and } s - x_r = a_r$$

where  $r = 1, 2, 3, \dots, n$ ;

$$s + \sum_{r=1}^{r=n} a_r$$

$$\text{then } s = \frac{\quad}{n-1}$$

Evidently this is wrong. The denominator cannot be  $n-1$ ; it should be  $n$ . The absurdity of the rendering in English is clear even to a layman when it is noticed that in the above statement the value of the unknown quantity  $s$  involves the unknown quantity itself. The above wrong translation occurs in Mr. Kaye's *Indian Mathematics* which was published in 1915. In 1908 he had given a correct translation of the same couplet in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, page 133. It is difficult to see why the correct translation has afterwards been changed into a wrong one. The correct translation does not lead to a close resemblance between Āryabhata's rule and the *epantha* while the wrong one appears to do so at first sight. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the object of the manipulation is to meet Rodet's contention that the resemblance between the Greek and Indian rules is not very close.

The two rules are certainly different. In one the unknown quantities are found from their sum which is given, and in the other the sum of the unknown quantities is found, it being unknown.

Āryabhata is clear in this case and Mr. Kaye's remark<sup>1</sup> that it is often difficult to interpret the meaning of his rules is inapplicable not only to this case but also to many other cases in which Mr. Kaye has made similar mistakes. There is no

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Mathematics*, page 12.

justification for the introduction of the words *added to the whole* into the translation. Replace them by the words *when added together* and you get Āryabhāṭa's rule which may be expressed in symbols thus :

$$\begin{aligned} \text{If } s - x_r &= ar, \\ \text{where } s &= \sum_{r=1}^n x_r \\ \text{and } r &= 1, 2, 3, \dots, n; \\ \text{then } s &= \frac{\sum_{r=1}^n ar}{n-1}. \end{aligned}$$

We, who, unlike the ancient mathematicians, are fortunate in possessing the powerful instrument of a symbolical language or expression, can reduce this rule to a special case of the Greek *epanthema* by introducing a new equation as follows :

$$\begin{aligned} \text{If } s + \sum_{r=1}^n (-x_r) &= 0 \\ \text{and } s + (-x_r) &= ar, \\ \text{where } r &= 1, 2, 3, \dots, n; \\ \text{then } s &= \frac{\sum_{r=1}^n ar}{n-1}. \end{aligned}$$

If it be argued that Āryabhāṭa obtained this rule by changing the sign, as shewn above, of all the unknown quantities but one in the *epanthema*, may we ask why he considered only a particular case in which the right-hand member of the first equation is zero while he could have given the Greek *epanthema* as well as a more general rule deducible from it than what he has given ? This question was anticipated by Cantor who has given a most uncharitable reply to it. The answer constitutes a very serious charge against Āryabhāṭa and is evidently the result of a deep-rooted misapprehension. Mr. Kaye writes <sup>1</sup> "Cantor maintains that this is a Greek theorem, disguised in form by Āryabhāṭa, in order to conceal his plagiarism." Although Āryabhāṭa's rule differs greatly in form from the Greek

<sup>1</sup> J.A.S.B. (March, 1903), page 134.

*epanthema* and may at the outside be regarded only as a particular case of the latter, they do not hesitate to declare this to be a case of plagiarism. But when Muhammad Ibn Musa is found to give the value of  $\frac{1}{2}$  (pi) exactly in the form in which Āryabhata alone has stated it, they have no hesitation again in evading the real issue and emphatically asserting without evidence that "it is absolutely certain that Muhammad Ibn Musa did not copy this from the Hindus."<sup>1</sup> In connection with Āryabhata's rule for the number of terms of any arithmetic series Mr. Kaye writes that Diophantus gives this rule in a form "which is identical with Āryabhata's formula except that the first term is unity."<sup>2</sup> If, as is alleged, Āryabhata refrained from giving an extension of the Greek *epanthema* (which he could easily have done if he really deduced his rule from it in the manner shown above) and gave instead a particular case of it in a different form only to conceal his plagiarism, it is difficult to see why he gave his formula for the number of terms of an arithmetic series in a form almost identical with that of Diophantus' formula. A more reasonable view would be that Āryabhata obtained these two rules independently of a Greek source. As particular cases of Āryabhata's general rule (alleged to be a disguised form of the Greek *epanthema*) Mr. Kaye cites two examples from Diophantus, noticed neither by Cantor nor by Rodet, and opines that they "dispel all doubt as to the origin of Āryabhata's rule." If that be so, it may be argued with equal force that the existence in India of numerous examples alone on indeterminate equations of the first degree dispels all doubt as to the Indian origin of the rule for the solution of such equations depending on the theory of continued fractions. The absurdity of drawing such conclusion from insufficient data of this type was apparent to Mr. Kaye himself who elsewhere writes "Priority of statement of a proposition does not necessarily imply its discovery."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J.A.S.B. (March, 1908), page 122.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, page 131.

<sup>3</sup> J.R.A.S., 1910, p. 750.

## **VII.—The Bhanja Kings of Orissa.**

**By Paramanda Acharya, B.Sc.**

Though numerous inscriptions have been discovered in different parts of Orissa the mediæval chronology of that province has still remained a matter for conjecture. It is a matter of deep regret that when the chronology of the Partihāras of Kanauj, the Paramāras of Mālava, the Chandellas of Jejakabhukti, the Haihayas of Tripuri, the Palas of Bengal have been fixed, not a single date in the history of Orissa between the death or fall of Śaśaṅka and the accession of Anantavarman Chodaganga is definitely known to us. The labours of numbers of scholars, such as the late Dr. J. F. Fleet, the late Mr. Manomohan Chakravartty, Mr. Hiralal and others, have produced a mass of materials of which no synthesis has been attempted as yet. On account of the very great interest taken in oriental research work by Sir Edward Gait, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, a very large number of copper plate inscriptions were brought to light and published in this journal. These inscriptions prove the existence of a number of different dynasties whose position in the chronological scale has not been properly ascertained as yet.

The determination of the chronology of Orissa in the mediæval period is beyond the scope of this paper. I shall attempt to determine the chronology and the geneology of the Bhañja Rulers of Orissa. The existence of this dynasty in the early mediæval period was proved by the Bamanghati plates of Raṇabhañja and Rājabhañja, the Ghumsar plates of Netṛbhañja, the plates of Vidyādharaḥabhañja, the Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja, etc., which were discovered and edited long before the establishment of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. The earliest known inscription of



The Plates to accompany *The Ebanja Kings of Orissa* will  
appear in the June issue.



the kings of this dynasty is the Ghumsar inscription of Netribhañja which was deciphered in 1837. Since then numerous other inscriptions of this dynasty have been discovered but all of them are land grants and incised on copper plates. No stone inscription of any Bhañja king has been edited or described as yet though several of them are known to exist. Among them, the land grants of a chief named Raṇabhañja are more numerous than those of any other.

Up to 1917 it was generally regarded that all of them were issued by one and the same prince, but in that year Mr. R. D. Banarji stated that there were at least two Raṇabhañjas, Raṇabhañja I, the son of Śatrubhañja, and Raṇabhañja II, the son of Digbhañja I. Since the publication of Mr. Banarji's paper a number of new land grants of the Bhañja dynasty have been discovered, some of which were published in this journal while several others of Netribhañja, Vidyādharaḥhañja and two new kings named Yaśobhañja and Jayabhañja, discovered in the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency, have been merely noticed by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy of Southern Circle for the year 1917-18. The discovery of this mass of new materials has made it necessary to reconsider the chronology and the geneology of the Bhañja kings.

Among the Bhañja kings Raṇabhañja was more prolific in granting land than any other prince of this dynasty.

The following land grants of Raṇabhañja are known to us :—

Serial no.	Locality.	Reference.	Name and title of king.	Date.	Emblems on seal.
1	Singhara (Sonpur State), Patna Museum no. 3726.	J. B. & O.R. S. VI, 431-86.	Raṇaka Raṇabhañja.	Begnal year 9.	Seal broken.
2	Tasapaikera (Sonpur State), Patna Museum no. 204.	<i>Ibid.</i> II, 167-77.	Do.	B. Y. 16.	Crescent and bull above, lotus below.

Serial no.	Locality.	Reference.	Name and title of king.	Date.	Emblems on seal.
3	Baudh, Patna Museum no. 5390.	Unpublished	Rāṇaka Rāṇabhañja	Regnal Year 21.	Crescent above and bull below.
4	Chakradharpur (Daspalla State), Patna Museum no. 2761.	J. B. & O. R. S., 266-73.	Do.	R. Y. 24.	Crescent and bull above, lotus below.
5	Baudh, Patna Museum no. 298.	E. I., XII, 325-28.	Do.	R. Y. 26.	Crescent sun, and bull above, lotus below.
6	Baudh, Patna Museum no. 297.	Ibid, 323-25	Mahārāja Rāṇabhañja.	R. Y. 34.	Crescent, bull and Trident above, lotus below.
7	Bamanghati (Mayurbhanj State). Present locality unknown.	J. A. S. B., Part I, 1871, 161-67.	Rāja-bhañja. No title.	Samvat 288	Crescent, bull and Trident above, lotus below.

Among these seven land grants of Rāṇabhañja the emblems on the seals are practically identical, the crescent and the bull being common to all of them. In the geneological portions of the inscriptions some difference is noticeable :—

A.—Singhara plates of R. Y. 9.

Śilābhañja.

Śatrubhañja.

Rāṇabhañja.

B.—Tasapaikera plates of R. Y. 16.

Śatrubhañja.

Rāṇabhañja.

C.—Chakradharpur plates of R. Y. 24.

Śilābhañja.

Śatrubhañja.

Rāṇabhañja.

D.—Baudh plates of R. Y. 26.

Śatrubhañja.

Raṇabhañja.

E.—Baudh plates of R. Y. 54.

Gandhaṭa.

Raṇabhañja.

F.—Bamanghati plate of Samvat 288.

Koṭṭabhañja.

Digbhañja.

Raṇabhañja.

With the exception of the Bamanghati plate and the Baudh plates of R. Y. 54, the remaining four published land grants of Raṇabhañja state definitely that he was the son of Śatrubhañja. The Bamanghati plate on the other hand states definitely that his father's name was Digbhañja and his grand-father's name Koṭṭabhañja. There is a radical difference in the form of the Bamanghati grant and the remaining six land grants of Raṇabhañja. The use of the particular form beginning with the verses in the praise of Śiva in the Singhara plates of R. Y. 9 and in the Baudh plates of the year 54, proves that the king or the donor in both of these grants is identical and therefore there can be no hesitation in saying that, with the exception of the Bamanghati plate, the remaining six land grants of Raṇabhañja were issued by one and the same person. We are therefore compelled to admit that Mr. R. D. Banarji was correct in taking Raṇabhañja of the Bamanghati plate to be a different person from the Raṇabhañja of the other copper plate inscriptions. This fact can be further corroborated by recently discovered inscriptions. The particular form of the land grant adopted by Raṇabhañja of the Bamanghati plate of Samvat 288 was continued by his descendants; but it is quite different from the form adopted by the other Raṇabhañja or

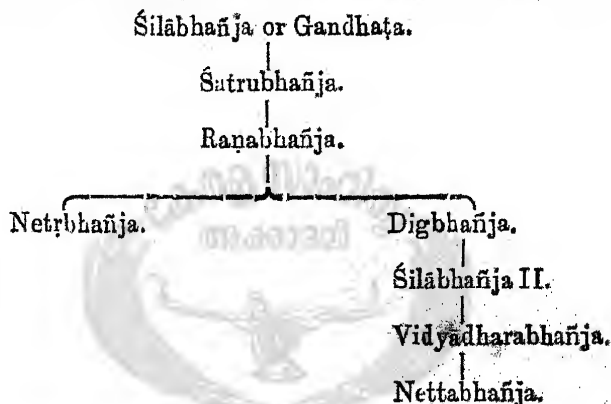
Raṇabhañja I. In the land grants of Raṇabhañja I the king is always mentioned as “*Kusalā*” and addresses the officers of the districts as “*Yathārham Māṇayati Pōdhayati Samādisayati Cha*”. This is the form of address which we meet with in the majority of the Indian land grants. But in the Bamanghati plate Raṇabhañja addresses “The kings with humility” “*Sānunaya prāhaḥ Bhūpālān*”. We find the same thing in the Bamanghati plate of his son Rājabhañja. The similarity in the form of address in the land grant shows that Rājabhañja of the Bamanghati plate is the son of the Raṇabhañja of the Bamanghati plate of the year 288 or Raṇabhañja II. Similarly in the Khandadeuli plates of Narendrabhañja, the king addresses “Other monarchs with humility”. Another point in common between the Bamanghati plate of Raṇabhañja, the Bamanghati plate of Rājabhañja and the Khandadeuli plates of Narendrabhañja is that all of them state that the king was residing in the fort of Khijimṅga (modern Khiching in the Mayurbhanj State). The Khandadeuli plate furnishes us with the following genealogy :—

Kotṭabhañja.  
|  
Digbhañja.  
|  
Raṇabhañja.  
|  
Rājabhañja.  
|  
Prithvibhañja.  
|  
Narendrabhañja.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasāda Śāstrī is of opinion that the Khandadeuli plate was issued by Raṇabhañja. Though the language of the grant is ambiguous it can be definitely stated that the grant, was of Narendrabhañja, because his seal and not that of Raṇabhañja is attached to this grant.

If we go back to the remaining land grants of the Bhañja kings then we shall find that Raṇabhañja I and his father Śatrubhañja were Rāpakas, i.e., subordinate chiefs and not

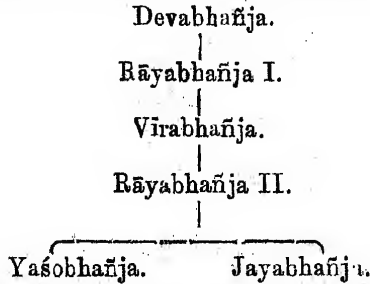
suzerains. They do not use the recognised imperial titles but in the Baudh grant of R. Y. 54 Raṇabhaṇja I assumes the title of *Mahārāja* for the first time. This was most probably the beginning of the independence of the early Bhaṇja rulers. Netṛbhaṇja, a son of Raṇabhaṇja I, does not use the royal title openly in his Ghumsar plates, but his brother's grand-son Vidyādharaḥabhaṇja openly styles himself a *Mahārāja* in the land grant published by Dr. Kielhorn. These two plates enable us to construct the following geneology of the line of Raṇabhaṇja I:—



The Dasapalla plates of Netṭabhaṇja carry this geneology one generation further, as Netṭabhaṇja was the son of Vidyādharaḥabhaṇja.

The new Bhaṇja plates discovered in the Ganjam district, a summary of which has been published in the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy's annual report for the year 1917-18, provide us with two other groups of Bhaṇja kings. The first of these is a grant of a chief named Yaśobhaṇja. He was also a ruler of the Khinjali district but his ancestors cannot be connected with any of the two groups of the Bhaṇja rulers mentioned above. Another grant of a chief named Jayabhaṇja was discovered in the village of Antiri in the Chhatrapur Division in the Ganjam district. An account of these plates was published by the late Mr. Tarini Charan Rath in the "*Utkala Sāhitya*,"

a monthly Oriya magazine published from Cuttack. These two new grants furnish us with the following geneology :—



The characters of the plates of Jayabhāṇja and Yaśobhāṇja indicate that these two kings belong to the fifteenth or the sixteenth century. These two land grants were written at a time when the proto-Bengali alphabet of north-eastern India had taken definite shape in Bengal and Orissa. Yaśobhāṇja and Jayabhāṇja therefore ruled over Orissa at a time when a power of the eastern Ganges had declined. The Khiṇjālī district, which is the ancestral kingdom of the Bhāṇjas, is mentioned in both of these land grants.

Another set of copper plates of another Bhāṇja chief named Kanakabhāṇja was discovered in Baudh. The characters of this inscription prove beyond doubt that Kanakabhāṇja lived long before Yaśobhāṇja and Jayabhāṇja. This new inscription provides us with the names of three new kings who cannot be connected either with the line of Rāyabhāṇja I or of Rāyabhāṇja II or of Yaśobhāṇja and Jayabhāṇja. The Baudh plates of Kanakabhāṇja have not been properly edited as yet and it is necessary to publish a critical text of this record at an early date. The translation is also very faulty and betrays a regrettable lack of knowledge of Sanskrit syntax. This is nowhere better evident than in the translation of the term *Yaśo-rathine* in l. 4. From this inscription of Kanakabhāṇja Mr. B. C. Mazumdar tries to prove that Kanakabhāṇja was not connected with the earlier Bhāṇjas, e.g., Rāyabhāṇja and Śatrubhāṇja. His surmise rests on two suppositions :—

I. That the seal of the Baudh grant of Rāyabhāṇja is quite different from that of the earlier Bhāṇjas ; and

II. "that Kanakabhañja, son of Durjjayabhañja and grandson of Solanabhañja, does not trace the origin of his family to the egg of a peahen, but states it in a vague and general way on the basis of *gotra* the name of the family, that the Bhañjas in olden days descended from Kaśyapa muni". (J.B.O.R.S., Vol. II, part III, page 363).

Mr. Mazumdar is totally mistaken about the seals of the Bhañja plates. With the exception of Netrbhañja, Vidyādhara-bhañja and Jayabhañja all other Bhañja plates bear the lotus in some form or the other.

The seals of the Bhañja plates in the Patna Museum are described below in an appendix, as far as they are preserved in the Patna Museum. In the second place the origin of the Bhañjas from the egg of a peahen is omitted in the following inscriptions:—

- (1) Ghumsar plate of Netrbhañja,
- (2) Orissa plates of Vidyādhara-bhañja,
- (3) Antirigram plates of Jayabhañja,
- (4) Antirigram plates of Yaśobhañja,
- (5) Daspalla plates of Nettabhañja,

yet this tradition about the origin of the Bhañja kings is present in the majority of the grants of Raṇabhañja I and the Bamaṅghati plate of Raṇabhañja II, the Bamaṅghati plate of Rājabhañja and the Khandadeuli plate of Raṇabhañja II's grandson Narendra-bhañja. It is therefore absurd to think that Kanakabhañja was descended from another Bhañja family totally unconnected with the lines of Raṇabhañja I and Raṇabhañja II. Can anybody doubt that Netrbhañja, Nettabhañja or Vidyādhara-bhañja were not descended from Raṇabhañja I and Raṇabhañja II? Only one land grant of the Bhañja dynasty is properly dated. This is the Bamaṅghati plate of Raṇabhañja II. The rest are either dated in regnal years or are without dates. The date of the Bamaṅghati plate of Raṇabhañja II is the year 283 of an unknown era. Mr. B. C. Mazumdar is inclined to take this era to be the Gāṅgeya Era and makes the date equal to 1066 A.D. There



is no particular objection to this date because the Gāṅgeya *saṃvat* has been very extensively used by the Kara-Kesari dynasty of Orissa :—

1. Ganjam plates of Daṇḍi Mahādevī, the year 180.
2. The Kumurang plate of Daṇḍimahādevī, the year 187.<sup>1</sup>
3. Dhenkanal plates of Tribhuvana-Mahādevī of the year 160.
4. The Gaṅga king Anatavarman, the year 304.
5. The Gaṅga king Rājendravarman II, the year 342.
6. The Gaṅga king Devendravarman, the year 254.
7. The Gaṅga king Satyavarman, the year 351.
8. The Gaṅga king Devendravarman, the year 183.

According to Mr. Mazumdar's calculation the Gāṅgeya era began in the year 778 A. D. If Mr. Mazumdar is right in assigning the date in the Bamanghati plate of Raṇabhañja II, then Raṇabhañja I, the son of Śatrubhañja, will have to be placed in the ninth century at the latest. Mr. Mazumdar is decidedly wrong in assigning the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth as the date of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja or Raṇabhañja I. It is perfectly clear that the characters of the land grants of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja I, his father Śatrubhañja and his sons and grandsons are much earlier than those to be found in the land grants of Raṇabhañja II, Rājabhañja and Narendrabhañja. This fact was affirmed by Mr. R. D. Banarji eight years ago in this journal in his paper called "The Bhañja Dynasty of Orissa". In fact the majority of mistakes on Mr. Mazumdar's papers and books are due to his very unfortunate loss of eye-sight and his dependence on scholars like Dr. R. C. Mazumdar of the Dacca University whose judgment is not yet reliable as evidenced in his reading of the Śaṣṭunāka inscription in the Indian Museum.

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<sup>1</sup> This date was wrongly read by late Haranandan Pande of the Archaeological Department as Saṃvat 337—J. B.O.B.S., Vol. V, pp. 564-577.

## APPENDIX.

## A descriptive list of seals on bhanja land grant.

Serial no.	Reference.	Name of King.	Description.
1	2	3	4
1	Kumurukella in Sonpur, J. B. & O. R. S., II, 429-35.	Satrubhañja. R. Y. 15.	Patna Museum No. 208—Circular with thin rim—legend in two lines. Above legend crescent and the sun—below legend bull couchant.
2	Singbara in Sonpur, J. B. & O. R. S., VI, 481-85.	Rānaka Rānabhañja. R. Y. 9.	Patna Museum No. 3726—Seal partly broken—legend in one line—crescent and the sun above—lotus below.
3	Tasapaikera in Sonpur, J. B. & O. R. S., II, 167-77.	Rānaka Rānabhañja. R. Y. 16.	Patna Museum No. 204—Seal broken—legend in one line—portions of bull couchant above—blank below.
4	Chakradharpur in Daspalla, J. B. & O. R. S., VI, 266-73.	Rānaka Rānabhañja. R. Y. 24.	Patna Museum No. 2761—Sun, crescent and bull couchant above—legend in one line—fully blossomed lotus below.
5	Baudh—unpublished.	Rānaka Rānabhañja. R. Y. 21. (?)	Patna Museum No. 5390—Sun and crescent above—legend in one line—bull couchant below.
6	Baudh, Epigraphia, Vol. XII, 325-28.	Rānaka Rānabhañja. R. Y. 26.	Patna Museum No. 208—Sun, crescent and bull couchant above—legend in one line—fully blossomed lotus below.
7	Baudh, E. I. XII, 321-25.	Mahārāja Rānabhañja. R. Y. 54.	Patna Museum No. 207—Crescent above—legend in one line—trident bull couchant below.
8	Bamanghati in Mayurbhanj, J. A. S. B., 1871, Pt. I, 165-66.	Rānabhañja. No title. Samvat, 288.	Present location unknown—in circle with rim of lotus petals—crescent, bull and trident above—legend in one line—below fully blossomed lotus.
9	Bamanghati in Mayurbhanj, J. A. S. B., 1871, Pt. I, 168.	Rānabhañja. No title. No date.	Present location unknown—crescent and bull couchant above—legend in one line—fully blossomed lotus below.

Serial no.	Reference.	Name of King.	Description.
1	2	3	4
10	Gumsar (?) in the Ganjam district, E. I., IX, 275-77.	Mahārāja Vidyādhara-bhañja.	Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta—Lion couchant above—legend in two lines.
11	Khandadeuli in Mayurbhanj, J. B. & O. R. S., VI, 175-77.	Narendrabhañja ...	Patna Museum No. 213—Crescent above—legend in two lines—bull couchant below.
12	Daspalla, J. B. & O. R. S., VI, 276-79.	Mahārāja Nāṭṭabhañja	Patna Museum No. 2762—Lion couchant above—legend in two lines.
13	Baudh, J. B. & O. R. S., II, 367-70.	Kanakabhañja ...	Patna Museum No. —There is no impression on this seal which is shaped like a lotus bud—evidently the seal was not impressed on this lump of metal.

I have not been able to examine the seal of the Sonpur plate of an unknown Bhañja king published by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, pp. 98-101. Mr. Mazumdar's descriptions being inaccurate and unreliable I have not ventured to include his description of the seal of this grant in the list. I am indebted to Mr. R. D. Banarji, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, for photographs of the nine seals published with this paper which were taken from plaster casts, which he obtained from Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A., Curator of the Patna Museum, for which I am also grateful to the latter.

## VIII.—Mughal Nobility.

By R. P. Khosla, M.A., I.E.S.

The great Mughal emperors lived in gorgeous style. Their courts eclipsed in splendour and magnificence the pomp and display of those of all their contemporaries whose brows ever ached beneath the burden of a crown. Such ostentation was maintained at a fabulous cost. They had a long chain of noblemen who used to dance attendance at court. These grandees, magnificent in themselves, were in reality parvenues. They were adventurous men who flocked from different parts of Muhammadan India and Asia in search of the avenues of honour, rank, and power. They were mostly soldiers of fortune actuated by motives of self-aggrandisement. It was from this band of fortune-hunters that the Mughal nobility was mainly drawn. Consequently it came to be a heterogeneous mass composed of incongruous elements—Turk, Tartar, Persian, Indian, Muslim and Hindu. The want of homogeneity was at once the strength and the weakness of the Empire. They could never form into one caste, one sect, or one class. This largely eliminated the possibility of a united revolt. A clever king could easily play one contending faction against the other; but an atmosphere was always kept up for palace intrigues, and conspiracies were frequently hatched. Although the nobles were men of high trust and great emoluments yet the great Mughals could never boast of a united following of selfless grandees. Power seemed to swing in a balance between the king and the nobles. During the reign of a weak king the nobles would appear to have gained some substance of real power which would dwindle into a shadow simultaneously with the accession of a strong sovereign.

The nobility in India, in Mughal times, was fundamentally different in principle from that of the west. Here the nobles

were as much the creatures of the king as elsewhere ; but heredity, which is generally the most essential aspect of accidental nobility, was wanting in the oriental. In Europe the law of primogeniture determined the line of succession in noble families ; but in Mughal India no incident of the dignity was heritable.\* Like every other personal decoration the investiture of nobility had to be individually earned. The Mughal noble was a noble not because he was the son of a nobleman but because the king chose to distinguish him as such. Family distinction could not long be maintained. There was hardly a Mughal noble who could trace his high lineage into the twilight of past ages. The want of heredity and the uncertainty of the duration of power left most of the nobles in meek submissiveness to the will of the king and in uncomplaining subservience to his interests. Mughal nobility was a personal and not a territorial nobility. It was not decreed by the mere accident of birth but determined by the opportunities of life. It was a recognition of services rendered to the crown but not verily a reward for real merit. Even in those days of mediæval chivalry it was not necessarily a brave man who could win the smiles of the king ; a courteous flippant man of flattering manners could easily strike the keynote to royal favour.

All the land of the state primarily belonged to the king who was the heir of all his subjects. The Omaras could not be proprietors of land and could not enjoy independent revenues like the nobles of Christian Europe. The pension granted in lieu of fixed services was all that could be called the nobleman's income. Although it was no small pittance yet the high cost of military establishment and the expensive manner in which he himself had to live did not leave him much by way of a provision for a rainy day. The pension was as a rule derived from a jagir. In fact the whole of the country, with the exception of the royal domain, was a network of jagirs. These jagirs were frequently changed lest an amir grew too powerful by holding the same jagir for a long time. Akbar following the example of the Sur kings discouraged the system of granting jagirs as

they diminished the extent of crown lands and gave the nobles too much power and independence. He being hostile to the jagir system devoted much energy to the conversion of jagirs into crown lands and whenever possible paid the nobles in cash and not by assignments of land revenue.

When a nobleman died his belongings went to the coffers of the king. The descendants were ruthlessly deprived of the earnings of the deceased and the jagir lapsed to the crown. The amir's death extinguished nobility in his family. His sons and grandsons were reduced to penury. They had no place left for them in the ranks of nobility. When a noble died it was customary for the king to offer high sounding condolences to the bereaved family, but the receipt of condolences was a signal for further distitution because condolence was followed by forfeiture of wealth. Perhaps the message of condolence and the order for forfeiture were contained in the same letter. The Mughal kings were not altogether devoid of all sense of propriety. The grown up sons of the deceased nobleman were given just a start in life and were sometimes placed on the lowest rung of the aristocratic ladder. They began carving their careers anew. The strong and sturdy among them took to military careers. The wit and the poet did not find it very difficult to secure some distinguished patronage. In fine they were all left to swim or sink according to merit or want of it. A nobleman could bequeath neither his office, nor his title, nor his wealth to his son. In fact he could do nothing to oil the wheels of the life of his children to make them go smoothly over the ruts of a rugged road. But if the nobleman's life was sufficiently prolonged he could sometimes obtain the advancement of his children by royal favour. This special grace, however, worked slowly, for it was a custom, hard and fast, to pass gradually from small salaries and inconsiderable billets to responsible and lucrative offices.

The absence of a hereditary nobility had both good and bad points. There was no occasion for any serious tug-of-war between the king and the barons as in the Norman or Plantagenet

England. There was no possibility of any oligarchical oppression. India was free from an organised, reactionary, powerful, selfish noble class as disturbed the peace of France for centuries. As the land throughout the Empire was considered the property of the king, there could be no earldoms or duchies in India. The society was not nobility-ridden and was free from the forest laws of England or such tyrannical and burdensome enactments as vitiated the French Statute book even after the destruction of Feudalism. The Mughal noble was entirely at the mercy of the sovereign and could never play the rôle of the overmighty subject who was responsible for the cruelty of the Wars of the Roses. A further precaution against the aristocratic class was taken when the amirs were forbidden to contract marriage alliances without the royal permission. This served as a great check upon the nobles trying to augment their power by ties of relationship. When Jahangir was on the throne of Delhi, Mahabat Khan was an army commander. His great military achievements, though they brought him much honour and prestige, also made him an object of jealousy to his unsuccessful rivals. Law being no respecter of persons, even he was tried and punished for violating the marriage-sanction law. He had affianced his daughter to Barkhurdar without obtaining the customary royal permission. Rank, wealth, and power had brought Mahabat many enemies and most of them were eager to bring him to disgrace. The king grew furious over Mahabat Khan's disregard of established custom. The great general was tried and found guilty. One of the nobles was commissioned to recover Mahabat Khan's dowry from Barkhurdar, which was declared forfeited to the state and ultimately deposited in the Imperial treasury. Such stringent rules kept the nobles weak. As they had only a life-interest in their jagirs they became luxurious, ease-loving, and ostentatious. They loved to parade their greatness and appeared in public gorgeously decked and adorned, attended by richly dressed servants who were supposed to add to their prestige. A grand style of living was a valuable asset for a nobleman.

The Mughal nobility was not devoid of refined tastes. It contained in its ranks many patrons of art and literature. Art in those days could flourish only when patronised and protected by them and literature progressed when appreciated and rewarded by them. Poets and musicians always looked to them for recognition. That is what made Indian art aristocratic. Maasiri-Rahimi records that Abdur Rahim Khan, the son of the Mighty Bairam Khan Khankhana had no less than thirty versifiers in his pay. The Mughal King made generous gifts to men of talent; and the nobles, who were ever anxious to please the king, vied with each other in imitating him. The munificence of the crown and the liberality of the nobles were very helpful in advancing the cause of art and literature. The patronage of the nobles was productive of equally good results in the sphere of architecture. They spent large sums of money on palatial buildings which adorned the cities of Delhi, Agra and Fatehpur Sikri. Their glorious mansions with gorgeous towers, battlements, turrets, domes and pinnacles were a sight to see. Each vied with the others in beauty of design and eloquence of execution.

Every amir started very low. He generally began his career as a commander of twenty, and had to be ready with his followers to mount guard. Amirs had to furnish contingents in time of war, and like feudal barons had to fight the battles of the king. They had to recruit and equip a certain number of men and horses besides elephants. Regulations were devised to secure the recruitment of the actual numbers prescribed and to prevent fraud in the provision of horses and equipment. A commander of 100 was not necessarily at the head of a contingent of 500 men. Men actually in service rarely approached the number expressed by the title of the amir. Hence the suffix *Zat* was added on to the title, as an indication of the maximum extent of military service for which amirs were liable. The titles were not altogether bogus yet they simply indicated grades of rank and pay. The actual number of horsemen which a mansabdar was required to furnish was determined by elaborate but flexible



rules. Ranks above 5,000 were reserved for princes of the blood royal who from time to time were deputed to wage war in the distant parts of the empire and sometimes to put down rebellious provincial governors. There was no regulated chain of civil service in Mughal India and the provincial governor was as great an autocrat in his own province as the emperor was at Delhi. He did not hesitate to unfurl the banner of rebellion when he thought that the central government was weak. Sometimes, in very exceptional cases, the high honour of being the commander of 7,000 was conferred on a very tried and faithful pillar of the empire. Raja Man Singh was raised to this rank as a mark of special favour. A little later Mirza Shahrugh and Mirza Aziz Koka were elevated to the same dignity.

Abul Fazal has left a fairly complete list of amirs. From that list it appears that among the high mansabdars there were very few Hindustani Musalmans. Persians and Afghans far outnumbered them; but there was a fair number of Hindus. It is noticeable, however, that the number of Hindu amirs in higher ranks got proportionately smaller and smaller every year after Akbar's reign.

Besides the military service that the noblemen had to render they had other obligations which they had to fulfil. In turns they had to keep guard at the fortress as well as at the palace once a week for twenty-four hours. The rotation was strictly observed. Any failure was followed by punishment unless a satisfactory explanation was forthcoming. Whenever the emperor went out in the evening it was incumbent on the amirs of the state to add to the solemnity and stateliness of the royal procession by following in the train on horseback. The custom of paying respects to the king in person twice a day is very ancient in India. The nobles attended the daily darba clad in an attire befitting the occasion, much attention being paid to courtly decorum. Besides the attendance at the Darbar-i-Am the nobles had to present themselves at the Ghusalkhana in the evening where the gathering was more select. When an amir appeared before the emperor he had to perform reverence three

times. When the emperor gave public audience in Darbar-i-Am the cavalry of one or two nobles passed in review before him. At such occasions the horsemen were better dressed than usual and the horses were furnished with better armour.

The noblemen paid according to their status "peshkash" to the emperor. It was a personal present slightly different in character from the benevolences of England in the middle ages. The peshkash varied according to the status of the nobleman and may be regarded as an income-tax. It was not enacted as a government due, but on anniversary days or on occasions of rejoicing the noblemen were of themselves expected to make handsome presents more or less valuable according to the pay.

At the time of the Ghusalkhana or evening assembly the cavalry of the amirs did not pass in review but those who were on guard used to pass before the king in order to salute him with much form and ceremony. Even when in the field this assembly of the amirs was held twice during the twenty-four hours just in the same way as at the capital. It was regarded as a matter of law and duty, and the emperor considered it as one of his royal prerogatives to bring the nobles to bow before him twice a day. They were permitted to take part in religious and literary discussions.

Amirs did not lose their mansabs after the death of one emperor, but as a rule, continued to enjoy them under the new emperor. We find many names common to two consecutive reigns.

## IX.—The Asuras in Indo-Iranian Literature.

By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D. (Oxon).

Patañjali was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra. He not only describes "the court of Puṣyamitra, the court of Chandra-gupta"<sup>1</sup>, but always mentions Puṣyamitra to illustrate a king.<sup>2</sup> He records the conquest of Śāketa and Mādhyaṃika by Yavanas,<sup>3</sup> referring probably to the invasion of Menander according to Strabo<sup>4</sup> and Goldstücker, also borne out by the *Gārgī Saṃhitā*.<sup>5</sup> To remove all doubts, he definitely states that Puṣyamitra was the then reigning<sup>6</sup> king. Puṣyamitra succeeded the last of the Mauryas.<sup>7</sup> His Ayodhya inscription<sup>8</sup> is in the 2nd century B.C. Brāhmī. Lastly Bahasatimita (*alias* Puṣyamitra ?) was a contemporary of Khāravela<sup>9</sup> of Khandagiri. Hence Puṣyamitra and Patañjali belong to the 2nd century B.C.

Patañjali remembers the Asuras as deficient in grammar : "te ' Surā kelayo kelaya iti kurvantah parābhbhūvu stasmād Brāhmaṇena na Mlechchhita vai nāpabhāṣita vai Mlechchha ha va eṣa gadapasadbah "; Mlechchhā mā bhūmetyadhyeyam vyākaranam : te ' Surā.<sup>10</sup> They the Asuras were defeated while shouting *kelayo kelayah*, therefore a Brāhmaṇa should not behave like a Mlechchha, should not use incorrect expression, this incorrect expression is Mlechchha ; let us not be Mlechchhas

<sup>1</sup> Patañjali, on Pāṇini I. 1.68.1.

<sup>2</sup> Patañjali, *Mahābhāṣya*, III. 126 ; III. 2. 123.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 2. 111. <sup>4</sup> McCrindle.

<sup>5</sup> "Tatah Śāketamākrāmya Panchālān Madhuraṃ tatthā ! Yavanā duṣṭavikrāntāḥ prāpsyanti kusumadhvajam."

<sup>6</sup> Patañjali, *op. cit.* "Vartamāne Iaṭ",

*Iha Puṣyamitraṃ yājayāmi.*

<sup>7</sup> Matsya, Vāyu, Brāhmaṇḍa, Viṣṇu Purāṇas ; Luders' List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.*, X, Appendix, nos. 687—8.

<sup>8</sup> *J.B.Q.R.S.*, 1924, pp. 202-208. <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 1918, p. 369.

<sup>10</sup> Patañjali, *op. cit.* Ed. Kielhorn, vol. I, p. 2,

hence one must read grammar: they the Asuras [is thus explained].” The explanation is far-fetched. Instead of *he* ‘*rayah*’ “Oh, ye enemies” the Asuras committed the two-fold mistake of euphonic combination and substitution of *l* for *r* and thus courted calamity! It would be easier to acquiesce in their defeat if one could feel certain that the word meant was really *arayah* as a like incongruity in context would suggest mental disorder leading to something still worse. Patañjali<sup>1</sup> obviously misunderstands the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* iii. 2.1. 23, 24 where the Asuras shout out their ‘battle-cry’ or ‘cry of triumph.’ The Vedic Aryans did not know its meaning. They regarded it as an instance of *Mṛdhra-vāch*.<sup>2</sup> Hillebrandt<sup>3</sup> missed the precise meaning and explained it as ‘speaking an enemy’s speech.’ Roth<sup>4</sup> and Zimmer<sup>5</sup> got nearer the truth as ‘of insulting speech.’ A cry of triumph was a challenge, and as such insulting. Patañjali has lost the tradition and invents a meaning. His authority is Pāṇini’s<sup>6</sup> *parśu gaṇa* speaking a Mlecchha language<sup>7</sup>: but Pāṇini’s *Asura*, Patañjali projects backward to the Brāhmaṇa period and earlier. It had become a legend. Later literature, from the 1st century A.C., for instance, Aśvaghōṣa<sup>8</sup> and Kālidāsa<sup>9</sup>, emphasises a stereotyped idea. Hence Patañjali’s time, i.e. the 2nd century B.C. should be the lowest limit to a scrutiny into the historicity of the Asuras.

The earlier limit recedes into Pre-History. Chronology becomes speculation. ‘*Ashur*’ emerges as the city of the Assyrians,<sup>10</sup> then ‘the country’ and ‘the people of Assyria’<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Davidson, *Z.D.M.G.* 37, 23, Eggeling, *S.B.E.* 26, 31, no. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Rgda*, VII, 33; I. 174, 2; V. 32, 8; X. 23, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythology*, 189, 90, 114.

<sup>4</sup> Roth, *Erläuterungen zum Nirukta*, 97.

<sup>5</sup> Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 114—5.

<sup>6</sup> Pāṇini, V. 3. 117.

<sup>7</sup> *Z.D.M.G.*, LXVIII, 719.

<sup>8</sup> Aśvaghōṣa, *Buddhacaritā*.

<sup>9</sup> Kālidāsa, *Abhijnānashakuntalam*, Acts II and VI.

<sup>10</sup> Ragozin, *Assyria*, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 6.

in the remotest past. Assyriologists claim Chaldean culture as old as 6000 or 7000 B.C.<sup>1</sup> The marginal date of 4004 B.C.<sup>2</sup> in the first chapter of Genesis as marking man's appearance on earth has ceased to be historical. Scholars have grown diffident about the beginning of history. Nilotic and Mesopotamian civilizations already appear as highly complex and inter-related from 2000 B.C. Imperial Thebes holds up the First Egyptian empire from 1550—1350 B.C., then the bleak heights of Asia Minor enraptures attention down to about 1100 B.C.; next Palestine rises, and Israel, about 850 B.C.; then the civilized world echoes with the dread name of the invincible "hosts of Ashur"<sup>3</sup>—the smoke of their holocausts impresses a permanent awe for the name *Ashur*<sup>4</sup> far and wide in Egypt, Babylon and Persia.<sup>5</sup> Then came the struggle with the new Indo-European from the north. The Scyths of the Northern steppes and the Persians from Iran<sup>6</sup> destroyed Assyria. Persia took her place in the Near East. Young Greece of the Iron Age invaded the Ægean lands.<sup>7</sup> The Vedic Aryan routed them in the land of the Sapta Sindhus, and the Indus valley thus become the most eastern of Indo-European lands instead of a continuation of Egypt—Babylon—Assyria—Persia—India outpost. The physical compact is over but the intellectual impress is permanent. It is part of India's inheritance from the past. *Ashur* absorbed the cultures of Egypt and Babylon and passed it on to Iran and India. *Ashur* holds the key to a fuller comprehension of Indian civilization, its realized facts as well as intimate tendencies.

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<sup>1</sup> Winckler. *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*. Sayce, *Babylonia and Assyria*, *Ency. Brit.* 11th.

<sup>2</sup> *Genesis*, Ch. I.

<sup>3</sup> Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, 1924, p. viii.

<sup>4</sup> *The Egyptian and Hittite Empires*, *The Cambridge Ancient Hist.* vol. II, 1924, pp. 250-1.

<sup>5</sup> *Historian's History of the World*, vol. I, p. 560.

<sup>6</sup> *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. III. *The Assyrian Empire*, 1925, pp. 12-9-188.

<sup>7</sup> Hall, *Ægean Archaeology*, p. 260.

## I.—Assyrian Records.

Assyria of history enjoyed two periods of supremacy.  
(a) 12th century B.C.

In the 3rd millennium B.C. the Tel-el-Amarna tablets from Egypt, the Palestine mounds tablets and the Hittite tablets at Boghaz Kōi reveal a remarkable interrelation, political and cultural, between Asia Minor, Egypt and Mesopotamia.<sup>1</sup> Gradually Assyria, c. 16th century B.C. came out victorious in the struggle for the Mediterranean coast lands.<sup>2</sup> Culturally Egypt and Babylon still remained parent sources. So much so, that the Assyrian language was known as 'Babylonian' in the 14th century B.C.<sup>3</sup> *ALU Pabili-li kissan memai*.<sup>4</sup>

But between this Ashur and Persia stood the powerful people of Mitanni<sup>5</sup> and the desert east of Palestine.<sup>6</sup> But 'Assyrianizing'<sup>7</sup> was developing. Ashur-bel-nisheshu was creeping along the Tigris.<sup>8</sup> Ashur and Kara-indash the Kassite soon became masters of the Tigris.<sup>9</sup> Then 'the land of Mitann was ruined; the men of Assyria and Alshe divided it'.<sup>10</sup> Turukī, probably near the Persian frontier, was included in his eastern successes. Ashur soon 'trampled down the lands of his foes from Lupdu and Rapiku to Elukhat, naming the towns he captured in detail; his domain now spreading from

<sup>1</sup> Luckenbill, *Inscriptions of Early Assyrian Rulers*. A.J.S.L., xxviii, 1912 p. 153. Budge and Rezold, *The Tel el Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, London, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> Olmstead, *Tiglath-Pileser I and his Wars*, S.A.O.S. xxxvii, 1917, p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> J.E.A.S., 1921, p. 583.

<sup>4</sup> *Hittite Texts in the British Museum*, No. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *The Camb. Ancient History*, op. cit. vol. III, p. 223. Olmstead, *Kassites Assyrians and the Balance of Power*, A.J.S.L. xxvi, 1919, p. 122E.

<sup>6</sup> *The Camb. Ancient History*, op. cit. vol. III, p. 230.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p. 231.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 233, 238.

<sup>9</sup> Olmstead, *Kassites, Assyrians and the Balance of Power*, op. cit. p. 122.

<sup>10</sup> J.A.O.S. xxxvii, 1917, pp. 170E.

the hills of Persia to the fertile red lands of Harran as far as Carchemish'.<sup>1</sup> Shalmaneser (1276-1257) the Ashur marched to the Hittite city of Arina for 'depising the god Ashur' and destroyed it, sprinkling *kuṭime* 'ashes' thereon. Cappadocia and Hani, 'from the city Taidi to the city Irridi', the east of the Euphrates, 'all the broad lands of Shubari' soon came under the Ashur sway. More important for the present discussion is the inscription<sup>2</sup> at Susa about the leather-trader Agabtakha on the upper Euphrates. Thus step by step *Ashur* reaches the Red or Erythraean sea where the Indus-mouth meets the present Arabian Sea. Towards the close of this period and at the end of Tiglathpileser's reign (c. 12th century B.C.) Ashur history 'becomes obscure'.<sup>3</sup> Ashur re-emerges into greatness about the 10th century B.C.<sup>4</sup> Does the Rgveda take up the intervening tale and supply the missing link? The Indo-European *Ārya* descending from the Steppes<sup>5</sup> and the *Ashur* ascending by the Indus riverways?<sup>6</sup> *Dyāmāroḥantam*<sup>7</sup> 'ascending to the higher tracts'<sup>8</sup> repeated so often against the hostile Asura perhaps contains the clue. The long drawn out *Ārya*-Asura conflict was the consequence. Mahenjo-Daro<sup>9</sup> and Harappa,<sup>9</sup> Villi<sup>10</sup> and Brahui<sup>11</sup> mark the Asura's greatness and fall. From Dvārakā (Ariṣṭanemi)<sup>12</sup> to Rājgir<sup>13</sup> (Jarāsandha) and Assam (Prāgjyotiṣ

<sup>1</sup> Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, London, 1902: Adad-nirai I (1305-1277).

<sup>2</sup> See Scheil (in De Morgan), *Délégation en Perse*, 1900.

<sup>3</sup> *The Camb. Ancient History*, *op. cit.* vol. II, p. 251.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, cf. also the Behistun inscription, Susan translation for 'the god of the *Āryans*'.

<sup>6</sup> *Rgveda*, II, 12, 12.

<sup>7</sup> Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, on ii 12. 12.

<sup>8</sup> Marshall, 'First Light on a Long-forgotten Civilization' *Illustrated London News*, Sept. 1924.

<sup>9</sup> *J.B.O.E.S.*, 1923, pp. 347-8.

<sup>10</sup> *Ency. Brit.* 11th Ed.

<sup>11</sup> Bray, *The Life History of a Brāhmi*, R.A.S. Prize Publication, 1913.

<sup>12</sup> *Jaina Kalpa Sūtra*.

<sup>13</sup> *Mahābhārata*, V.P. vol. V. p. 54.

—Bhagadatta) testify to his tenacious hold till his final mingling with non-Aryans of the South and the present Dravidian type<sup>1</sup> close the first chapter of Asura history.

(b) 10th century to 614 B.C.

Assyria rallied round a now deified 'Ashur.'<sup>2</sup> 'The people of Ashur are now the worshippers of their god Ashur.' Their ancient town Ashur erects a temple to Ashur. 'Jananī janmahūmīschā svargādīpi garīyasi and Vaterland über alles' are typified in this new conception. Under a King reuniting the people in a personal allegiance to the 'priest of Ashur', Assyria welded together smaller states into her imperial unit,—Egyptians, Babylonians, Chaldeans and Persians. Sennacherib subjugated Elam;<sup>3</sup> and all Persia<sup>4</sup> except the north was under Ashur Banipal. The worship of 'Ashur' was thus a common rite which began in days of thralldom of Persia and subsisted after the final destruction of Assyria by the Babylonians, the Scythians and the Medes, and the Indo-European Iranians under Cyxares, 612 B.C.<sup>5</sup>

Politically the Assyrian empire lived on in the greater Persian empire, its successor, and was the original of the abiding type of polity known as 'the Oriental Monarchy.'<sup>6</sup> But what about her influence on civilization of succeeding ages? When Babylon ceased to be the cultural centre, Ashur arms carried on its mission.<sup>7</sup> Should history break her continuity at Assyria's fall and pick up her broken threads with Indo-Iran? The history of the Medes, the development of Persia, origins of Zoroastrianism come to our rescue from such an unnatural position. The supreme god of Assyria Ashur Marduk<sup>8</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup> Banerji-Sāstrī, *The Modern Review*, 1926, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Kuyunjik Tablets of Ashurbanipal.

<sup>3</sup> *The Camb. Ancient History*, op. cit. vol. III, pp. 1, 12-129.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 65, 122.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

<sup>6</sup> *The Camb. Ancient History*, op. cit. vol. III, pp. 44, 89, 131.

<sup>7</sup> Jean, *La Littérature des Babyloniens et des Assyriens*, 1924, pp. 11ff.

<sup>8</sup> Ungnad, *Religion der Babylonier und Assyrier*, 1921, p. 50.



Iranian godhead *Ahura Mazda*<sup>1</sup> cement the alliance and continue history which had already witnessed the enthronement of *Marduk*<sup>2</sup> as the highest deity in the Babylonian Pantheon. Temporal power may come and go but the impress of culture bides for ever.

*Ashur* (Assyrian) was the god of the people of *Ashur*. His peculiar symbol was the winged<sup>3</sup> disk (cf. Iranian Zend-Avestic winged *garōn-mān*, Symbol of *Ahura*, Fargard xix, ii, a; and *Sa Suparno garutmān*<sup>4</sup> 'winged Garuḍa', *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, x, 1, 6.) The Ashurs were noted for magic,<sup>5</sup> medicine,<sup>6</sup> sculpture,<sup>7</sup> architecture,<sup>8</sup> and military prowess.<sup>9</sup> The ancient Persians not only succeeded to the empire of Ashur but absorbed and cherished its culture.<sup>10</sup>

## II.—Iranian Records.

Iran meets Ashur (a) first as a vassal, (b) then as conqueror and inheritor.

(a) To the north of Persia, lay ancient Ellipi.<sup>11</sup> This kingdom once stretched to the Caspian Sea, east of Assyria.<sup>12</sup> Its capital was at Ecbatana.<sup>13</sup> To the south was Elam and Persia proper.<sup>14</sup> Then about 2,000—1,000 B.C. poured into Ellipi, nomadic Indo-Europeans from Southern Russia. They

<sup>1</sup> *S.B.E.* vol. iv, p. lxxx-xi.

<sup>2</sup> Jensen, *Kultische Texte*, 1915, pp. 80ff.

<sup>3</sup> *The Camb. Ancient History*, op. cit. vol. III, pp. 90.

<sup>4</sup> *S.B.E.* vol. iv, p. 221.

<sup>5</sup> King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, p. 63.

<sup>6</sup> Kuehler, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Assyrisch-Babylonischen Medizin*, 1908.

<sup>7</sup> Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum*, p. 72.

<sup>8</sup> Andrae, *Assyrische Stelen und Säulen*, O.L.Z. 1922, p. 49.

<sup>9</sup> Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, 1924, p. 81.

<sup>10</sup> *The Camb. Ancient History*, op. cit. vol. III, p. 1. Hall, *The Ancient History of the East*, op. cit. p. ix.

<sup>11</sup> Herodotus, *The History of Herodotus*, Trans. W. Beloe. pt. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Ctesias, *Persia*.

<sup>13</sup> Noldeke, "Persia", *Encycl. Brit.*

<sup>14</sup> *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, op. cit. vol. II, p. 230.

were known as Scythians or Mandas,<sup>1</sup> called Medes by the Greek.<sup>2</sup> They wiped out Ellipi,<sup>3</sup> and founded their own power. But this power was necessarily limited by the presence of Elam to the south and Assyria to the east. Elam was disputing the sovereignty over Manda with Babylon.<sup>4</sup> Babylon won against Elam<sup>5</sup> but lost to Assyria.<sup>6</sup> And both Elam and Manda came under Assyria.<sup>7</sup> Nebuchadrezzar I (1146-1123) of Babylon—"the subduer of Amurru, the lands of the Middle Euphrates, and the hero ... who overthrew the mighty Lulubi"—met the Elamites in Tammuz when "the axehead turned like fire and the *tu[ka]t* of the roads scorched like flame"<sup>8</sup> and victory was his by the grace of Marduk. But the god *Marduk* succumbed to the god *Ashur*. Ashur under Tiglath-Pileser (circa 1115) conquered by sheer force the land of the Two Rivers and dominated Babylon, Elam<sup>9</sup> and Manda. He was a sea-wolf of the east. He campaigned along the seacoast of the Mediterranean: he requisitioned the cedars of Lebanon for his buildings: Gebal (Byblus), Sidon and Arvad paid him tributes; in ships of Arvad he went by sea about 21 miles (three land *bēru*) to Simyra, killing sea-horse *nakhiru* on the way. A rock-sculpture at Nahr-el-Kelb perhaps records his work in Phœnicia.<sup>10</sup> Step by step, he can be traced marching on by the rivers Khabur and Euphrates<sup>11</sup> to the mouth of the Indus, known later as the Red or Erythraean Sea. Then does the story break off abruptly? The Vedic records take up the tale and continue the vicissitudes

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 118-120.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, Ctesias, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Weidner, *M.D.V.G.*, 1916, p. 3; Scheil, *Délégation en Perse*, x. 85.

<sup>5</sup> *Camb. Anc. Hist.* *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 249-250.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 247.

<sup>8</sup> Olmstead, *Tiglath-pileser I and his Wars*, *J.A.O.S.* xxxvii, 1917.

<sup>9</sup> Weidner, *Die Könige von Assyrien*, *M.V.A.G.*, 1921, 2.

<sup>10</sup> *Camb. Anc. Hist.* *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 250.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

of Asura in India. Where had the *Asura* come from? "From across the sea of salt water"—answers the earliest tradition recorded in the Purāṇas.<sup>1</sup> Even the earliest Greeks speak of the formidable *Pelasgoi*,<sup>2</sup> 'the people of the sea', a daring race of sea-rovers of the non-Indo-European stock, anterior to the Greek of the Iron age, occupying the Ægean lands. What manner of men they were? "*Hiranyahastah asurah*"<sup>3</sup> says the R̥gveda, 'men of brown complexion' as well *subhrah*<sup>4</sup> 'white'. The Egyptian records seek to distinguish between the Hittites of a *paler colour* and the *red Phœnicians*. The Greeks of the Roman period reveal the same distinction between the *White* Syrians and the *Red* Syrians by the term *Leukosuroi*. That this branch of *Ashur* and their cousins the Vedic *Asura* "across the sea of salt water"<sup>5</sup> were contemporaneous is clear from (i) the fact of *Ashur* and *Asura* still signifying 'a people'<sup>6</sup> in days of the first Assyrian supremacy down to 1,000 B.C. and in the Vedic records, and (ii) also the philological indication in the retention of *s*, not only in the solitary name of *Asura* and *Ashura* but other deities of the Babylonian-Assyrian pantheon common to the Vedic, e.g. *Surya* and *Svar* (Ved.)—and *Sarias*<sup>7</sup> (Babylon),<sup>8</sup> in the 18th cen. B.C.; *Nāsatyan*<sup>9</sup> (Mitani and Ved.)—14th. cen. B.C.; *Sāmas*<sup>10</sup> (Babyl.)—*Sāma* (Ved.); but (iii) a more cogent argument lies in the state of conflict and expansion. Iran does not show any synchronistic history of this period. Iran (Manda, Elam, Persia) was a vassal,<sup>11</sup> slowly absorbing the Assyrian culture. When

<sup>1</sup> *Bhaviṣṣya Purāṇa*.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *R̥gveda*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Bhaviṣṣya Purāṇa*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ante p. 2.*

<sup>7</sup> *S.E.A.W.*, 1916 (Wien).

<sup>8</sup> Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, 3, I. s 460.

<sup>9</sup> *Boghazköi Inscr.*

<sup>10</sup> Jensen, *Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.*, II, p. 195.

<sup>11</sup> *Hist. Hist. of World*, p. 573

she emerges at last in her Avestic garb, she is thoroughly 'Assyrianized'. Babylon transformed Assyria, gave her culture and a pantheon presided over by *Marduk*. Assyria lived on in Persia who inherited her Babylonian-Assyrian empire and a Babylonian-Assyrian pantheon. Both the empire and the pantheon were of the second period of Assyrian supremacy which had already deified *Ashur*<sup>1</sup> and which ended with the fall of Nineveh.<sup>2</sup> Persia put on the Assyrian mantle and installed both *Marduk*<sup>3</sup> and *Ashur*<sup>4</sup> in her Indo-European<sup>5</sup> pantheon. But all these are *faits accomplis* in the Gāthās<sup>6</sup>, the oldest part of the Avesta. No trace of any conflict. If such traces ever found any expression in the Scythian or Media period, they are now lost. Philology corroborates the comparative lateness of Avesta in the change of *s* before vowels at the beginning or middle of words into *h*<sup>7</sup>: e.g., *Ahura*<sup>8</sup>, *Nohatya*<sup>9</sup>, *Hvar*<sup>10</sup> for *Asura*, *Nāsitya*, and *Svar* respectively. Much of the confusion that exists among Iranologists<sup>11</sup> springs from the pre-conceived notion that contact between Assyria and India must have taken place by land and across Iran. Hence the retention of *s* in Babylonian-Assyrian<sup>12</sup> records on the one hand and Vedic<sup>13</sup> on the other along with the general state of strife and struggle common to both seem a stumblingblock. As a matter of fact this notion is altogether unfounded. All the available data<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix I.

<sup>2</sup> Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh*, 1923: newly discovered record.

<sup>3</sup> *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> Geiger, *Die Awesta Spantas*, p. 224, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Behistun Inscr.*

<sup>6</sup> *Acta Orientalia*, 1925, p. 90.

<sup>7</sup> *Acta Orientalia*, *op. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> Haug, *Essays on the Religion of the Persia*, p. 71.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *J.E.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 721ff., pp. 1905ff.

<sup>12</sup> Appendix I.

<sup>13</sup> *Rgveda*.

<sup>14</sup> cf. Marshall, *op. cit.*

suggest a base at the Indus-mouth, the *Asura* trying to occupy all the waterways in their *upward march* <sup>1</sup> following the course of the Indus. That this branch of the *Asuras* were *per excellence* a *sea-faring* people is proved by their subsequent occupation of important centres on the Ganges and the Jumna.<sup>2</sup> In any case the earliest Iranian records—if Assyria's vassal Iran ever had such records—that might be contemporaneous with the Vedic are missing; (b) The Zend-Avesta belongs to the later period. The tendencies of the earlier epoch appear here as accomplished facts. The Gāthic pantheon is Egypto-Babylonian-Assyrian,<sup>3</sup> grafted on an Indo-European branch.<sup>4</sup> Glimpses<sup>5</sup> are still discernible. They become officially recognized in the Yāsts and later, cf.

- (i) The supreme god in the Gāthās is *Mazdāh-Ahura* or *Mazdā Ahura*, very rarely *Ahura Mazdā*.<sup>6</sup> The two words are declined separately.<sup>7</sup> But in the later Avesta, the Yāsts and the Achaemenide inscriptions, occurs the stereotyped form *Ahuramazdāh*, where with a sole exception (Xerx. 3.8), the first part is not declined separately. This double appearance of the theophoric name *Mazdaka* is also found in a Sargon inscription of Media princes of 714 or 713. Who is *Mazdāh*? (1) Is it the Babylonian *Mardak*? (2) Meyer<sup>8</sup> has discredited Rost's attempt to identify *Bagmastum* with *Bag Mazdāh*: (3) Hommel<sup>10</sup> points

<sup>1</sup> *Rgveda*.

<sup>2</sup> *J.E.A.S.*, 1915, p. 447.

<sup>3</sup> Nielsen, *Der dreieinige Gott in religion historischer Beleuchtung*, pp. 68ff.

<sup>4</sup> Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, II. p. 204.

<sup>5</sup> Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, pp. 150ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Acta Orientalia*, *op. cit.* p. 91.

<sup>7</sup> *Acta Orientalia*, *op. cit.* p. 91.

<sup>8</sup> *Ante. Camb. Anc. Hist.*, *op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 15.

<sup>10</sup> Hommel, *Proc. Soc. Bib. Archaeol.*, 1899, pp. 127, 132, 137.

out *Assura Mazas* from a list in the Library of Assurbanipal of the Kassite period (1700—1200 B.C.) meaning the *great Asura*.

- (ii) *Mitra* occurs as a god in the Mitani documents <sup>1</sup> (14th cen. B.C.) and also as the equivalent of the Babylonian Sun-god *Samas* in a list of gods in the Library of Assurbanipal.<sup>2</sup> The Boghazköi inscription<sup>3</sup> describes *Mitra* and *Varuna* at the head of *Asura* deities, worshipped by ancient Iranians. Geiger's<sup>4</sup> view that *Mitra* was dropped from the Gāthic pantheon to give a monotheistic colouring to Zoroaster's teaching is not convincing. Andreas<sup>5</sup> has shown that the seven deities of the Zoroastrian Pantheon, the seven *Amurta Spentas* are—*Muzda*, the five elemental deities and *Vohu Manah*. The Gāthic *Vohu Manah* is the god in charge of the Judgment Day (cf. Y. 29, 7; Y. 30, 8; Y. 43, 16.) According to the Pehlevi *Dādastān-i-dēnīg* (14, 2-3) *Vohu Manah* and *Mitra* are the same. The Avestic *Mithra* (Yt. 10.86; Y. 29) corroborates this view (cf. also names like *Mithridates*, etc.).

- (iii) Of the other deities of the Gāthās, *Srausa*,<sup>6</sup> the 'god of obedience' and *Urti*,<sup>7</sup> 'goddess of happiness' are certainly older deities in a transformed garb. Ancient associations are striking between the goddess *Urti* and the Babylonian-Assyrian *Sūrā-Anākitā*.<sup>8</sup>

- (iv) The Achaemenide<sup>9</sup> inscriptions record the expansion and unification of Iran. With it came a consciousness

<sup>1</sup> *Boghazköi Inscri.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ants.*

<sup>3</sup> *Acta Orientalia*, op. cit., p. 95.

<sup>4</sup> Geiger. *Die Amesa Spentas*, p. 181.

<sup>5</sup> Andreas and Wackernagel, *Die. Vierte Gāthā*, 1911, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Guntert, op. cit., p. 62.

<sup>7</sup> Y. 43. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Geiger, op. cit., p. 111.

<sup>9</sup> Prasek, *Gesch. der Meder u. Perser*, pp. 204ff.

of its inherited tradition—Persia's connection with Assyria. All the other gods recede into abstractions.<sup>1</sup> Darius and Xerxes name only one god—*Ahuramazdāh shadā vithaiḅis bagaiḅis* (Beh. IV. 12; Dar. Pers. d. 14, 22, 24).

- (v) The Assyro-Babylonian connection is admitted by Geiger<sup>2</sup> in the similarities between the Ādityas and Samas and Sin.
- (vi) From the time of Artaxerxes II, Mithra and Anāhitā are associated with *Ahuramazdā* (Art. Ham. Art. Sus.)<sup>3</sup>
- (vii) According to Clemens of Alexandria (Protrept. 5. 6 5.4) Artaxerxes erected a statue of Aphrodite Anāhitā at Babylon, at Susa and at Ecbatana and introduced her cult in Persia.
- (viii) Darius (Beh. I. 14) records how he reconstructed sanctuaries destroyed by the Gaumata. But the Persians of that period had only sacred fire altars, both in the West and the East. It is difficult to understand why the Magi should have destroyed these sacred things which his own followers worshipped. The real explanation seems to be probably a destruction of temples of foreign cults, viz. Babylonian, Elamite, etc., which were not only tolerated but respected by the Kings of Persia and which naturally provoked the wrath of the intolerant Median Magi.<sup>4</sup>
- (ix) Thus the secular-sacred outlook of the Iranian records may be summarised as a definite recognition of *Ahuramazdāh* as the supreme deity, now ostentatiously enthroned as the 'god of the Aryans'<sup>5</sup>;—and the great mission—"The *Ahura Question*": "the *Ahura Doctrine*" (Yt. 57-24.)

<sup>1</sup> Yt. 57.24. "The word *mazda* must have existed and been used (earlier): Zoroaster gave it a new meaning"—Hall.

<sup>2</sup> Geiger, *op. cit.* p. 129ff.

<sup>3</sup> Art. Susa.

<sup>4</sup> *Acta Orientalia*. 1926, p. 112. <sup>5</sup> *Behistun Inscr.*

Naturally with new-found zeal the Indo-European Avestic Iranian turns his whole wrath upon the devoted Vedic-Aryan (himself an Indo-European) who had fought the Asura and made good his claim to the Indus Valley.

From the time of the Gāthās, the *Ahura* and *Daeva* appear as essentially hostile. The supreme god is Mazdāh 'the wise,' or *Mazdāh Ahura* 'Ahura the wise'. All the superior deities are designated as '*the wise Ahuras*' (Y. 30.9; 31.4). Ahura religion is strictly opposed to the *Daeva* religion (Y. 12. 9). *Indra* is a wicked demon (Vend. xix 43) next to *Angro-mainyush* (Ahriman) called *daēvandan daēvō* 'demon of demons.' That the Iranian records depict a state in India already firmly rooted and possibly not in living memory is admitted in a significant passage—"that the Dævas had chosen wrongly from the beginning of the world and had deliberately ranged themselves on the wrong side" (Y. 30. 6.) This admission is borne out by the fact that those only among the Vedic deities, e.g., Mitra,<sup>1</sup> are still spoken of well in the Avesta who are directly traceable to an *ante-Avestic* Babylonian-Assyrian period.<sup>2</sup>

### III.—Indian Records.

#### (a) Vedic ? —1500 B.C.

*Asura* in the R̥gveda begins as a term of praise (R̥g. I. 35.7). Varuṇa the greatest god along with Indra is termed *Asura* (R̥g. I. 24.14.) The *Asura* Varuṇa is noted for sovereignty (*kṣatra*), universal monarchy (*sāmrājya*), knowledge of astronomy (*māsa*, days and intercalary month, R̥g. I. 25.8) and above all, occult power (*māyā*). He is essentially *asura* and *māyīn*<sup>3</sup>; and Varuṇa "knows the way of the ship on the sea" (R̥g. I. 25.7), Indra (R̥g. I. 54.8), Ag̃ni (R̥g. IV 2, 5; VII, 2, 8), Savitr̥ (R̥g. I. 35.7)

<sup>1</sup> Haug, *op cit.*, p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> Geiger, *op. cit.* p. 181ff, 224.

<sup>3</sup> R̥g. I, 160, 23. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, pp. 159ff.

<sup>4</sup> Max Muller, *A.S.L.*, p. 586.



also share the dignity of being *Asura*-like. But more important is the close association of *asura* with Rudra or Śiva (Rg. V 42.11). From the beginning Rudra is clearly distinguishable from the rest of the Aryan gods. (i) his is the only<sup>1</sup> malevolent dread name amongst a host of benevolent Aryan deities; (ii) he is the foremost physician (Rg. II. 33.4); (iii) he punishes his Aryan worshippers as well as non-Aryan (Rg. II. 35.15); (iv) his medical virtues are connected with water *jalāśa* (Rg. II. 33.7); (v) later when Prajāpati committed incest with his daughter, Rudra as Bhūtapati tore him to pieces;<sup>2</sup> (vi) he is a higher personage than Viṣṇu;<sup>3</sup> (vii) his *asuriyam* is propitiated as Śiva (Rg. X. 34.2). In the re-adjustment that followed the Arya-Asura struggle, Asura<sup>4</sup> became a hostile rival of the Ārya but the memory of the earliest epoch survives in Śiva recognized as one of the Post-Vedic Trinity, itself an outcome of an amalgam of the contending forces.

These forces are three in the Rgveda—Ārya, Asura, Dāsa. Dāsa is sharply differentiated ethnically as well as culturally; they are 'nose less', *anās* (Rg. v. 29.10) or misfeatured<sup>5</sup> 'broken-nosed' *rujānāḥ*<sup>6</sup> (Rg. I, 32.8), black *kr̥ṣṇiḥ* and *dāsa varṇa* (Rg. I, 104.2) *kr̥ṣṇatvach*, black skin (Rg. I, 130.8; IX, 41.1) as opposed to the Asura and Ārya who are *hiranya* 'brown' (Rg. I, 35.10) and *śvītṇya* 'white' (Rg. I, 100.18), 'fair' (Rg. III, 34.9); culturally they are *a-karman* 'rite-less' (X. 22.8), *adevayū* 'indifferent to the gods' (VIII, 70-11), *a-yajvan* 'not sacrificing' (VIII, 70-11), *a-vrata* 'lawless' (I, 51-8; 175, 3; VI, 14-3; IX, 41-2), *angavrata* 'following strange customs' (VIII, 70-11); and also *mrdhra-vāch*

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.

<sup>3</sup> Rapson, *Camb. Anc. Ind.*, p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> Oldenberg, *op. cit.* pp. 150ff, contrast Geiger, *op. cit.* p. 224, n. 1 Guntert *Der arische Weltkönig*, p. 99.

<sup>5</sup> Roth's *St. Petersburg Dict.*

<sup>6</sup> Bloomfield, *Amer. Journ. Philol.*, 17, 415.

<sup>7</sup> Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. I, p. 347.

'of unintelligible speech' (Rg. V, 29-10). A Dasyu is to be killed at pleasure (Rg. I, 100, 12; VI, 45-24) or to be made a slave (Rg. VII, 86-7; VIII, 56-3; X, 62-10).<sup>1</sup> They are 'phallus worshippers' *śisna-devāh* (Rg. VII, 21-5; X, 99-3).<sup>2</sup>

The Asura is distinguished from the Ārya only later, first as *mṛdhrācchāh* 'of hostile speech' (Rg. VII, 13-13; VII, 6-3) then as enemies (Rg. I, 174-2; V, 32-8; X, 23.5). Towards the end of the Rgvedic period, the Aryas routed the Asuras and relegated them to a distinctly inferior position as demons.<sup>3</sup>

The story of the conflict is yet to be written. The Indo-Aryan coming from the north; he was the Aryan Bharata, made his way through Kubhā (Kābul), the Suvāstū (Swat) the Krumu (Kufram) and Gomati (Gomal); he knew the Himavant (Rg. II, 503) and gathered soma from one of its peak the Mūjavant (Rg. X, 34.1); his chief emphasized his position as *Divo dāsa* 'the servant of heaven' (i.e., of the heights). In the meantime the Indus-mouth was in other hands.<sup>4</sup> Who were they? Pūrus, Turvaśas, Yadus, Anus, Druhyus, Bhrgus (Rg. I, 103-8; VII, 18-6; VIII, 3-9; 6-18), Paṇis, Pārāvatas, Bṛsaya (Rg. I, 33-3; VI, 20-3; III, 8-4). Divodāsa and Sudāsa on the one side (Rg. VII, 1-3; VII, 202). Individual heroes like Vṛtra, Bala, Purnakutsa, Rauhiṇa 'going upward' (Rg. II, 12-12) on the other. The Arya Bharatas calling the opposite camp *mṛdhrācchāh* 'of unintelligible speech'.<sup>5</sup> The Āryas were led by Vasiṣṭha the Ṛṣi priest of the Bharatas.<sup>6</sup> The opposite camp by Viśvāmitra.<sup>7</sup> Vasiṣṭha claims a Brāhmaṇa's privilege to officiate as Purohita at sacrifices and is a pioneer at that.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Geldner, *Rigveda Glossar*, 82.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.* p. 155.

<sup>3</sup> Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

<sup>4</sup> The Pūrus lived on either side of the Sarasvatī, a river midway between the Satlej and the Jumuṇā, cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 5-10.

<sup>5</sup> Muir, *Sanskrit Texts* 2, 393ff.

<sup>6</sup> Oldenberg, *Z.D.M.G.*, vol. XLII, p. 207.

<sup>7</sup> Weber, *Indische Studien*, 10-35.

<sup>8</sup> *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, III, 5-2-1; *Kāṇva Saṃhitā*, XXXVII, 17.

Viśvāmitra is chiefly noted for his familiarity with water—he praises the rivers Vipāś and Śutudrī (Rg. III, 33), he helps a branch of the Bharatas to cross a river in high flood (Rg. VII 33-6; III, 53-9-11), traditionally he goes off to the rivers with his wealth (Śāyana on Rg. III, 33). The *causus belli* is the possession of the waterways.<sup>1</sup> The Dāsas (like Śambara, Ajas, Śigrus, etc.) help the Viśvāmitra camp of ten tribes led by the Pūrus. Besides the Bhṛgu, Purāṇas<sup>2</sup> record among the earliest rulers and sages two names obviously non-Aryan at the same time non-Dāsa, viz. (2) *Pulaha* or *Pulaha*,<sup>3</sup> (3) *Kratu*. (2) *Pulaha* reminds one of the “*Pelasgians*”, “peoples of the sea” of the Greek historians and the Purāṇic<sup>4</sup> tradition of Asuras “from across the sea of salt water.” Rāvaṇa of the Island of Lankā is described in post-Vedic literature as a descendant of Pulaha<sup>5</sup> and the non-Aryan Asura<sup>6</sup> colonization of the sea-girt isle awaits investigation. Similarly (1) *Bhṛgu* is suspiciously akin to Phrygian by a simple application of well known phonetic laws.<sup>7</sup> In any case the Indus mouth still bears his name. (4) *Kratu*<sup>8</sup> itself, like *Asura*, occurs frequently and may or may not be reminiscent of another people of pre-Homeric history,<sup>9</sup> once within

<sup>1</sup> Rg. II, 12-3, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Matsya Purāṇa* Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 2, n. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Pulaha or Pulastya—one of the seven sages of the constellation ‘Saptarṣi’ Perhaps the same as *Pulaha* mentioned as ‘Yavana’ in the *Matsya*? Note the astronomical reminiscence. Astronomy naturally played a more important part amongst the ancient seafaring people than at present.

<sup>4</sup> The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*.

<sup>5</sup> Pulaha or Pulastya married *Havirbhū* daughter of *Tṛṇavindu* and had a son *Vitravāh* whose son is Rāvaṇa. *Rāmāyaṇa*.

<sup>6</sup> *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Yuddha*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Skt. *nabhas*, Gk. *nepheos* (sky.) Skt. *bhrātā*, Gk. *phrator* (brother.)

<sup>8</sup> Macdonell's interpretation of *Kratu* from *kr*, to do, in Rg. II 12-1, VII 61-2 as ‘power’ ‘wisdom’ is pure conjecture and ignores passages like *kratu-jit*, *Yajurveda Taitt. Sam* II, 3-8-1; *Kāthaka Sam*. xl-1 where either some people or their special characteristics are meant.

<sup>9</sup> Evans, *The Palace of Minoas*, p. 1.

the orbit of Assyrian supremacy, viz. of Crete. Such etymological suggestions may be fanciful and mischievous but the historical distinction between the Ārya-Bharata group from the North and the Pūru-Bhrgus by the Indus mouth and across the Sarasvatī<sup>1</sup>, one as Aryan, the other as non-Aryan, seems at least plausible. The Pūru-Bhrgus most emphatically were not Dāsas.<sup>2</sup> The only alternative left is to take them as the Asuras, as yet distinguishable from the Vedic Aryans by (i) the possession of a respected name, (ii) the control of the waterways<sup>3</sup> and (iii) by unintelligibility of speech.<sup>4</sup> That the *Pūru-Bhrgu* group were the *Asuras* ceases to be a mere plausible alternative and becomes an historical certainty by the explicit statement in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, vi. 8-1-14, unquestionably representing the nearest available tradition. It explains Pūru, Rg. VII. 8-4, as an *Asura* (*Śat. Br.* vi, 8-1-14). By a curious irony of fate, a 20th century student of the Rgveda (Macdonell, *Vedic Index*, vol. II page 13) having missed the whole bearing of the Rgvedic Ārya-Asura conflict accuses the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* of having utterly lost the tradition.

The struggle dragged on. The final episode on the bank of the Paruṣṇī.<sup>5</sup> It ended with an amalgamation of the two. Emerged the *Kurus* dominantly Aryan due to the Bharata war; but the Asura culture is absorbed and assimilated. The whole of Brahmāvarta becomes an Aryan land<sup>6</sup>; but Śiva, an embodiment of Asura virtues,<sup>7</sup> is enthroned in the Aryan pantheon. The next stage finds the remnants of Asuras holding fortified places by the Jumna and the Ganges,<sup>8</sup> from Dvārakā to Rājgir and Prāgjyotiṣ (Assam). Great builders in the Rgvedic age, they perpetuate their art wherever they go.<sup>9</sup> But they

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<sup>1</sup> Rg. VII, 96, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Rg. I, 130, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Grierson's theory of an earlier and later waves of immigration of Aryans (*Bullet. School Orient. Studies*, 1921, page 54) is far from being convincing.

<sup>4</sup> Rg. V I, 13-8-9.

<sup>5</sup> *Manu*, II, 17, 19.

<sup>6</sup> Hewitt, *J.R.A.S.*, 180, p. 473.

<sup>7</sup> *Alh.* II, 1-14-17.

survive as individuals only, till they mix up with the Dāsa and disappear in the present Dravidians.<sup>1</sup> The Dāsa adapts the Asura Rudra<sup>2</sup> to his phallic<sup>3</sup> emblem; cf. architectural marvels like Bhuvaneśvara bearing the object of worship of the *śiśnadevāh* (Rg. VII-21-5; X 99-3). And the post-Vedic Śiva retires into the hills, surrounded by savages, still cherishes his Vedic memories in the *Ahi*, serpent (Rg. II-12-3-11) and the Sindhu river (Rg. II-12-3) and his *Ashur* (Assyrian) excellence in medicine and magic.<sup>4</sup> 'Vox populi vox dei' — an unerring conscience of posterity views him either as in deep contemplation, his three eyes closed or turned inward,<sup>5</sup> or roaming over cremation fields<sup>6</sup> perhaps looking for things that once had been. In the meantime the Indo-Aryan connects the Ikṣvāku with the Pūrus<sup>7</sup> and the Kurus, drops the Asura, and continues his onward march that reaches in time Java and Indo-China.<sup>8</sup>

#### Pre-Patanjali Tradition.

Tradition — Brāhmanic, Buddhist, Jain and Hindu — still preserves traces of Asura history.

Hillebrandt<sup>9</sup> had clearly perceived the difference in language between the Asura and the Āryas on the strength of *helavo* in the Śāthapatha Brāhmana, III, 2, 1, 23, 24. Macdonell<sup>10</sup> begs the whole question when he seeks to controvert this view as *helavo* he takes to mean *herayo* 'ho, enemies' in Sanskrit. His authority evidently is Patanjali<sup>11</sup> who attempts to establish

<sup>1</sup> Modern Review, 1926, January, pp. 21-24.

<sup>2</sup> Sāmkhyāyara Gr. Sūtra, I, 10-9.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonell, Ved. Myth. page 155.

<sup>4</sup> Thompson, *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 35ff, *Assyrian Medical Texts*, Oxford, 1923.

<sup>5</sup> *Kumārasambhavam*, canto III, 46-7,

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, canto V-68.

<sup>7</sup> Rapson, *op cit*, page 83.

<sup>8</sup> Lévi, *J. A.*, 1915, pp. 118-22.

<sup>9</sup> Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, I. 89, 90, 114.

<sup>10</sup> Macdonell, *Vedic Index*, Vol. I. p. 348.

<sup>11</sup> Eggeling, *S.B.E.*, 26, 31 n. 3.

the superiority of Sanskrit over an alien tongue, *mlcchokhita* (I. 1, 1). Even according to Patañjali, it is non-Sanskritic. Earlier literature remembers them in detail. The White Yajurveda<sup>1</sup> mentions seven *Āsurī* metres—e. g. *Gāyatrī āsurī*, *uṣṇīh āsurī*, *Pañkti āsurī*. The Gāthās embody them. The *Gāyatrī āsurī* of fifteen syllables in Ahunavaiti (Yas. XXXI, 6; XXXI, 4); the *uṣṇīh āsurī* of fourteen syllables in the Gāthā Vohu—Khṣathra (Yas. LI); the *Pañkti āsurī* of eleven syllables in the Gāthās Uṣṭavaiti and Spentā-Mainyū.

The Epic literature has not yet forgotten the national characteristics of the Asuras—as a great seafaring people. Mahābhārata I, 21, 1211, 1219 describe the ocean as “the abode of the Asuras”; also *Āsurānām cha bāndhavam* Nil. *Śaraṇam* I, 21, 7, *Brāhmaṇānām paribhavād Āsurāḥ salileśayāḥ*, XIII,

**Asuras—a Sea-people.** 33,2098; 35,2160, etc. Instances could be multiplied. Asuras as the powerful island people of Laṅkā practically supply the theme of the Rāmāyaṇa. Individual epic heroes<sup>2</sup> like Pṛthu Vainya (Mbh. VII, 69, 2403), Yayāti (Mbh. VII, 63, 2295), Bali (Mbh. XII, 8182, 8324, 12943), Bhagadatta (Mbh. VII, 1290), Jarāsandha (Mbh. XII, 1296) Rāvaṇa (Rām.) bear an historical personality, too obvious to be dismissed as mere myths.

Besides prowess in arms [*Asura vyuham* a Asura phalanx known by Bhīṣma (Mbh. VI, 696) *Āsurāstrāṇi* (Mbh. VII, 26) and Indrajit's skill in soaring into the sky (Rām., Laṅkā)—contrast—“a Cretan headland was the scene of the first experiment in aviation—the fatal flight of Ikaros!”<sup>3</sup>] and skill in government,<sup>4</sup> the Asuras—“the sons or men of the Asura” (Rg. II, 32, 4; VII, 99.5) were from the beginning noted

**Asuras—great builders.**

<sup>1</sup> Weber, *White Yajurveda*, vol. i, p. LX.

<sup>2</sup> Sorensen, *Mahābhārata Index and Concordance*, 1904, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> Evans, *op. cit.* p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Āitareya Br.* I, 14.

as great builders. "They made fortified places (*Pur*)"—the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* I, 23. Since, every Indian book on engineering, sculpture and architecture (cf. the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtra-dhāra*, II. p. 114) is fathered on to *Maya*, the Daidalos of the ancient Indian science of building. And apart from actual sites e. g. *Jarāsandha ki baiṭhak* at Rājgīr<sup>1</sup> almost every important ruin is credited to the generic Asura, comprising such specific groups as—*maharṣi*—*Yakṣa*—*Gandharva*—*Pannaga*—*Rākṣasāḥ* (Mbh. III, 173, 12201, 12206).

Asura sculpture and architecture have their own symbols. Two are of outstanding importance ; (i) The "snake" appears from the Rgvedic literature onwards (Rg. IX, 86, 44 ; Av. I, 27 ; Satap. Br. XI, 2, 6, 13 ; Bṛhad. Upa. IV, 4, 10 ; Jaim. Br. I, 9 ; II, 139 ; Kāth Up. II, 6). The *Mañiar maṭh* at Rājgīr and terracotta Snake goddess<sup>2</sup> from Basārḥ at the Patna Museum are amongst its earliest representations in sculpture and architecture. The faience figures of a snake goddess found at Crete and their resemblance to the Basārḥ figure raise interesting points of contact probably through Egypt and Syria. (ii) The *Sa suparṇo Garutmān* Garuḍa used along with Asura in Rg. 1, 35, 8 and elsewhere had long been recognized<sup>3</sup> as a form of the Zoroastrian Ahura (Farg. XIX, II)—both sculptured alike in India and Iran.<sup>4</sup> But their connexion with and common source from Ashur of Assyria is suggested by a sculptured representation of the identical Garuḍa stabbed on the head and the stomach by an obvious Iranian monarch presumably as a token of Assyria's overthrow at the hand of Iran, as a bas-relief of the Palace at Persepolis reproduced on p. 572 of Vol. II, Historians History of the World. Later mythology turns Garuḍa into an enemy of the snake. But it attempts an historical compromise in Garuḍa's submission to

<sup>1</sup> *Archæol. Surv. Rep.*, 1913-14.

<sup>2</sup> *Camb. Hist. Ind.* pl. xiv, 37.

<sup>3</sup> *J.B.A.S.*, 1915, p. 427.

<sup>4</sup> Spiegel, *Iranische Alterthumskunde*, vol. ii, p. 24.

Viṣṇu and the Asura's exit from the scene. But Ashur, Asura and Ahura Garuḍa may be of Assyrian-Babylonian origin" (Spiegel, *op. cit.*).

"Each generation," says Emerson, "abandons the ideas of its predecessors like stranded ships." The reason is not far to seek. The gaps in the history of human evolution so far accessible to us, vastly exceed the recorded chapters. Research reveals fresh links and urges an evaluation of the new data and a revaluation of the old. The last fifty years have shown that the history of Europe begins outside Europe—the Græco-Roman authors deeply imbued with the Babylon—Egypt—Assyria—Persian civilization.<sup>1</sup> Advanced internationalism is an admitted factor in world politics from the 3rd millennium B.C.<sup>2</sup> Cretan excavations have brought into view "for the first time, a primitive European civilization, the earliest phase of which goes back even beyond the days of the First dynasty of Egypt".<sup>3</sup> Beyond that still, before the earliest actors come on the scene—lies the greenroom of Time and Space—an immeasurable vista of the yet unknown. But geologists, geographers and anthropologists are hard at work.<sup>4</sup> In the East also, Central Asia, Turkistan and China are linked up with Iran<sup>5</sup> and through Iran, "the great mediator between the West and the East,"<sup>6</sup> with the rest of the world. This perception of the unity of history in turn illuminates each of its episodes.

But India remains an exception. Her records lie neglected. Interested wisdom avoids all analysis. In interpreting her written evidence, she seems to forget that human records, however professedly religious, must study man's dealings with other men, and the adjustment of working relations between

<sup>1</sup> Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, p. ix.

<sup>2</sup> *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II. p. 228.

<sup>3</sup> Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Saess, *Das Antlitz der Erde*, Oxford, 1904—9.

<sup>5</sup> Pelliot, *Influences iraniennes en Asie Centrale et en Extrême Orient*, 1911.

<sup>6</sup> Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 1918, pp. 185ff.



different groups. Laocoon-like, she suffers from her chain of "splendid isolation". The theory of "splendid isolation" is an historical absurdity: it never existed nor ever will. It breeds degeneration in insinuating India's precarious physical security and her undoubted intellectual heritage to be due to chance or nature. The virile Indo-Aryan who fought the formidable Asura and carried his culture to China, Indo-China, Sumatra, Bali, Java and Ceylon to-day claims the dubious distinction of being home-loving prodigies. Hence arises the difficulty of comprehending that mysterious body-politic known as Indian Society,—realized facts and intimate tendencies lying athwart unintelligible dogma. A study of the past will lessen the mystery and *Asura* may perhaps supply the key.



## Appendix.

### Texts.

#### I. Assyrian.\*

(a) Kuyunjik Tablet of Ashur-naṣir-pal I. (1038-1020 B.C.)

[Referring to Assyria's fall from past greatness under Tiglath-pileser I. and his predecessors (1500-1000 B.C.)]

#### PRAYER TO ISHTAR.

"Turn thy face unto me, O Lady, so that by reason thereof the heart of thy servant may be made strong! I, Ashur-naṣir-pal, the sorrowful one, am thine humble servant; I, who am beloved by thee, make offerings unto thee and adore thy divinity.....I was born in the mountains who no man knoweth; I was without understanding and I prayed not to thy majesty. Moreover *the people of Assyria* did not recognize and did not accept thy divinity. But thou, O Ishtar, thou mighty queen of the gods, by the lifting up of thine eyes didst teach me, for thou didst desire my rule.....Let thine anger be appeased, and let thine heart be mercifully inclined towards me."<sup>1</sup>

(b) Ishtar Hymn—S.M. 954 British Museum.

Clay Tablets, *circa* 668-609 B.C.

[Referring to Assyria's second supremacy *circa* 890-612 B.C.]

"(Series : ) *ir shimma dimmir Ninna.*"

—Complaint to the goddess Ishtar.

"Palace of Asshurbanapal, king of Assyria,

Son of Esarhaddon, king of the Universe, king of Assyria,  
ruler of Babylon,

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\*Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*; Layard, *Niniveh and its Remains*.

<sup>1</sup> *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 1925, vol. III, pp. 2-3.

King of Sumer and Accad, king of the Kings of Ethiopia  
and Egypt,

King of the four regions, son of Sennacherib,

King of the universe, king of Assyria, who puts his trust  
in the god *Asshur* and the goddess *Ninlil*, in *Nabu*  
and *Tashmit*.

May the god *Nabu* be thy guide ! ”

Xth tablet—

“ May the light of *Asshur*, the king of the gods, be thy  
guide !

Whosoever shall write his name by my name,

May *Asshur* and *Ninlil* (*Beltis*) destroy him and root his  
name and his seed out of the land ! ”

## II. Persian.

[(a) Scythian or Manda (Sayce: *The Higher Criticism and  
the Monuments*)—vassal of Assyria from circa  
700-607 B.C.

(b) Iran and Extra-Iran (Nöldeke, “*Persia*,” *Ency. Brit.*)  
—under Assyria from circa 836-549 B.C.]

1. “*Ahura mazda*, the god of the Aryans ”—Susan Trans-  
lation of the Behistun inscription.

2. “ Now he converses with *Ahura*, on the mountain of the  
holy questions, in the forest of the holy questions.” *Vendidad*,  
*Fargard*, xxii, 19.

3. “*Ahura*, the Lord reveals the law, *ahuri frasnô*.”  
xviii, 13ff.

4. *Yathâ ahû vairyo, athâ ratush, ashâd chîd kachâ,*  
*Vanheush dazdô manânhô, shkyaothnanâm anheush mazdâ,*  
*Khshathremchâ ahurâi, â'yim âregubyô dâdhad vâstârêm.*

5. “*Ad thwâ mēhîz paurvîm mazdâ yazûm stoi mananâ*  
*Vanheush ptarêm mananô hyad thwâ hēm chashmaini*  
*heñgralem*

*Haithîm ashahyâ dāmîm anheush ahurem shkyaothanaeshâ.*”

*Yasna*, xxi, 8.

“ So I thought thee first *Mazda*, great in creation, great in  
mind, mind of the good father ; therefore I seized the toger

in the eye, thee of true righteousness, creator of life, *Ahura* in actions."

6. "*Tađ thwā pareś eresh mōi vaocā āhurā !  
Kasā zāihā pīś asahyā paouruō ?*"

Yasna, xliv, 3.

"That I will ask thee, tell me aright, *Ahura !* father of righteousness, creator, what man first?"

7. "I, *Ahura* Mazda, created the good lands and countries, the first was the Airyana Vaëgō by the good river Dāitya." — *Fargard*, i 3.

8. "Thus speaks *Ahura* Mazda, the Holy One, unto thee : "I, *Ahura* Mazda, the Maker of all good things, when I made this mansion, the beautiful, the shining, seen afar !" *Fargard*, xxii, 14, 38.

9. "Zarathushtre asked *Ahura* Mazda : O *Ahura* Mazda, most beneficent spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy one !" *Fargard*, xix, 11. 37.

[Assyrian vocabulary in the *Huzvārish* and *Pāzand* — called *Māriknāmak-i Asūrik* edited by Dastur Hoshangji as the *Pahlavi-Pāsanī farhang*.]

### III. Indian.

#### (a) Vedic.

1. अवते हेतो वरूण नमोमिच्छयद्भेमिरोमहे हविभिः ।

क्षयन्नस्मभ्यम रपचेताराजन्नेनांसि शिश्रथः कृतानि ॥

१-२४-१४ ।

असुर—अनिष्टचेपणशीलेति सायणः ।

2. त्वं राजेन्द्र येव देवारचान्दृन्पाद्वासुरत्वमस्मान् ।

त्वं सत्यतिर्मघवानस्तरुत्रस्त्वं सत्यो वसवानः सद्बोदाः ॥

१-१७४-१ ।

असुर—शत्रूणां निरसित इति सायणः ।

3. त्वं विश्वेषां वरूणांसि राजा ये च देवा असुर ये च मर्ताः ।

शतं नो राक्षस शरदो पिचक्षे श्यामायूषि सुधितानि ॥

२-२७-१० ।

4. मानोवधैर्वरुण येत इष्टावेन ; कृण्वन्तमसुरभ्रीणन्ति  
मा ज्योतिष ; प्रवसथानि गन्म विषमृधः शिश्यथो जीवसेनः ॥  
२-२८-७ ।

असुर—पापकृतां निरसितः ।

5. गोमां अग्ने पिमां अश्वीयज्ञो नृवत्सखासदमिदप्रमृथः ।  
इष्टावां एषो असुर प्रजावान्दीर्घोरपिः मयुबुधः सभावान् ॥  
४-२-५ ।

हे असुर बलवन्निति सायणः ।

6. अरोदसी हर्यमाणि महित्वानव्यनव्यंहर्यसिमभ्यनुभ्रियम् ।  
प्रपस्त्यमसुरहर्षतंगोराविष्कधिहरये सूर्याय ॥  
१०-८६-११ ।

असुर—बलवन्—असुः प्राणस्लद्धान्  
मत्त्वर्थायोरः तादृशेन्द्रः ।

7. एवामहो असुर वक्षथायवभ्रकः पन्निरूपसर्पदिन्द्रम् ।  
स इयानः करति स्वस्तिमस्मा इषमूर्जं सुचितिं विश्वमाभाः ॥  
१०-८६-१२ ।

असुर—बलवानिति ।

8. असावन्यो असुर स्यतद्यौस्त्वं विश्वेषां वडणासि राजा ।  
मूर्धारथस्य चाकन्नैतावतैनसान्तकध्रुक् ॥ १०-१३२-४ ।  
हे असुर तमसः दीपक यद्वा असवः प्राणः तान् ददाति  
मनुष्येभ्यः स्वोदयेन प्रयच्छतीत्यसुरः ईदृश हे मित्र !  
इति सायणः ।

9. विसृपर्णां अन्तरिक्षाण्यथ्यज्ञभीखेपा असुरः सुनीथः ।  
क्वदानीं सूर्यः कश्चिकेत कतर्मा द्यां रश्मिरस्याततान् ।  
॥ १-३५-७ ।

असुरः सर्वेषां प्राणदः तथा चान्यत्रास्नायते—सर्वेषां  
भूतानां प्राणानादायोदेतौति—सायणः ।

10. त्वमग्ने रुद्रो असुरो महोदिवस्त्वं शर्धो मारुतं पृच्छ ईशिषे ।  
त्वं घातैररूणै र्यासि शंगयस्त्वं पूषा विधतः पासि तुष्मना ॥  
२-१-६ ।

असुरः शत्रूणां निरसिता—सायणः ।

11. पिता यज्ञानामसुरो विपश्चितां विमानमग्निर्वयुनंचवाधताम् ।  
आविवेशरोदसौ भूरिवर्षसा पुरुप्रियो भन्दते घामभिः कविः ॥  
३-३-४ ।

असुरो बलप्रद इति सायणः ।

12. प्रवेधसे कवये वेधाय गिरं भरे यज्ञसे पूर्याय ।  
घृतप्रसक्तो असुरः सुरेश्वरायोधर्ता धरूणो वस्वो अग्निः ॥  
५-१५-१ ।

असुरो बलवानिति सायणः ।

13. अनस्वन्ता सत्पतिर्मामहे मे गावाचेतिष्ठो असुरो मघोनः  
त्रैवृष्णो अग्ने दशभिः सहस्रैर्वैश्वानरज्यरूणश्चिक्नेत ॥  
५-२७-१ ।

असुरो बलवानिति सायणः ।

14. प्रशंतमावरूणं दीधिती गीर्मित्रं भगमदिति नूनमश्याः ।  
तपद्योनिः पञ्चहोता ऋणोत्वर्तपन्था असुरो मयोभुः ॥  
५-४२-१ ।

असुरः प्राणस्य दाता ।

15. स्वस्ति नो मिमौतामश्विना भगः स्वस्ति देव्यदितिरनर्वणः ।  
स्वस्ति पूषा असुरो दधातुनः स्वस्ति धावाष्टथिवी सुचेतुना ॥  
५-५१-११ ।

असुरः शत्रूणां निरसिता प्राणानां बलानां दाता वा ।

16. दिवो नो वृष्टिं मरुतो ररोध्वं प्रपिन्वत वृष्णो अश्वस्य धाराः  
अर्वाङ्घ्रिभ्यो नस्तनयिबुनेह्यपो निषिञ्चन्नसुरः पिता नः ॥  
५-८३-६ ।

असुरः उदकानां निरसितापि सन्—सायणः ।

17. अहायदिन्द्रसुदिनाव्युच्छान्दधो यत्केतुमुपमंसमत्सु ।

न्यग्निः सीददसुरो न होता हुवानो अत्र सुभगाय देवान् ॥

७-१०-३ ।

असुरो बलवानिति—सायणः ।

18. अस्मे वीरो मरुतः शुस्म्यस्तु जनानां यी असुरो विधर्ता ।

आपो येन सुक्षितये तरेमाधस्वमोको अभिवः स्याम ॥

७-५६-२४ ।

असुरः प्रज्ञावानिति सायणः ।

19. अस्तभ्नाद्यामसुरो विश्ववेदा अमिमीत वरिमाणं पृथिव्याः ।

आसौदद्विश्वा भुवनानि सम्राड्विश्वेत्तानि वरूणस्य व्रतानि ॥

८-४२-१ ।

असुरः बलवानिति—सायणः ।

20. स्रक् द्रप्सस्य धमतः समस्व रन्तस्य योना समरन्तनाभयः

त्रीन्तसमूर्ध्नो असुरश्चक्र आरभे सत्यस्य नावः सुकृतमपौपरन् ॥

९-७३-१ ।

असुरो बलवान् सर्वेषां प्रीणनात् प्राणदाता वा ।

21. श्वेतं रूपं कण्ठते पत्सिषासतिसोमोमीद्वान् असुरो वेदभूमनः ।

धिया शमो सचते सेमभिप्रवद्विस्वकवन्धमवदर्षदुद्रिणम् ॥

६-७४-७ ।

असुरः प्राज्ञः बलवान्वा—सायणः ।

22. उदौरय पितराजारआभगमियत्ततिह्यती हत इत्यति ।

विवक्तिवह्निः स्रपस्यतेमखस्तविष्यते असुरो वेपते मती ॥

१०-११-६ ।

असुरः प्राणवान् प्रज्ञावान्वा व्रह्मेति शेषः ।

23. हव एषामसुरो नक्षतद्यां श्रवस्यतामनसानिंसतक्षाम् ।

चक्षाणां यत्र सुविताय देवाद्यौन वारेभिः वृणवन्तस्वैः ॥

१०-७४-२ ।

असुरः—इन्द्रस्य प्रेरक इति सायणः ।

24. About 105 references to some chief gods—described as *Asuras*; cf. Indra, Rv. i. 54, 3; Varuṇa, Rv. i. 24, 14; Agni, Rv. iv. 2, 5; vii. 2, 3; Savitr, Rv. i. 35, 7; Rudra, Rv. v. 42. 11. For all gods, Rv. i. 108, 6: "This Soma is to be distributed as an offering among the *Asuras*." "*Asura* of heaven", Rv. v. 41; 3, i. 131. 1. "Our father who pours down the waters." Rv. v. 83. 6. "Agni, born out of his womb." Rv. iii. 29. 14.

25. Hostile sense only twice in the older parts of the Rgveda, ii. 32, 4; vii. 99, 5—"defeat of the sons or men of *Asura*." About 13 in the last book.

26. Atharvaveda iv. 28. 5; vi. 7. 2 "*Asuras* hostile to the Aryans."

#### Equation of Texts.

$\frac{\text{Ashur}}{\text{Asura}}$  ]—a powerful people, Assyrians—Kuyunjik Tablet and Rgveda,—circa 1500-1200 B.C.

$\frac{\text{Ashur}}{\text{Ahura}}$  ]—deified by posterity, *Ishtar Hymn* [I(b)] and *Zend-Avesta* [II]—circa 8th—7th cen. B.C.



## MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS

### I.—On a Santali Folktale of the Hero and the Deity Type.

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

In my two papers entitled *A Folktale of a New Type from North Bihar and its variants* and *On a Muhammedan Folktale of the Hero and the Deity Type*, which have been published in *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, September, 1917, and December, 1918, respectively, I have dealt with and discussed three Hindu and one Muhammedan folktales which have for their theme the illustration of the truth that the trials and tribulations of man—the sorrows and sufferings he has to experience in this mundane existence—are the result of sins committed by him in a previous stage of existence. As the result of my study of those folktales, I have fixed the following story-radical which underlies them all :—

- (1) A hero goes to a deity to beg of him a boon, or to a supernatural being to wake him up.
- (2) On the way, the hero meets with several suffering persons and animals and a tree, all of whom importune him to inquire from the deity or supernatural being the causes of, and the remedies for, their respective troubles.
- (3) The hero obtains his own boon or effects his own purpose and learns from the deity or supernatural being the causes of, and the remedies for, their respective troubles.
- (4) The hero communicates the same to them, all of whom adopt the remedies and are, at once, relieved of their troubles.

- (5) The hero is suitably rewarded by the benefitted persons and animals and lives happily the reafter. But in one case, the hero refuses to accept the rewards offered by the benefitted persons and is, in the end, eaten up by the suffering beast.

I have recently come across a Santali folktale entitled *Karmu and Dharmu* which bears a close similarity to the aforementioned stories and of which I give below the following abstract, inasmuch as it has not yet been studied and discussed from the standpoint of the folklorist :—

Once upon a time there were two brothers named Karmu and Dharmu, the former of whom was an agriculturist and the latter a trader. While Dharmu was away from home, Karmu performed a religious ceremonial to which he did not invite Dharmu's family members. When Dharmu returned home and heard of this, he set about to perform a similar ceremonial. So he and his wife began to cook rice and vegetables for this feast which they did till far into the night. While they were doing so, the deity *Karam Gosāiñ* came down to see what preparations they were making in his honour, and watched from the back of their house.

While Karam Gosāiñ was watching, Dharmu threw the hot scum of the boiling rice through the window of the house and thereby scalded the deity. As the flies and insects worried Karam Gosāiñ's burns, his deityship went to the Ganges and immersed himself therein.

As Karam Gosāiñ was thus offended by Dharmu, all the latter's undertakings failed and he fell into abject poverty.

A voice from heaven informed Dharmu and his wife that their troubles and poverty were due to the fact that they had offended the deity Karam Gosāiñ and that they should proceed to the river Ganges and propitiate him by the offering of a new cloth dyed in turmeric and of oil.

Believing the voice to be true, they did as they were directed to do and started for the Ganges. On their way they came cross a fig tree and a mango tree, the fruits of both of which

were full of grubs and so they could not eat the same. Going further on they came across a cow and a buffalo, both of which they tried to capture for the purpose of milking them, but the beasts fled and told them to go to the river Ganges. Then proceeding further, they met a horse and an elephant, the former of which they tried to catch hold of so that they might mount upon him and ride to the Ganges but both the beasts would not allow them to do so. So they left them and pushed further on and found a large pot full of rupees under a banyan tree, which, disheartened as they were, they did not touch.

Going further on, they met a woman with a *pai* measure sticking to her throat, who told them that she had been suffering from this discomfort since the preceding twelve years and asked them to inquire from Karam Gosāiñ how she would be relieved from it. To this they agreed.

Proceeding further, they met another woman with a bundle of thatching grass stuck to her head, who also asked them to enquire from Karam Gosāiñ how she would be freed from her encumbrance. To this they assented.

Then pushing further on, they came across a third woman whose feet were burning in a fire and a fourth woman with a stool stuck fast to her back. Both these women requested them to enquire from the deity in what way they would be relieved of their troubles and sufferings. They promised to comply with their request.

At last they arrived at the bank of the Ganges where, on their invocation, the deity Karam Gosāiñ appeared before them. They propitiated him by bathing and anointing him with oil and turmeric and clothing him with a new cloth. Thus Dharmu and his wife persuaded the deity to return. So they rose up to depart.

Then Dharmu asked the deity about the women whom they had met on their way and Karam Gosāiñ said : "The woman has a stool stuck to her back because when visitors came to her house she never offered them a seat, let her do so in future, and she shall be freed ; and the woman has her feet burning in the fire

because she pushed the fuel into the fire with her foot, let her not do so in future, and she will be freed; and the woman has the thatching grass stuck to her head because when she saw a friend with straw sticking in her hair, she did not tell her about it, let her do so in future and she will be freed, and the woman has the *pai* measure stuck to her throat because, when her neighbour wanted to borrow her measure, she would not lend it, let her do so in future and she will be freed."

Then Karam Gosāin asked whether they had seen an elephant and a horse and a buffalo and a cow and money and mangoes and figs. To this query Dharmu answered by saying "Yes" and that he had not been able to catch the animals and that the fruit was bad. Karam Gosāin told them that on their way back home, they should take possession of all; and they did so. Then, mounting on the elephant, they returned home with great wealth.

On their way, they met the four women and told them how they could be relieved of their troubles.

After their return home, Dharmu celebrated a great festival in honour of the deity Karam Gosāin.<sup>1</sup>

On comparing the Santali variant with the aforementioned three Hindu versions from North Bihar, Chittagong and Eastern Bengal, I find that the Banyan tree with the jarful of rupees beneath it in the Santali story is represented in the latter's stories by the suffering *pukur* and *māngo* trees with the jarful of gold mohars hidden under them. The women with the *pai* measure and the stool sticking to their bodies, as described in the Santali variant, are represented in the North Bihari folktales by the elephant with his proboscis stuck fast to a tree, and, in the East Bengal version, by the woman with her feet adhering to a rice-husking pedal, and in the Chittagong tale by the crocodile which has half its body immersed in water and the other half emerging therefrom.

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<sup>1</sup> For a fuller version, vide *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, pp. 30-33, by C. H. Bompas. London: David Nutt, 1909.

The woman with the load of thatching grass on her head, the cow with her calf, the buffalo, the horse and the elephant of the Santali folktale are represented in the Chittagong and East Bengal versions by the carriers of straw, grass or fuel and by the cow.

If we extract the story-radical from the preceding Santali folktale, we find that it runs thus :—

- (1) The hero offends a deity.
- (2) In consequence of this, he is reduced to abject poverty.
- (3) He goes out to search for the deity and to propitiate him.
- (4) On the way, he meets with several suffering women who ask him to enquire from the deity the causes and remedies of their respective troubles.
- (5) He finds the deity, propitiates him, and enquires from the latter the causes and remedies of the suffering women's troubles.
- (6) He informs the women of the causes and remedies of their respective troubles and himself regains his lost prosperity.

On comparing this special story-radical of the Santali folktale with the generalized story-radical, given above, of the three Hindu and one Muhammadan variants, I am of opinion that the generalized story-radical will have to be modified as follows in order that it may fit into the aforementioned Santali story :—

- (1) A hero goes to a deity to beg of him a boon, or to *propitiate a deity whom he has offended*, or to a supernatural being to wake him up.
- (2) On the way, the hero meets with several suffering persons and animals, and a tree, all of whom importune him to enquire from the deity or supernatural being the causes of, and the remedies for, their respective troubles.

- (3) The hero obtains his own boon or effects his own purpose, and learns from the deity or supernatural being the causes of, and the remedies for, their respective troubles.
- (4) The hero communicates the same to them, all of whom adopt the remedies and are, at once, relieved of their troubles.
- (5) The hero is suitably rewarded by the benefitted persons and animals, or *obtains possession of some money and beasts and regains his lost prosperity* and lives happily thereafter.

But in one case the hero refuses to accept the rewards offered by the benefitted persons and is, in the end, eaten up by the suffering beast.

[It will not be out of place to mention here that the incidents of the suffering women and the relieving of their troubles occur in another Santali folktale entitled *The Seven Brothers and the Bonga Girl*. In this story it is stated that when the hero was going to find out the *Bohmae* birds in whom was hidden the life of a wizard who had carried off his mother in order that he might kill the birds and thereby kill his mother's abductor, he (the hero) met on the way three old women, one of whom had a stool stuck to her back, another had a bundle of thatching grass stuck on her head, and the third had her foot stuck fast to a rice pounder. These women requested him to inquire from the *Bohmae* birds the causes and remedies of their respective troubles. This he promised to do. When he found out the birds, he inquired from them the causes and the remedies of the women's troubles. The birds replied "The first old woman never asked visitors to her house to take a seat; if she does so in future, she will get rid of the stool. When the second old woman saw anyone with straws sticking in his or her hair, she never offered to take them out; if she does so in future she will be freed. The third old woman would not allow widows and orphans to use her rice pounder; if she does so in future she will be freed." On

his way back, he communicated to the three suffering women what the Bohmae birds had told him about the causes and remedies of their troubles.<sup>1</sup>]

As regards the incidents of singeing the deity Karam Gosain by throwing on him the hot scum of boiling rice, there is an analogous incident mentioned in a legend from South Bihar which I have published at pages 95 to 107 of the *Journal of the Department of Letters of the Calcutta University*, Vol. XI, 1924.

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<sup>1</sup> For the fuller version of this folktale, see Bompas's *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, pp. 218—226.



## II.—The Asurs—Ancient and Modern.

By Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

In ancient Sanskrit writings, from the R̥gveda downwards we meet with the name "Asura." Although in some passages the term may perhaps have been used with reference to supposed super-human enemies of the singers of the R̥gvedic hymns, in several others they evidently refer to human foes.

The names 'Daitya', 'Dānava', etc., also appear to have been in several passages applied to the same or similar hostile tribes as opprobrious epithets.

It is generally supposed that these hostile people, characterised in the R̥gveda as 'of unintelligible Speech' (*mṛdhṛavācā* and *anās*, V. 29, 10) 'devoid of rites' (*akarma*, x, 22, 8), 'following strange ordinances', (*anya-vrata*, V, VIII, 70, II), 'without devotion' (*a-brāhmaṇ*, IV, 16, 9), 'not sacrificing' (*ayajvan*, VIII, 70, II; and *a-yajm*, VII, 6, 8); 'indifferent to the gods' (*a-devayū*, VIII, 70, II), and 'lawless' (*a-vrata*, I, 51, 8, 175, 3, VI, 14, 3, IX, 41, 2); were none other than the ancestors of the existing aboriginal tribes of Northern and Central India, the Mūṇḍā-speaking tribes of Chota Nagpur, Orissa, Central India and the Central Provinces, the Bhils and allied tribes of Western India, if not also to the ancestors of the Dravidian-speaking hill tribes of Southern India. And I had also formerly shared in the same view.

Certain fact, however, that I came across in my investigations among the Chota Nagpur aborigines led me to doubt the correctness of the popular view as to the identity of the 'Asuras' of ancient Sanskrit literature. The first of these facts is the existence of a wide-spread tradition among the Mūṇḍās and several other aboriginal tribes of Chotā Nagpur of the previous occupation of the country by a metal-using people called the



*Asuras* who are said to have been routed by the Mūṇḍas with the help of their deity *Sing-bonga*. The ironsmelting activities of the Asuras, tradition says, greatly disturbed the even tenor of existence of the Mūṇḍas and their deities who were as yet innocent of the use and manufacture of metals. The second fact is the existence of numerous ancient ruins of brick-buildings in which are found various objects, particularly of terracota, and close to many of these building sites are found traces of working in copper or iron. A third fact is the existence in Chota Nagpur of numerous ancient graveyards attributed to these Asurs. Excavation reveals under each stone slab of large dimensions a number of earthenware cinerary urns containing the bones of deceased Asurs, presumably of the same family, ornaments of copper, stone crystal beads and miniature pottery of various shapes and sizes, Neolithic as well as copper implements have been found in some of these sites.

Finally, there still dwell in the hills and jungles on the west of the Chota Nagpur plateau, a small tribe, speaking a dialect of the Mūṇḍa group, and bearing the name 'Asurs.' They claim descent from the ancient Asurs and their main occupation is iron-smelting. Except in the name 'Asur' and in their occupation of iron-smelting, they hardly differ either in their physical characteristics or in their culture from the other Mūṇḍa-speaking tribes of the Chota Nagpur plateaux. And it may be reasonably inferred that the present-day Asurs are but a tribe of the Mūṇḍa or 'Kol' stock who adopted the characteristic occupation of the ancient Asurs and with it the tribal name.

I shall not here enter into details about the ethnography of these modern Asurs but shall content myself with a brief outline of the main features of their culture. The present day Asurs of Chota Nagpur are divided into three sections: namely, (1) Soika Asurs (also called Agarias or Agaria Asurs) who live in jungles and hills and smelt iron, (2) the Birjias who also live on hills and, besides following the original occupation of iron-smelting, have also taken to such subsidiary occupation as plaiting bamboo baskets and the like, and (3) the Jait Asurs who now mostly

live in villages and smelt iron and manufacture ploughshares and other rude iron implements, and some families of this last section have also taken to agriculture. Their villages have become more or less Hinduized and they neither intermarry nor interdine with the other sections.

(Some iron-smelting Agrias are also found in the Mirzapur district of the United Provinces on the Maikul range in the Mandla, Raipur and Bilaspur districts of the Central Provinces.)

The Birjias as well as the Soika Asurs each consists of *Thānia* or settled groups and *Uḥlu* or migratory groups. The *Thānia* Birjias are found subdivided into *Dūlh Birjias* or those who do not eat beef and *Rārḥ Birjias* or those to whom beef is not taboo. A further cross-division among the Birjias is that into the *Telia* Birjias consisting of families who use only oil and not vermilion in anointing bride and bridegroom at marriages, and *Sindurālā* Birjias or those who use vermilion as well as oil in marriages.

Like the Mūṇḍā-speaking tribes the Asurs are divided into a number of totemic clans. The totem names are divided mostly from the fauna and flora of their native jungles. Besides clan totemism, traces of what has been called Individual Totemism are found among the Birjias. Another peculiar feature of the totemism of some families of the Birjia Asurs is the change of totem name of a family in every fourth generation.

Descent is reckoned in the main line, and their kinship nomenclature follows what is known as the classificatory system. Their customary rules of inheritance and partition are the same as those of the Mūṇḍās. In common with the Mūṇḍās, the present day Asurs have separate dormitories for bachelors and for maidens.

The socio-religious ceremonies at birth, death, marriage are substantially the same as that of the Mūṇḍās, such differences as exist being only in minor details. It is, however, significant that the present day Asurs, like the Santals and most other allied tribes, generally cremate their dead and do not practise

any form of urn-burial nor preserve any traces of the same nor use stone slabs to cover the graves of their buried dead. Although the Mūṇḍās and the Hōs who appear to have lived in close contact with the ancient Asurs still bury a few bones of their deceased relatives in small earthenware jars under huge stone slabs such as were used by the ancient Asurs.

The same festiyals are observed and the same or similar spirits are propitiated with sacrifices usually of fowls and sometimes of animals as among the Mūṇḍās. One distinctive religious festival and ceremony of the Asurs is what is known as the "*Sāṇṛsi-kuṭāsi*" (Iron Implements) ceremony in which a number of fowls are sacrificed by the oldest Asur in each settlement to the spirits of the traditional 'Asur-Asurains'. Each fowl is placed by the neck on the anvil (*Kuṭāsi*) and its head is severed with the iron *sāṇṛsi* (iron pincers), and the sacrificer prays to the spirits of the ancient Asurs for a plentiful supply of iron-ore.

Same or similar magical practices to control vegetable and animal life, to ward off the evil eye and to promote health, are in vogue as among the Mūṇḍās, and both tribes have the same belief in the magical properties of certain kinds of food, and the same superstitions about certain dreams and other omens and diseases.

From all this it may be inferred that the present day Asurs constitute a tribe of the same stock as the Mūṇḍās. But so far as the ancient race of Asuras are concerned Mūṇḍā traditions indicate that the ancient Asurs belonged to a different ethnic stock and different culture. The tribal name of 'Asurs' would appear to have been given to or adopted by the present day Asur tribe on account of their following the occupation of iron-smelting which, according to tradition, was introduced into Chota Nagpur by an ancient people of superior culture known as the Asuras.

The question of the racial affinities of the ancient Asurs is still shrouded in mystery. In an article in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for September 1923,

I ventured to offer a suggestion that the Asurs of Chota Nagpur tradition were probably a Caucasian race who had moved on into India at a more primitive stage of Caucasian culture than that represented by the Vedic Aryans, and on their arrival in India gradually absorbed an indigenous melanoderm race—the Niṣādas of ancient Sanskrit literature and thus became somewhat transformed in physical features by long-continued miscegenation, and worked out the Asur civilization referred to in the R̥gveda, Śatapatha Brahmanā and other early Sanskrit works ; and that, being finally worsted by the invading Aryans, such sections of the Asurs as did not submit to Aryan supremacy retreated to the eastern, central, and southern parts of India, and I further suggested that there is a considerable strain of Asur blood among the Bengalis. Further consideration of the subject now inclines me to think that Dravidian culture is indeed based on this or an allied ancient culture, and there is a considerable strain of Asur or Nāga-Asura blood in Southern India as in Bengal. A visit to the ancient ruins of Harappa and Mahen-jo-Daro has given me a wider view of what I suppose to have been the ancient Asur or Asur-Nāg civilization. I was impressed with some remarkable resemblances between the Chota Nagpur Asur sites and the finds they yield (now in the Patna Museum) and those ruins of the Indus Valley which I would provisionally refer to the Nāg branch of the Asurs, and the finds that are being unearthed therefrom. But so long as detailed accounts are not published by the Archaeological department I shall not perhaps be justified in referring in detail to those finds. But the important differences between the Sind Valley finds on the one hand and the Chota Nagpur finds and South Indian prehistoric finds on the other incline me to think that the ancient Asurs of India had more than one main division, and these had developed important differences in their respective cultures in their respective environments and in the course of their respective social and economic history. It is, however, premature to come to any definite conclusion. But from what I have seen, I have reasons to expect that experts

will finally come to the conclusion that the Aryan period of Indian History was preceded by what may be termed the ' Asur Period ' ; or, rather, the ' Asur-Nāg-Period ' and that the Asur contribution to the make up of the Indian people and Indian culture was at least no less important and wide-spread than the Aryan contribution.



### III.—A Note on Human Sacrifice among the Santals.

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

*"A sacrifice has been defined to be something which is devoted to a deity and consumed either in his honour, or by him alone or by him and his worshippers." In the case of a human sacrifice, the victim is supposed by the worshippers to be consumed by the deity alone.*

The method by which an offering is believed to be carried to the deity, varies much either according to the dwellingplace of the said deity or else to the conception of godhead entertained by the worshippers. Sacrifices to the earth god or goddess may be buried in the fields or cast down precipices into clefts or ravines. Those which are offered to the ethereal and celestial deities, are burnt in order that the smoke thereof may rise up to the sky. Those which are offered to the water deities are thrown into the water in order that they might get drowned. Or the skin of the sacrificed victim is draped upon the image of the god. Or the god's portion may be exposed, in the expectation that the deity will come and consume it secretly. Or the deity may simply partake of the spirit of the sacrificed victim as the ancestral spirits of the Zulus were supposed to do by licking it. I shall show in this paper that human sacrifice among the Santals was offered.

Whenever a tank was excavated and no water came out of the springs at its bottom, it was believed by the Santals residing in the Santal Parganas that the absence of water was due to the water-spirit's wrath and that the tank would fill up with water if only the offended deity would be propitiated by the offering of a human sacrifice. This is evidenced by their folklore.

In a folktale entitled *Kuwar and the Rajah's Daughter*, it is stated that, in order to earn their livelihood, the merchant's son *Kuwar* (who is the hero of the story) and his wife had to work as coolies in a tank which was being excavated by a Rajah. When no water came out of the springs at the bottom of this tank, the Rajah had the centre-post planted in the middle thereof. But still no water came out of it. Then he had an elephant, a horse, a camel and various other animals sacrificed to the water-deity. But still the tank did not fill up with water. Then the merchant's son *Kuwar*, who was working as a cooly, was forcibly seized and bound to the centre-post. Thereupon the waters rushed out of the bottom of the tank and filled it up to the brim and *Kuwar* was drowned.<sup>1</sup>

In another folktale entitled *The Caterpillar Boy* which is also current among the Santals of the Santal Parganas, it is stated that the *Caterpillar Boy* (who is the hero of the story) who was subsequently metamorphosed into a handsome youth, defeated a neighbouring Rajah in a battle. Thereupon the former's father-in-law, who was also a Rajah, became jealous and began to fear that his son-in-law (the Caterpillar Boy) would also subdue him. So he began to concoct a plot for bringing about his death. At that time he was excavating a tank but no water was welling up from it. In order to propitiate the offended water-deity, who was withholding the water, elephants, horses, oxen, buffaloes and other animals were offered up as sacrifice to his deity-ship but still no water gushed out of the tank. Thereafter the father-in-law ordered the Caterpillar Boy to mount upon his horse and to take his stand in the middle of the tank. As soon as he did so, water welled up from the bottom of the tank in profusion and filled it up to the brink<sup>2</sup> in no time.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For a fuller version of this folktale, vide *Folklore of the Santal Parganas* by C. H. Bompas. London, David Nutt. 1909. Pp. 63—70.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit pp. 227—232.

Similarly, vestiges of the custom of offering human sacrifices to the water-deity are also traceable in the folklore of the Santals living in the Manbhum District of Chota Nagpur as will appear from the following example:—

In the pathetic Santal folktale entitled *Seven Brothers and Their Sister*<sup>3</sup> it is stated that the seven brothers had a tank excavated in order that their names might be perpetuated by it. But, as their ill-luck would have it, no water came out of it. Thereupon they consulted a *Jugi Gosain* (most likely a Santal soothsayer) who advised them that, if they would offer their sister as a sacrifice to the spirit of the tank, it would be filled with water. Acting up to his advice, they ordered her to fetch water from the tank. Accordingly she went inside the empty tank to fill her pitcher with water. As soon as she went into it, water began to flow out and gradually filled up the tank till she was drowned in it.

Similarly in another Santal folktale entitled *The Girl who always found helpers*,<sup>4</sup> it is narrated that, once upon a time, there lived six brothers and a sister. All brothers were married; but sister remained maiden. Whenever they left their home on business, their wives, who hated their maiden sister-in-law from the bottom of their hearts, harassed and worried her in every possible way. When they came to know of their wives' cruel conduct towards their sister, they made up their minds to punish them mercilessly.

With this object in view they had a deep well dug. (It is not, however, stated in this folktale whether or not water had come out of the well). On the pretence of propitiating the water-spirit they ordered their wives to take in their hands, offerings of rice and the like, go to the well, and stand round the brink thereof. As soon as the wicked women arrived at the well with the offerings in their hands and stood round the margin thereof, their husbands from behind pushed them

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<sup>3</sup> *Santal Folktales* by A. Campbell. Pokhuria Santal Mission Press. 1891, Pages 106, 107

<sup>4</sup> *Op. Cit.*, pp. 119—124.



into the well, whereinto the latter fell head foremost. Thereafter the well was covered up.

It would appear that, in ancient times there prevailed among the Santals of the Santal Parganas the custom of offering a human sacrifice to the earth deity for the purpose of obtaining good luck and of burying the victim's corpse underneath the earth. This is evidenced by the Santali folktale entitled *The Rajah's Advice*, wherein it is stated that, on his deathbed, a Rajah gave his son several bits of advice among which was the following: "Never confide a secret to your wife". After his father's death, he became the Rajah, and made up his mind to put the aforementioned advice to the proof. So one day he took a spade and buried an old earthen pot in the corner of his garden and allowed his wife to see him doing so, and she promptly asked what he was burying; he put her off but that night she insisted so much on knowing, that, after swearing her to secrecy, he told her that *a child had come straying to his house and he killed it to obtain good luck and had buried the body.*<sup>5</sup>

From the foregoing examples of Santali folktale, we find that they illustrate the principles that, in the case of offering human sacrifices to the water-deity, the victim was drowned in the water; whereas in that of offering the same to the earth-deity, the victim was killed and buried in the earth.

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<sup>5</sup> For fuller version of this tale, vide Bompas's *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, pp. 179, 180.

## IV.—Music and Dance in the Vimana- vatthuatthakatha.

By Kalipada Mitra, M.A., B.L.

Donors of gifts were in heaven often entertained with celestial music that proceeded from various instruments. Mention is made of such instruments in the *Dāsāvimāna* ( *V.V.A. II.* l., pp. 93, 94)—

Āmantanikā raññamhi Sakkassa Vasāvattino  
Saṭṭhituriyasahasāni paṭibodham karonti me :  
Ālambo Bhaggaro Bhīmo Sūdhuvādī ca Samsayo  
Pokkharo ca Suphasso ca, Vinamokkhā ca nāriyo  
Nandā c’eva Sunandā ca Sokatiṇṇā Sucimhitā  
Alambusā Missakesī ca Puṇḍarikā ca Dārūṇī  
Epiphassā Suphassā ca Subhaddā Mudukacārī  
Etā c’aññā ca seyyāse acchaṇānam pabodhikā.

The commentator arrives at 60,000 kinds of musical instruments in this way :—*Ātatādibhedena pañcaturiyaṅgāni dvādasapaññibhāgehi ekato pavajjamānāni saṭṭhiṇi* and then  $60 \times 1,000 = 60,000$ . [Elsewhere in *V.V.A.* the commentator explains *ātatādi* in this way—*yathānāma ātatam, vitatam, ātatavitatam, ghaṇam, susiranti* evam pañcaṅgike turiye. This classification seems therefore to have been well established. Bharata however mentions four kinds.]<sup>1</sup>

The commentator says that according to some Ālambo and others are the names of celestial *devaputtas*, who make music, but he adds, they are not correct, “these,” says he, “are

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<sup>1</sup> Bharata Nāṭyaśāstra (Kāvyamālā) ch. XXVIII, s’o. 1 and 2—

*tatam caivedanaddham ca ghaṇam susīram eva ca*  
*carṭurvidham tu vijñeyamātodyam lakṣaṇānvitam*, etc.

For description of *tata* and *avanaddha* see ch. 28 *et seq.* and ch 34. *Atata*, according to P.T.S. Pali Diet. indicates generic names of drums covered with leather on one side.

the names of musical instruments" (*Turiyānam pan' etam nāmagahanam*).

*Pokkharo* only has been found by me to be a musical instrument, and Bharata gives an account of its origin.<sup>2</sup> I could not find Bhaggaro and others to be musical instruments. Hence I agree with Hardy for the reasons given in "Corrections and Additions" (pp. 372, 373) that notwithstanding the insistence of Dhammapala, the commentator, Ālamba and others were the names of celestial male musicians.

The female lute-players, Nandā and others were *devadhītā*, and perhaps all, some of them at least, were courtesans at Sakka's Court, or in other words, *accharās*. Sakka often employed *accharās* to tempt ascetic sages just as in the same way Indra of the Hindu pantheon employed *apsarās*, such as Urvasī, Menakā and others to entice sages. In the Alambusā Jataka (No. 523) we read that Sakka being afraid of losing his position on account of the virtue of Isisīṅga who was practising mystic meditation in the Himalayan region sent Alambusā, the archtemptress, to molest him.<sup>3</sup> Cunningham says,<sup>4</sup> "They were tempters of ascetic sages. They were found in the army of Pāpiyan. 'Some sang, some danced and some extended their arms in various positions. Some smiled to show their teeth, while some laughed, and suddenly as if ashamed, became grave; some half-exposed their bosoms, some displayed their figures through transparent garments, whilst others dropped their clothes and exposed the belt of gold which girdled their loins.' Much of the description can be realised in one of the most remarkable scenes of the Bharhut sculptures (plate XV). On the right are four female figures and a child dancing, all in different attitudes and with their arms extended in various positions. In the middle and to the left are eight other female figures, all seated, one handling a pair of cymbals and four play-

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* ch. 34, slo. 2-9.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also *Cinq Cents Contes et Apologues extraits du Tripitaka Chinois* par E. Chavannes, tome II. pp. 286, 287.

<sup>4</sup> *Bharhut Tōpé*, pp. 27, 28.

ing the seven-stringed harp, while three others without instruments seem to be singing. Fortunately the labels attached to all the four dancing figures are still perfect and from them we learn that the ladies are intended for *Apsarases*. The left upper figure is *Subhadā Accharā* or the 'Apsaras Subhadrā' and that to the right is *Sudassanā Accharā* or the 'Apsaras Sudarshayā, the right lower figure is *Misakesī Accharā* or the 'Apsaras Mīsrakesī', and that to the left is *Alambusā Accharā* or 'Apsaras Alambushā.'"<sup>5</sup>

With the exception of *Sudassanā* the three other celestial damsels are found in the list given above. In the Bharhut sculptures twelve female figures are represented; curiously enough in the *V.V.A.* list twelve *Accharās* are mentioned. Perhaps the remaining unlabelled figures in the sculpture might be the same as the nine unidentified names in the list.

Sometimes *Alambusā* has been identified with *Missakesī*. "Il y avait une dévi nommée *A-lan-feou* (*Alambusā*), ses cheveux étaient mélangés...." I am quoting the following interesting footnote on page 286 of *Cinq Cents* already referred to.

' Dans l'*Alambusā jātaka*, le commentateur insère des vers (vers 85 et 94) relatifs à l'entrevue d'Indra et d'*Alambusā*. En adressant la parole à *Alambusā* Indra commence par l'interpeller sous le nom de *Missā* (sanskrit : *Mīsrā*) qui signifie "mélangé", et il finit en l'appelant *Alambusā*. Le commentateur embarrassé par le premier de ces noms, constate d'abord que c'est la désignation de l'apsara elle-même, mais il ajoute prudemment; "Toutes les femmes, d'ailleurs, peuvent porter ce titre de *missā* par le fait qu'elles *mélangent* le trouble de la passion chez les hommes." D'autre part, dans la liste des huit *apsaras* de la région orientale (*Mahāvastu*, III, 308), le nom d'*Alambusā* est immédiatement suivi par celui de *Mīsrakesī*, qui signifie "cheveux mélangés;" ce dernier personnage est bien connu, *Mīsrakesī* figurant par exemple, dans le drame de *Sakountala*. Il semble, ou qu'*Alambusā* et *Mīsrā* sont le dédoublement d'une

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<sup>5</sup> See inscriptions Nos. 23-26 in the plate.

seule personne, ou, inversement, que les deux personnes ainsi nommées sont fondues en une seule (Sylvain Lévi).<sup>5</sup>

Whatever this be, the artist of the Bharhut sculptures took them to be different persons; the number is also twelve and this agrees with the enumeration of twelve personages in V.V.A.

In the *Serīsaka Vimāna* (V.V.A. VII. 10, page 389) we read "mūraja-ālambara turiya samghuttho...."

An account of the origin of Sakka's drum, the thundering Alambaro, is given in Jat. No. 237 (also Vin. I. 15). Other kinds of instruments are also mentioned in *Kaṇṭhakuṣṭhāvimāna* (V.V.A. VII, page 312):

*Bherīsankhamudīṅgāhi vināhi paṇavehi ca.*

Bherī, sankha, mudiṅga and vinā were abundantly used in popular festivals.<sup>6</sup> Conch was formerly used as a trumpet, and we notice a conch blower in the royal procession in the Ajantā cave paintings along with drummers and female dancers (*Nātakūtthis*). Names of various conches as distinguishing war trumpets of heroes are to be found in the Bhagavadgītā. Vinā and mūraja are frequently mentioned.

Different kinds of vinā are given on V.V.A., page 281—"Imāsu ujukoṭiyaṅkabhā ti nandīti sara-ādibhedāsu bahusu vināsu."

Musical concert is referred to in the following lines:—  
"Samāni samarasāni karonti. Tantissaram gītassarena gītassa rañca tantissarena samsandantiyo naccane yathādhigate pharusādirase aparīhāpentīyo samenti samānenti." (V.V.A. page 282). We notice here that vocal music, instrumental music and dance were so regulated as to produce harmony "in linked sweetness all drawn out." Bharata refers to such harmony.<sup>7</sup> Music was also attuned to dance "naccassa anurūpavasena vināvamsa mudiṅgatalādike vādiyamāne." Bharata also refers to it.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup>Bherīvāda (No. 59) and Sankhadhamana (No. 60) jātakas. Announcements were made by means of drums (bherīṃ cārāpesi) and conch-blowing.

<sup>6</sup>Op. cit. ch. 34, slo. 160, 177.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid, ch. 34, slo. 167—170:

atha nṛttasya śobhārtthamāṅgānāṃ parivartanam.

sāṅgītasya prakartavyam layasya ca nibartanam ||.

Different poses of the hands and feet during dance are alluded to:— “hatthe ca pāde ca vividhehi ākārehi gahetvā puppha-mutṭhi pupphāñjali ādibhedassa sākhābhīnayassa dassanavasena vividhehi ākārehi, etc.” (*P.F.A.* page 209). Thus during dance the hands were so ‘posed’ as to imitate as if flowers were held in the fist of the hand, or on palms in the añjali pose, or they were waved to imitate a graceful branch of the tree. Bharata defines in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* what is “*muṣṭi*”, what is “*puṣpa*,”<sup>9</sup> *latā*, *sākhā*,<sup>10</sup> etc. On the *hastābhīnaya* or various poses of hands see the ninth chapter, and on the poses of the feet, the tenth chapter, of Bharata.

The sister arts of dancing and music were highly developed and honoured. The Pallava King Mahendravarmana was the author of treatises on music and dancing. A musical treatise similar to the Kudumiyamālai inscription was engraved on the wall of the (rock-cut) shrine to Śiva.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid*, ch. 29, slo. 66.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid*, ch. 22, slo. 45.—

Yastu śirobhujāṅghorupāni padairiyathākramam kriyate.

Sākhādarśitamārgah *sākhābhīnaya* sa vijneyah.

<sup>11</sup>See *Indian Antiquary*, March, 1923, p. 47.

## V.—On a Ho Folktale of the Wicked Queen's Type.

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

In my paper entitled *A Bihari Folktale of the "Wicked Queen's" Type and its Analogue from the District of Murshidabad in Bengal*, which has been published at pages 979—986 of Volume XII of the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, I have dealt with a Bihari folktale and its two variants from Bengal and Kashmir and discussed them in all their bearings. From the study of these three folktales, I have deduced the following story-radical :—

- (1) The heroine gives birth to sons.
- (2) Her jealous co-wives substitute inanimate objects or young beasts for the sons who are thrown away.
- (3) Her disappointed husband banishes or otherwise punishes her.
- (4) The cast-off sons are picked up and brought up by another person.
- (5) The heroine's husband subsequently discovers the wicked co-wives' nefarious plot and the cast-off boys' true parentage.
- (6) He recognizes his own sons, sends for them and their mother, all of whom he reinstates in their former high position.
- (7) He punishes the co-wives.

Recently I have come across a Ho folktale from the district of Singhbhum which bears a striking similarity to the three preceding stories from Bihar, Bengal and Kashmir and of which an abstract is given below :—

Once upon a time there lived a Rājā who had seven Rānīs but had no children by them. As he was very anxious for

having issue by them, he went to the forest and performed ceremonial rites so that the gods might relent and bless him with children. After he had finished his prayers and sacrifices, a Brāhmaṇa appeared and advised him to take a stick, go to a mango tree in full fruit and strike it with the stick and catch hold of the fruits that would fall from the tree before they would touch the ground. The holy man further advised that each of the seven Rānīs should be given one of these mangoes respectively to eat and said that after they had eaten it they would become *enciente* and give birth to seven boys.

The Rājā acted up to the advice and gave the seven Rānīs one mango each to eat. The six elder Rānīs ate their respective fruits but the youngest Rānī being then engaged in some household occupation kept her mango in a niche. There a part of the fruit was eaten by a mongoose. The youngest Rānī did not know of it, and so she consumed the part-eaten fruit.

In course of time these six elder Rānīs gave birth to six sons. But the youngest Rānī gave birth to a very beautiful boy with the face of a mongoose.

The eldest Rānī being jealous of the mongoose boy's beauty, substituted a stone and a broom in his place and threw him into a potter's pit.

In the meantime the Rājā, having being informed of the fact that his youngest Rānī had given birth to a stone and a broom, became very angry with her and drove her out of the palace.

When the potter discovered the mongoose boy in his clay pit, he took the child home and brought him up with great care and attention. In course of time the mongoose boy grew up into a fine handsome boy. His foster-father provided him with an earthenware horse to ride upon. As soon as he used to ride upon it, it became endowed with life.

One day the mongoose boy went riding upon the earthenware horse to a tank near the palace for the purpose of watering the beast. The sons of the six elder Rānīs had also come there, and seeing the mongoose boy riding upon the clay horse, also



became desirous of having similar mounts. This was accordingly done, but the latter's clay beast, being devoid of life, would not budge an inch. Thereupon they went to their respective mothers and complained to them of this incident. The Rānīs at once suspected that the potter's boy was no other than the youngest Rānī's mongoose son, and therefore ordered their sons to kill the latter.

Accordingly, the six princes killed the mongoose boy and buried him at a place from which grew up a bamboo of a very large size and a shrub with sweet and beautiful flowers. Many persons tried to pluck these flowers but their hands were restrained by an invisible agency. When the Rājā heard of this wonderful shrub, he went to the locality, and, on the first attempt, was able to pluck the flower.

Thereafter, the Rājā cut down the bamboo out of which stepped forth the mongoose boy, who told the Rājā of the ill-treatment which he had received from the six Rānīs and their sons. The Rājā invited him to come to the palace but he insisted that his mother should, first of all, be brought to the royal mansion. This was accordingly done. Subsequently he punished the six elder Rānīs and their six sons by having them thrown into a well especially dug for the purpose.<sup>1</sup>

On comparing the foregoing Ho folktale with the three aforementioned variants from Bihar, Bengal and Kāshmir, I find that they are similar in almost all respects, except the following points in which they differ :—

- (1) The heroine's son rides upon an earthenware horse which becomes endowed *with* life, whereas in the three preceding stories from Bihar, Bengal and Kāshmir the wooden horses remain inanimate as ever.
- (2) The heroine's son is killed by the sons of the six elder Rānīs at the latter's instigation, but no such incident takes place in the three other stories.

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<sup>1</sup> For a fuller version of this story, see the folktale entitled *The Mongoose Boy* published at pages 478-79 of *Folklore of the Santal Parganas* by C. H. Bompas. London : David Nutt. 1909.

- (3) The heroine's son is buried at a place from which there spring up a bamboo of extraordinary size and a shrub with beautiful flowers.
- (4) The Rājā cuts down the bamboo out of which steps forth the heroine's son who informs the Rājā of the ill-treatment he has received from the hands of his six elder Rānīs and their sons.
- (5) The six sons of the six elder Rānīs, who have killed the heroine's son, are punished along with their mothers.

In view of the finding out of this hitherto unstudied Ho folk-tale and as a result of the study thereof, I am of opinion that the foregoing story-radical should be modified as follows :—

- (1) The heroine gives birth to *one or more* sons.
- (2) Her jealous *co-wife* or co-wives substitute inanimate objects or young beasts for the *son* or sons who are thrown away.
- (3) Her *misinformed and therefore disappointed* husband banishes or otherwise punishes her.
- (4) The cast-off *son* or sons are picked up and brought up by another person.
- (5) *In a Ho variant the cast-off son is killed by the jealous co-wives' sons but miraculously comes to life again.*
- (6) The heroine's husband subsequently discovers the wicked co-wives' nefarious plot and the cast-off *boy's* or boys' true parentage.
- (7) He recognizes his own *son* or sons, sends for *him* or them and *his* or their mother, all of whom he reinstates in their former high position.
- (8) He punishes the wicked co-wives.

Now I shall discuss the interesting features of the preceding Ho folk-tale. In the Bihari, Murshidabad and Kashmiri variants the primitive story-makers have adopted the device of proving the falsity and the absurdity of the rumour that the banished heroine has given birth to stones, wooden dolly, and puppies respectively, by making her cast-off son or sons indulge in the pastime of riding upon wooden horses and of pretending to water or feed them.

When the assembled women-folk or the heroine's jealous co-wives or her husband taunt the cast-off boys with the absurdity of their pastime, the latter taunt the former by saying, that if it was possible for the banished Rānī to have given birth to stones, a wooden dolly and puppies, why should it not be possible for wooden horses to drink water and feed upon rice? But in the preceding Ho folktale the aforesaid device has not been made use of by the story-maker. In this case the banished heroine's son simply rides upon an earthenware horse which becomes endowed with life so long as he rides upon it. But there is no mention of his pretending to water and feed his mount. Seeing his clay horse, the jealous co-wives' sons also became desirous of having similar horses. When these were supplied to them, their earthenware mounts did not move an inch; because they did not become endowed with life.

This device is common in folklore in the shape of proving the absurdity of one incident by propounding a second absurd incident and by calling upon the by-standers to believe the second incident to be true, and, when the by-standers refuse to believe the truth of the second incident, on the ground of its being absurd and false, the absurdity and the falsity of the first incident are brought home to the latter's minds. For instance, in the Santali folktale entitled *The Changed Calf*, a similar device has been adopted as will appear from the following facts :—

When the oilman had stolen the cowherd's calf and gave it out to the world that his bullock had given birth to it and when the villagers believing in the oilman's story decided the dispute in the latter's favour, the cowherd referred the dispute again for review of judgment by a jackal and a night-jar. The night-jar stated that he had dreamt of two night-jar's eggs sitting one upon the other without the mother-bird setting upon them, while the jackal stated that he had dreamt of the sea as being upon fire, the fishes as being burnt and he himself as feeding upon the burnt fishes. Both the night-jar and the

jackal called upon the assembled villagers to explain the meaning of this dream ; but the latter taunted the former with having made nonsensical and absurd statements, saying that an egg cannot sit upon an egg and that the sea cannot catch fire. Whereupon the night-jar and jackal brought home to the villagers' minds the absurdity and falsity of their decision by saying that *a bullock cannot give birth to a calf*.<sup>1</sup>

The next noteworthy feature of the aforementioned Ho folktale is the incident that when the mongoose boy was killed and buried, there grew up from its place of burial a bamboo of extraordinary size and a shrub with beautiful flowers, which could not be plucked by anyone else except his father the Rājā. When the latter came, plucked the flower, and cut down the bamboo, there came out of it the mongoose boy who told his father his own life-story and was immediately recognized by him as his own son. This incident also occurred in another Ho story entitled *The Sons of the Ravan Rājā* in the following way :—

When the sons of the Ravan Rājā were killed by the Ravan Rājā's enemy and buried, there grew up from their place of burial two large bamboos which were cut down by a Jogi and made into flutes. The Jogi produced such sweet music by means of these flutes that his fame spread far and wide. When the Ravan Rājā heard his fame, he sent for him, who accordingly appeared before him with his two bamboo flutes which at once burst open and from them appeared the two boys. When the Rājā heard their life-story, he at once recognized them as his own sons and sent away the Jogi with a large present.<sup>2</sup>

This incident also occurs in a Santali folktale entitled *The Magic Fiddle* in the following way :—

When the Santali girl was drowned by the water-spirit *Bonga* at the instigation of her seven sisters-in-law, she was

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<sup>1</sup> For a fuller version, see *Folklore of the Santal Parganas* by C. H. Bompas. London: David Nutt. 1909, pp. 49—51.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 472, 473.

transformed into a bamboo which sprang up on the bank of the tank wherein she was drowned.<sup>1</sup>

The idea underlying the base of the foregoing incident is the widespread belief which is current among many races of people living in a low plane of culture all over the world. The belief is to the effect that there is a vegetation-spirit or vegetable soul resident in the blood or flesh of the human body, and that, when the blood is spilt or the body is buried in the earth, trees and plants grow up from the said blood or body. This belief has found expression in poetry and folklore, of which various examples have been given by me in my article *On North Indian Folktales of the "Rhea Sylvia" and "Juniper Tree" Types* which has been published in *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXXI, Part III, No. I, 1902.

There is another incident in the Ho folktale entitled *The Mongoose Boy* which is to the effect that when anybody went to pluck the flowers of the shrub which grew up from the buried mongoose boy's body, his hands were restrained by an unseen power, and that it was only when the Rājā went and tried to pluck them that he was enabled to do so. This incident is paralleled by a similar one which occurs in the Bengali folktale of *The Seven Champa Brothers* which forms the subject-matter of my aforementioned papers entitled *On North Indian Folktales of the "Rhea Sylvia" and "Juniper Tree" Types*. In this story it was only when the banished Rānī who had been sent away to perform the duties of a cow-keeper, went to pluck the *Champā* flowers she was enabled to do so on the first attempt.

Now the question arises whether the Biharis, the Bengalis of Murshidabad, the Kashmiris and the Hos of Singhbhum have borrowed the stories from each other? I shall answer this question in the negative; because Kashmir is situated at such a great distance from Bihar, Murshidabad and Singhbhum that there was no possibility of the Kashmiris having ever come in contact with the people of the latter localities and borrowed the

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<sup>1</sup> For a fuller version, vide Campbell's *Santal Folktales*, p. 53.

tale from the latter peoples. I am inclined to think that the stories have been independently evolved in the four different localities of India, because when the human mind is placed under similar circumstances and feels the same sort of wants, it independently invents the same kind of desires and the same kind of stories.

It will not be out of place to mention here that the Santals of the Santal Parganas also narrate a folktale of which the title is *The Mongoose Boy*. The hero of this tale was the son of the second Rānī and had the appearance and size of a mongoose but it could speak and act like a human being. He was so very clever and tricky that he beat his six step-brothers—the sons of the elder Rānī—all hollow in the matter of trading enterprises. The latter signally failed in their commercial undertakings, whereas the mongoose boy became so successful in them that he earned a good deal of money. But in the Ho folktale, which forms the subject-matter of this paper, the mongoose boy was born only with the face of a mongoose but he too was intelligent and possessed magical power so that when he rode upon the earthenware horse, he became endowed with life.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Bompas's *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*. London: David Nutt. 1909. pp. 201–206.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

BEGAM SAMRU.—*By Brajendranath Banerji, with a Foreword by Jadunath Sarkar, M.A. I.E.S. 5 × 7½, pp. xiii + 228. 8 Illustrations. M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta. 1925.*

The decline and fall of the Mughal Empire towards the close of the 18th century present a problem at once perplexing and fascinating. The old order from Babar to Aurangzib was crumbling to pieces: the new heralded by Plassey and established by Buxar had not yet definitely come in. The fate of India was in the balance. The 'Philosophic School' of history and the 'great man' theory never had a finer experiment. On the one hand, the steady shrinkage of Mughal magnificence reminds one of Bentham's 'inevitability of gradualness'. On the other, strange and striking figures enter the scene and fairly start re-shaping history. In an estimate of the final outcome, these personalities remain a decisive issue.

From 1748—1749, after the death of the Emperor Muhammad Shah and the Nizam Asaf Jah, and of Chhatrapati Sahu in the south, the whole of India became a prey to successful adventurers, both Indian and European, who would serve in the armies of contending parties and then set up their own power as occasions would permit. One such fortune-seeker was the German Reinhardt, nicknamed Sombre or Samru. He enlisted under the French, served under Mir Qasim and then under the Emperor Shah Alam II and founded his principality of Sardhana. Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerji gives the history of his wife, a poor Kashmiri girl who rose to command a brigade composed of Indians and Europeans after her husband's death, successfully helped Shah Alam against Ghulam Qadir and ended as an honoured ally of the British Raj.

With a commendable industry of research, the author constructs an interesting narrative from contemporary Persian, English, French and Marathi sources. The book is an excellent summing up untouched by either predilection or intellectual antipathy. The illustrations are well-chosen.

A. B-Ś.





**NOTES OF THE QUARTER.**  
**Proceedings of a Meeting of the**  
**Council of the Bihar and Orissa**  
**Research Society held at the**  
**Society's Office on the 8th March**  
**1926.**

PRESENT.

Mr. V. H. Jackson, Vice-President (in the chair):

The Hon'ble Sir John Bucknill.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

Rai Saheb Manoranjan Ghosh.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. E. A. Horne.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 18th November 1925.

2. The following, having signified their desire to become members of the Society, were duly elected members :—

Mr. P. K. Sen, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Patna (life-member).

Mr. B. N. Sarkar, B.A. C.E., Ghoramara P.O., Bengal.

Pandit Janardana Misra, M.A., Lecturer in Sanskrit, B. N. College.

Mr. J. S. Armour, M.A., Professor of English, Patna College.

Mr. Mahendra Kishore Singh, B.A., B.L., Devarkunda P.O., District Nalgonda, Hyderabad (Deccan).

3. Considered the arrangements made by the General Secretary, in consultation with His Excellency the President

and the Vice-President, for holding the Annual General Meeting.

Resolved that these arrangements be approved.

Resolved, further, that Mr. P. C. Manuk, Barrister-at-Law, be invited to become a member of the Council; that, with this addition, the office-bearers and members of the Council of the Society for 1926-27 should be as at present; and that Sir John Bucknill be asked to propose their names for election at the Annual General Meeting.

Resolved, further, that the names of the following be proposed for election as Honorary Members of the Society.—

Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, O.S.I. (By the Vice-President.)

Dr. J. Jolly, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Würzburg. (By Mr. Jayaswal.)

4. Resolved that the next Quarterly Meeting be held in April, and that Mr. Manuk be asked to deliver a lecture.

5. Read letter No. 834-R., dated the 25th January 1926, from the Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa in the Revenue Department, with which is enclosed a copy of a letter from the Department of Education, Government of India, intimating the approval of the Secretary of State for India to the publication of the full text of the Buchanan Reports, and making certain suggestions relating thereto.

Resolved that an index be prepared, as suggested, for publication with each Report; and that full particulars be obtained regarding the illustrations, maps, charts and statistical tables accompanying each Report—including those reproduced by Montgomery Martin and those which have not been published.

Resolved, further, that the text of the Purnea Report, a complete copy of which is now ready, be sent to the Press.

The Vice-President kindly undertook to see this volume through the Press, and to arrange (on suitable terms) with some competent person to prepare an index to the same. The question of reproducing and printing the illustrations, maps, charts

and statistical tables accompanying the Purnea Report will be decided after the particulars referred to above have been obtained.

6. Resolved that Mr. Oldham be asked to edit Buchanan's Bhagalpur Journal, a complete copy of the text of which is now ready.

7. Resolved that the Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa in the Revenue Department be asked to supply three more copies, in addition to those already received, of the separate volume edition of Buchanan's Patna-Gaya Journal, so that a copy may be presented to each member of the Council and two copies to the Library.

8. Read and recorded letter No. 285, dated the 20th January 1926, from the Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, on the subject of exchange of publications.

9. Read letter No. 1203-R., dated the 2nd February 1926, from the Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa in the Revenue Department, on the subject of the maps which have been prepared for each of the five Divisions of the Province, showing the sites of ancient monuments.

Resolved that two copies of each of the maps be purchased for the Society—one set to be framed and exhibited in the Society's Office.

The Council suggest that a reference might appropriately be made to the Director of Public Instruction, with a view to the supply of these maps to educational institutions, for which they appear to the Council to be eminently suitable.

10. Read and recorded letter No. 4320-E., dated the 17th December 1925, from the Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa in the Ministry of Education, on the subject of the construction of buildings for the Patna Museum and the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

11. Considered a sample of country-made paper submitted by the Government Press (see item 11 in the proceedings of the meeting held on the 2nd August 1925).

Resolved that the Journal continue to be printed on the paper at present used.

12. Read demi-official letter No. 1001, dated the 3rd December 1925, from the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, on the subject of the loan of a manuscript belonging to the Society (see item 8 in the proceedings of the meeting held on the 18th November 1925).

Resolved that the manuscript be sent by registered and insured post to the General Editor, Mahabharata Department, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, for the purpose of collation.

13. Read letter No. 2929, dated the 29th October 1925, from the Director of the French School of the Far East, Hanoi, on the subject of the cost of a complete set of the Bulletin of the School up to 1920 (see item 6 in the proceedings of the meeting held on the 13th September 1925).

Resolved that Volumes I-XX of the Bulletin be purchased at the price quoted, viz. 1,200 francs.

E. A. HORNE,  
*Honorary General Secretary.*

**Proceedings of a Meeting of the  
Council of the Bihar and Orissa  
Research Society, held at the  
Society's Office on the 15th March  
1926.**

**PRESENT.**

Mr. V. H. Jackson, Vice-President (in the chair).

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus.

Mr. E. A. Horne.

1. Read the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 8th March 1926.

Resolved that the proceedings, as amended, be confirmed.

2. Resolved, with the concurrence of His Excellency the President, that Maharaja Lieutenant Purna Chandra Bhanja Deo, Maharaja and Ruling Chief of Mayurbhanj, be invited to become a Vice-Patron of the Society.

3. Resolved that the Treasurer, in consultation with the Vice-President and the General Secretary, be authorised to invest such funds of the Society as are not required for financing ordinary current expenditure.

4. Resolved that a sub-committee, consisting of the Vice-President, the Treasurer and the General Secretary, be appointed to prepare a revised draft of the Society's rules, and to submit the same to the Council.

5. Resolved that the post of Oriya Pandit, now vacant, be advertised.

**E. A. HORNE,**

*Honorary General Secretary.*

**Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held on the 17th March 1926 at Government House, Patna, the President of the Society, His Excellency Sir Henry Wheeler, presiding.**

1. Mr. E. A. Horne, Honorary General Secretary, presented the Annual Report of the Society for 1925-26, which was taken as read.

2. Mr. D. N. Sen, Honorary Treasurer, presented the Annual Statement of Accounts for 1925-26, which was taken as read.

3. The Hon'ble Sir John Bucknill moved, on behalf of the Council, that the following be elected office-bearers and members of the Council of the Society for 1926-27.

President—His Excellency Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E

Vice-President—V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A.

General Secretary—E. A. Horne, Esq., M.A.

Joint Secretary—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer—D. N. Sen, Esq., M.A.

Librarian—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, General Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian)—

V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A.

The Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick, Kt.

The Hon'ble Sir John Bucknill, Kt., K.C.

The Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha, Barrister-at-Law.

G. E. Fawcett, Esq., M.A., O.B.E.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Dr. Harichand Sastri, D.Litt.

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

P. C. Manuk, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

Professor Surendranath Mazumdar Sastri, M.A.

Rai Bahadur Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., PH.D.

4. The following were elected Honorary Members of the Society :—

Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I., I.C.S. (retd.), on the motion of the Vice-President.

Dr. J. Jolly, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the University of Würzburg, on the motion of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

5. The Vice-President (Mr. V. H. Jackson) reviewed the work of the Society during the past year.

6. His Excellency the President introduced Mr. J. Van Manen, General Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, who addressed the Society on the subject, "Some living problems of Buddhism."

E. A. HORNE,

*Honorary General Secretary.*

# Bhatta-Svamin's Commentary

on

KAUTILYA'S ARTHA-ŚĀSTRA

Edited by K. P. JAYASWAL

and

A. BANERJI-SASTRI

भट्टस्वामिनः

प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्

अर्थशास्त्रटीकायाम्

द्वितीयाधिकरणे पञ्चदशोऽध्यायः ।

[ Continued from December 1925 number of this Journal ]



तु षां श्च कुट्टनोत्पन्नान् भि ति ले प्या नां हा र ये त् तत्कर्मनि-  
मित्तं संगृह्णीयादनेन चैतत् स्थाप्यते यच्च किञ्चिद्भस्मावस्कारादिकमपि  
तत्र तत्र फलवत्तामापादयेदल्पमपि प्रयोजनमनुपेक्षणीयमिति ।

क णि का श्लक्ष्णतण्डुलानां कणं दा सा नां क र्म क रा णा श्च  
भक्तनिमित्तं अ य च्छे द तो न्यं दासादिदत्तकणिकाशेष मौ द नि के-  
भ्यो लौकिको न पाचकेभ्यो आ पू पि के भ्यः तत्कर्मकरेभ्यः प्र य-  
च्छेत् । उ प करणान्याह—तु ला मा न भा ण्ड मि ति । तुलाभाण्डं  
मानभाण्डञ्च वक्ष्यमाणं, रो च नं दलनयन्त्रं, दृ ष द्वेषणि  
मु स लो लू ख लैः कु ट्ट क रो च क य न्त्रा णि, यन्त्रशब्दः प्रत्येकं,  
कुट्टकयन्त्रं उष्ट्रग्रीवाकारं प्रतीतदङ्कुराख्यं, रोचकयन्त्रं पेषणयन्त्रं,  
तच्च त्रिविधं, मनुष्यप्रावर्तितं, वलीवर्दप्रावर्तितं, सलिलप्रावर्ति-  
तञ्चेति ; प त्र क श्लो रिका ; शू र्पं चाल नि बा ल नि क ण्डो ली  
ग्रीवडोरिका मृद्गाण्डविशेष इत्यपरे । पि ट क म्प्र ती तं, स म्मा जं  
नी बहुकारिका, च शब्दादन्यान्यपि यथोपयोगं कर्तव्यानीति वाक्यशेषः ।

एवमुपकरणान्यभिधाय कर्मकरानाह, मा र्ज क इ त्या दि ।  
मा र्ज को भूमिसंस्कारकः, आ रक्ष को रक्षको, धा र कस्तोलको,  
मा य को धान्यमानकृत्, मा प क स्तदधिष्ठाता, दा य को दाता, दा प-  
कस्तदधिष्ठाता, शा ला का प्र ति प्रा ह कः दा स क र्म क र वृत्तौ  
व र्ग ग्रहण माहितकादिग्रहणार्थं वि छि रि ति मार्जनादिकर्मकृतां संज्ञा ।

सगोपायनविधिं, श्लोकेनाह उ च्चै रि त्या दि । उ च्चै रूपरि  
धा न्य स्य ग्रीहादेः कण्ठकबन्धादौ भूमिमस्पृशन्तो नि क्षे प स्थानं  
क्षा रस्य गुडमत्स्यखिडकार्द मूर्ता मृतकास्ते सं ह ता घटनां  
स्ने ह स्य स र्पि रा दे मृत्काष्ठकुम्भ्यादयः काष्ठ को ष्ठा स्सारदार-

फलकमवास्थितकधकसंजरसकादिना । पिहितानुलेपनः पृथिवी भूमि-  
लं व ण स्य सैन्धवादेर्निक्षेपः, चकारादन्येषाञ्च शाकशुक्लाम्बादिवर्णाणां  
तत्तदाधानयोग्यानि निक्षेपस्थानानि कर्तव्यानीति ।

इति भट्टस्वामिनः प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्

अथ शास्त्रटीकायामध्यक्षप्रचा -

रिके द्वितीये धिकरणे

पञ्चदशो ध्यायः ।

कोष्ठागाराध्यक्षवादितषड्विंशो ध्यायः ।



अथ षोडशोऽध्यायः

### पण्याध्यक्ष इति सूचम् ।

प ण्यं पणनीयं विक्रेयराजद्रव्यं, तस्य विक्रयादौ नियुक्तः प ण्या-  
ध्यक्ष इति सूत्रार्थः । सम्बन्धस्तु कोशप्रकृतिः प्रकान्ता सन्निधातु-  
निचयकर्मादिभिः कोष्ठागाराध्यक्षान्त्येनेकशोभिहिताधुना राज-  
पण्यस्य क्रयविक्रयादिनावर्तानुष्ठानेनाभिधीयत इति, यद्वा सन्निधाता  
कोशग्रहणादीनि कारयेदित्यत्र पण्यग्रहणमुक्तं तदध्यक्षस्तद्व्यापारो वा  
नोक्तः सोभिधीयत इति । एवमपि कृषिपाशुपाल्ये वाणिज्याप्राप्तेति  
सहपाठता या सीतागोध्यक्षाभ्यां सहानन्तर्येण पाठे प्राप्ते कोष्ठागारा-  
ध्यक्षानन्तरपाठः कोष्ठागाराध्यक्षव्यापाराणां मक्रमपरिवर्तकादीन  
पण्याध्यक्षापेक्षया तस्यापि तत्र कर्त्तव्यत्वापनाथम् ।

तदाह प ण्याध्यक्ष इति । स्थलजा नाङ्कुं कुमचन्दनादीनां  
जलजा नां मुकाप्रवालशङ्खादीनाञ्च नानाविधानां मुभयेषामपि  
अनेकप्रकाराणां स्थलपथेन वारिपथेन च उपयाताना-  
मागतानां सारस्य महामूल्यस्य फल्गुनोऽल्पमूल्यस्यार्घानन्तरं  
अर्घविशेषं प्रियाः प्रियतां च शीघ्रमन्दविक्रयतां वा विद्यात् ।

तथा संक्षेपादिप्रयोगकालंश्च, संक्षेपो विक्षि-  
प्यार्घसंहारः, विक्षेपः संक्षिप्तद्रव्यविस्तारः, क्रयः पण्य-  
संग्रहः, विक्रयः संगृहीतदानं, योगकालान्-  
नुष्ठानकालं, विद्यादिति वर्तते ।

यच्च पण्यं कुङ्कुमचन्दनादिकं प्रचुरमतिप्रभूतं स्यात्तदेकी-

कृत्य संवाह्यैकरूपं कृत्वा घमा रो प ये न्महार्घं कुर्यात्, प्राप्ते र्घे  
वे ति तस्मिन् प्रसिद्धे र्घा न्त र मि ति भूयोप्यारोपयेत् ।

स्व भू मि जा नां खविषयोत्पन्नानां राजपण्यानामेकमुख-  
मेकपण्यं व्यवहारं विक्रयङ्कारयेत् । परभूमिजानामन्य-  
देशागतानामनेकमुखम् ।

उभयं चैतत्स्वभूमिजं पर-विषयागतं च प्रजानां पौरजानपदा-  
नामनुग्रहे नापीडया विक्रापयेत् पण्याध्यक्षः स्थूलमपि च  
महान्तमपि लाभं प्रजानामौपघातिकं पीडाकरं निवारये-  
न्निषेधयेत् ।

अजस्रपण्यानां क्षीरशाकपुष्पादीनां पत्रादीनाञ्च कालोप-  
रोधं विक्रये निषेधम् संकुलदोषः ।

कृता ( निर्वन्धा ) र्घं विक्रीणी रन् यदि वा र्घा ति व शा-  
त्किञ्चिच्छिद्येत तदनु रूपं यावन्मात्रं हापितं तावन्मात्रमेव दद्युः  
तस्य वैधरणमिति संज्ञा ।

राजपण्यप्रसङ्गेन वणिग्भ्यो राजादेयं सामान्यमुपदाविशेषमाह,  
षोडशभागोमानव्याजीति । समस्तद्रव्यस्य षोडशभागं [१] तस्य  
मानव्याजीति संज्ञा । विंशतिभागस्तु लायाः तौल्यद्रव्याणाम्प-  
लशते पञ्चपलम् । गण्यपण्यानां पूगफलादीनामेकादशभागं,  
केचिदेतत्कृतुग्राह्यमित्याचक्षते ।

परभूमिजं पण्यमनुग्रहेणात्तपालादविकवलभाद्युपद्रव-  
प्रतिषेधेन षोडशभागमोक्षेण चाश्वस्य वाहयेत् आनाययेन्ना-  
विकेभ्यो जलपथवाहकेभ्यो, सार्थवाहेभ्यस्सार्थातिवाहिकेभ्यः  
परिहारम ( दे ) यमोक्षमायतिक्षममागमादि कालमहोदयं  
दद्यात् । अनभिद्योगश्चोत्तमर्णादिभिरर्थे घृणादिषु विषयभूतेषु

१ 'स' धृत "विक्रापयेत्" पाठो भ्रान्तः ।

२ 'श्रु' पाठोऽनुमीयते ।

आ गन्तूना मन्यदेशगतानां दद्यादित्येवं स्थापयेत् । किं सर्व-  
त्रैव, नेत्याह, अन्यत्र सभ्यो<sup>१</sup> पकारिभ्यः इति । तत्सेवक-  
कर्मकारादिभ्योन्यत्र तेषां तु परस्परमभियोगाप्रतिषेधः ।

पण्याधिष्ठातार इति । राजपण्यविक्रेतारः पण्यविक्रेतारः  
पण्यमूल्यं तद्विक्रयद्रव्यमेकमुखमेकावस्थानं काष्ठद्रोण्यां मञ्जूषा-  
यामभेद्यपरिकरायामेकद्वारसाविधानायां निदध्युः स्थापयेयुः ।  
अल्लञ्चाष्टमे भागे अर्धप्रहरावशेषेऽल्लिकेतृवेलापगमे पण्या-  
ध्यक्षस्यार्पयेयुः । कथमित्याह, इदं विक्रीतं, इदमपण्यमूल्यं,  
इदं शेषमिति । पण्यं स्वरूपतो विविच्योपनयेयुः । तुला-  
मानभाण्डञ्चा<sup>२</sup>र्पयेयुरिति—द्विर्पयेयुर्ग्रहणं तत्र भावं सर्व-  
व्यवहरणोपसंहरणार्थम् ।

एवं स्वविषये पण्यविधानं व्याख्यातम् ।

परविषये त्विति, अभिधीयत इति वाक्यशेषः, पण्यं  
स्वकीयं, प्रतिपण्यं परकीयग्राह्यं, तयोरर्धं<sup>३</sup> समर्धादिकं  
मूल्यञ्च परादादिकम् भाण्डोपस्तारा<sup>४</sup>दिमूल्यञ्चागमय्यो-  
पलभ्यते तच्छुल्कादिव्ययविशुद्धं<sup>५</sup> तैः शाधिका<sup>६</sup>विशेषमुदयं लाभं  
पश्येन्निरूपयेत्तल्ल शुल्कं शुल्काध्यक्षोक्तं, देयशब्दो वर्तन्यादिभिः  
प्रत्येकं, वर्तनीदेयम् तैः पालदेयमतिबाह<sup>७</sup>कदेयमायुधीयसहायवेतनं,  
गुल्मदेयमाटविकादिस्थानिकदेयन्तरदेयं नावाद्यत्तारकं नावि-  
कादिदेयं, भागकं<sup>८</sup>प्रवर्णग्रहणाभ्यपक्रयो, भक्तम् कर्मकरबली-

१ 'स-धृत C मूले "सदभ्यो" ।

२ "भागडोपस्कारा" पाठो युज्यते ।

३ "शोधितावशेष" पाठोऽनुमीयते—ग ।

४ "अन्तपाल" ग ।

५ "हि" स-श-या-नाम् । 'ग'स्य-० 'ह' ।

६ "नद्या" —गस्य—पाठः समीचीनः ।

७ "भाटक" —'प्रसेवकादिग्रहणार्थः प्रक्रयः'—ग ।

वर्दाद्युपक्षयः असत्पुदय इति । लाभभावे भाण्डानिर्वहणेन स्वकोयभाण्डाविक्रयणेन प्रतिपण्यानयनेन वा तत्कालविक्रयस्य प्रतिपण्यस्यानयनेन तत्कालविक्रयपण्यविनिमयेन वा लाभं पश्येत् । तत इति, पूर्वोक्तलाभनिश्चयोत्तरकालं सारपादेन लाभचतुर्भिर्गणितं बहुपायत्वाद्धारिपथस्य स्थलपथव्यवहारमभ्यनाक्षेमेण निरावाधेन प्रयोजयेत्, सर्वनाशपरिहारार्थं पण्यदिभिश्च सह प्रति संसर्गमेकैकेन सह उपचारपूर्वमैतौ कुर्यादनुग्रहाय तत्कृपाधेयसभाया (?) अर्थश्चाटविकादयश्च प्रतीताः ।

आपदि तस्करप्रहणादौ पस्कर (?) सारं सुवर्णादिहस्तसारमात्मानं वा शरीरमोक्षयेद् रक्षेद्वाशब्दश्चार्थः, उभयमोक्षसम्भवे सति, अन्यथा सारं परित्यज्यात्मानमेव मोक्षयेत् शरीरमूलत्वाद्विज्ञादेः । उक्तं हि,—

शरीरमेव मोक्तव्यं राजगुह्यभयार्दितम् ।

एतर्हि सोऽल्पवित्तो हि जीवन्मद्वाणि पश्यति ॥

आत्मनो वा भूमिमिति । आत्मनो मिप्रेतां वा स्वपण्यस्य विक्रयं भूमिं परविषयम्प्राप्तः शुल्कादि सर्वदेयविशुद्धं व्यवहरेत् । अल्पतृणया सर्वनाशमियाथवा स्वमित्तविषयम्प्राप्तः सर्वदेयविशुद्धमिति,—राजपण्यापदेशेन शुल्कादिरहितं व्यवहरेत् ।

वारिपथे चेति, न केवलम्पूर्वोक्तस्थलपथे यानभागको सौभागकः पथ्यरसमप्रीतम् । पण्यप्रतिपण्ययोरर्घ्यप्रमाणम् महत्त्वलघुत्वं यद्वा प्रमाणमधनो नेनप्रभृतीनां योजनादिकं यात्राकालं शरद्वसन्तकादिकं गत्यागमनकालख्यातं वा भयप्रतीकारं तस्करादेः प्रतीकारं वहनसंस्कारञ्च पण्यपक्षनचरित्वमरिविषयकपण्यपक्षनाचारमुपलभेतोपलभ्य च तथैवानुतिष्ठेत् ।

अध्यायप्रान्ते श्लोकमाह, न दी प थे चे ति । न केवलं समुद्र-  
पथे विज्ञाय व्यवहारं वाणिज्यञ्च आरित्रतः<sup>१</sup>चरित्रेण परि-  
कल्पितस्थित्यनतिक्रमेण, यतो गतस्य लाभः ततो गच्छेत्, तेन  
पथा गच्छेत् । अलाभमविद्यमानलाभं वारिपथं वर्जयेत् ननु  
यतो लाभस्ततो गच्छेदित्यनेनैवार्थापत्तेरलाभे वर्जनस्य सिद्धत्वाद्-  
ग्रहणं क्षयव्ययप्रयासार्थं बहुलस्य महतोपि लाभस्य वर्जनार्थ-  
मिति ।

इति भट्टस्वामिनः प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्

अर्थशास्त्रटीकायामध्यक्षप्रचा-

रिके द्वितीये धिकरणे

षोडशोऽध्यायः ।

अक्षशालायां सुवर्णाध्यक्ष आदितः सप्तत्रिंशोऽध्यायः ।

—:~:—

I “चरित्रतः” ‘श-य-गा’-नाम् ‘from tradition’...ग ।

सप्तदशोऽध्यायः

## कूप्याध्यक्ष इति सूत्रम्

कूप्यं सारदारवेणवल्लिवल्कादि, तत्र नियुक्तः कूप्याध्यक्षः, तस्य कूप्यद्रव्यविषयो व्यापारस्त इहाभिधीयत इति सूत्रार्थः । सम्यन्धस्तु कोशप्रवेश्यरत्नपरीक्षायां रत्नसारफल्गुकूप्यानां प्रतिग्रहणमुक्त्वा तत्र रत्नसारफल्गूनाम्प्रतिग्रहणमभिहितं कूप्यस्य तु नोक्तं, तदभिधीयत इति, अथवा सन्निधाता कोशग्रहणादीनि कारयेदिति, तत्र कूप्यग्रहणस्य विधानमुक्तं, तत्राध्यक्षः तद्व्यापारो वा नोक्तः सोभिधीयत इति ।

तदाह—

कूप्यं वक्ष्यमाणसारदार्वाद्यावाहये दानाययेत्, द्रव्यव-  
नकर्मान्तांश्च गृहशकटपर्याणकल्पनादिका न्ययोजयेत् कार-  
येत् । द्रव्यवनच्छिदांश्च द्रव्यवनोपजीविनां कार्पटिकानां  
देयं शिरस्कंधशकटादिभारभेदेन प्रदेयं, यस्य यावत्प्रमाणमियाम-  
त्तस्मिद्रव्योच्छेददुर्गे वाप्रवेशिते, एतावद्वेतनमिति तथा अत्ययश्च  
दण्डमननुज्ञातस्य च्छेदे स्थापयेत् तस्यापवादो न्यत्रापद्भ्य-  
इति, अष्टभङ्गादिकेभ्यः शकटिकादीनामक्षभङ्गादि तदुपयोगिमात्रच्छेदनं  
न दोषः ।

कूप्यवर्ग इत्यधिकारः, वक्ष्यत इति वाक्यशेषः, शाकादयो  
यथादेशप्रतीता आदि-ग्रहणमर्जुनरक्तचन्दनादिपरिग्रहार्थम् ।

वेणुवर्गमाह, उटजे तत्रादि, उटजौ महासुषिरस्तनुकण्टकः

१ “कू”-‘य-गा’ नाम् ।

२ पाठदुष्टिः । ‘छेदनीयशिरशाखास्कन्धमूलभागभेदेन छेदनदुर्गतरयाद्यर्थ-  
‘ग’स्य व्याख्या ।



कर्कशपृष्ठः, चि<sup>१</sup>म यो निः सु षि रो मृ दु त्व क्को निष्कणत्वचा-  
 AS. p 100 पयोग्यो, वे णुः चापस्वल्पसुषिरोऽतिस्वरश्च, वं शयोग्यो  
 वं शो दीर्घप्रवर्कः सरंध्रः सकण्टकश्च, सा ति<sup>२</sup>नो  
 वंशाष्टदर्पा (?) तत्र रंकुण्टास्व (?) कंटको महाप्रमाणो गोधूमसदृशफलं  
 ३हाल्लुकः स्थूलदीर्घप्रमहाप्रमाणो निष्क इति । आ दि ग्रहणादन्येषामपि  
 कर्मणां कीचकादीनां ग्रहणम्भवतीत्यर्थं वेणुवर्गः ।

पा र व ज<sup>४</sup>मा ह , वे ता दि वेत्रः प्रतीतः, शो क व ल्ली  
 हिंसावल्लीति तद्देशीयानां प्रतीता, वा शी अर्जुनपुष्पसमानपुष्पं,  
 श्या म ल ता त्रिवृत्सदृशा, ना ग ल ता नागजजिघेति<sup>५</sup> वैतेऽतियो,  
 आ दि शब्दादन्यासामपि बन्धनादियोग्यानां बल्लोनां ग्रहणमिति  
 व ल्ली व र्गः ।

वल्कवर्गमाह, मा ल त्या दि मा ल ती माहुलानीति, तद्देश-  
 प्रसिद्धा, दू र्वे ति द्रमिडेषु प्रतीता, अ र्क श णा व त सो च  
 प्रतीता, ग वे धु<sup>६</sup>का नागबलादिग्रहणं कुहकाश्मदाडिपल्लपरिग्रहार्थमिति,  
 वल्कवर्गः ।

रज्जुभाण्डादीन्याह, मुञ्ज व ल्व जै त्या दि । मुञ्ज व ल्व जा :  
 काशाशाः आ दि-ग्रहणमेरकादर्भादिपरिग्रहार्थमिति ।

रज्जुभाण्डान्तसाधनं ता ल्या द यः प्रतीताः । तेषां पत्रालेख्यनु-  
 पयोगि किं शु का द य श्च प्रतीतास्तेषां पु ष्पं वल्खादिरागोपयोगि ।  
 औषधवर्गमाह, क न्द मू ल फ ला दि , औ ष ध व र्ग इति

१ “०मि०”—‘श-स-य-गा’ नाम् ।

२ “०ती०”—ग ।

३ “०भा०”—‘श-स-य-गा’ नाम् ।

४ “वल्लीवर्गमाह”—पाठः कल्पनीयः

५ “नागजिह्वा”—ग ।

६ “०धु०”—ग ।

कन्दा स्सूरणादयः, मूला न्युशीरबृहत्यादीनि फलान्या मलकहरी-  
तक्यादीनि, आदि-ग्रहणम्पत्रादिपरिग्रहार्थमित्ययमौषधवर्गः ।

विषवर्गमाह, कालकूटेत्यादि । कालकूटो श्वत्थपत्ता-  
कृतिपत्रा वृक्षा पर्वान्तराभिर्यासस्मुञ्चन्ति निर्यासं, वत्सनाभं द्विविधं  
शुष्कमाद्रं च निर्गुण्डीसदृशपत्रं, हालालं सूचीपत्रं नीलपल्लवं  
गोस्तनाकृतिफलं, मेघशृङ्गमुत्तालमुकुलाकारं, मुस्ताद्विविधम्,  
मुस्ताकारा शङ्खपाण्डुरा च, कुष्ठं कुष्ठसमानकंदं, महाविष-  
म्मांसवर्णं स्तनसूचुकाकारं, वेहिलतकं मूलजं कृष्णरक्तं, गौराद्रं  
कन्दजं कृष्णम्यालकं<sup>१</sup> पिप्पलीसंस्थानं कटकं मार्कटकं  
मेढ्राकृति, हैमवतं दीर्घपत्रं हिमवत्प्रभवं, कालिङ्गकं कलिङ्ग-  
प्रभवं यवाकृति, दारदकम् दारदप्रभवं पत्रविषं, कोलसारकं<sup>२</sup>  
बम्बूलफलमुष्णमुष्णमेढ्राकृतिः, आदिग्रहणाच्छेषाणामपि, एकोनसप्त-  
तीनां ग्रहणमेवमेतान्यनुक्तैः सह पञ्चाशीतिस्थावराणि विषाणि दशा-  
श्रयणानि । तथा च :—

त्वक्कन्दपुष्पपत्राणि फलं निर्यासमेव च ।

मूलं सारस्तथा धातुर्वीजञ्चेति दशाश्रयाः ॥

अव्यकरसान्यन्यानि तीक्ष्णान्येकरसानि च ।

पञ्चाशीतिविषाण्येवमुपदिश्यन्ते तत्त्वतः ॥

इति विषाणि स्वावराण्यभिधाय जङ्गमान्याह ; तानि द्विविधानि,  
संस्कृतान्यसंस्कृतानि च, सर्पा इत्यादि, तत्र सर्पाः कृष्णसर्पादय  
इत्यादि, कीटा श्वित्रकक्रौण्डिन्यादयः । संस्कृतान्याह, त एवेति त

१ “०त्प०” —पाठोऽनुमीयते—ग ।

२ “बालकम्”—‘श-य-गा’ नाम् । “पलागम्”—य ।

३ Country above Peshawar—cf. Manu X, 44. ‘स’ quotes Ray—  
Hist. of Hindu Chemistry—दारद as the land of  
cinnabar and mercury.

४ “०सारकोष्टक०”—‘स-य-योः’ । “०सारकोष्टक”—ग

एव कृष्णसर्पादयः, कुम्भगता उपनिषद्विधानेन त्रापुषे कुम्भे संयोजिता इत्ययमुभयप्रकारो विषवर्गः ।

चर्मादिवर्गानाह, गोधेत्यादि । सेरको गौरत्वगद्दीपिचित्रकायः, सुमरः शरभः, शेषाः प्रतीताः । तेषां चर्मादीनि यथासम्भवासंग्राह्याणि कूप्यसंज्ञकानि च भवन्ति । अन्येषामप्युक्तव्यतिरेकेण पशुमृगपक्षिव्यालानां यथोपयोगं चर्मादयः संग्राह्या इति ।

लोहवर्गमाह, कालायसेत्यादि । कालायसादीनि कृतव्याख्यानां, तेषां कूप्यसंज्ञार्थमिह पाठः ।

भाण्डमाह, विदलमृत्तिका मयम्भाण्डमिति भाण्डसद्वः प्रत्येकं विदलमयं वंशवेत्रादिमयं पिटकफेलकादिभाण्डं मृत्तिका मयं स्थालीपिटकादि कुलालभाण्डमङ्गारादीनि ।

कूप्यद्रव्याण्याह,—अङ्गारेत्यादि । अङ्गारतुषभस्मानि प्रतीतानि । पशुमृगपक्षिव्यालास्संहतास्तद्वस्थानानि वावाटाः काष्ठवृणवाटाः तत्समूहाः सर्वे एवैते कूप्या अध्यक्षेण सङ्ग्राह्याः ।

कूप्यसंज्ञका वदन्तीति अध्यायप्रान्ते श्लोकमाह, बहिरित्यादि । बहिर्द्रव्यवनसमीपे जनपदे च तथा न्तश्च दुर्गाभ्यन्तरे, कर्मान्ताः शकटादिघटनारम्भाः विभक्ताः द्विविधाः, आजीवपुररक्षाभेदेन सर्वभाण्डकाः सर्वकर्मोपयोगिनः, आजीवार्थाजीविकासाधनभूताः फालशकटादयः, पुररक्षार्थाः यन्त्रायुधाद्यां च कार्या कर्तव्याः सङ्ग्राह्याश्च, कूप्योपजीविनाः कूप्याध्यक्षेणेति ।

इति भट्टस्वामिनः प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्

अर्थशास्त्रटीकायामध्यक्षप्रचारिके

द्वितीयेधिकरणे

सप्तदशोऽध्यायः ।

आदि तश्च कूप्याध्यक्षकेषु त्रिंशोऽध्यायः ।

1 “०द्या०” स्थाने ‘०दयः०’ पाठः कल्पनीयः ।

2 “०नाम्”—‘स’-धृत C-मूले तथा ‘य’-‘धृत पाठे’ ।

अष्टादशोऽध्यायः

## आयुधागाराध्यक्ष इति सूत्रम्

सूत्रार्थः सम्बन्धस्तु कुप्याध्यक्षेभिहित एवायुधादीनां कुप्यान्तर्गतत्वादथवा सन्निधाता कोशगृहादीनि कारयेदित्यतः पृथगायुधागारकरणमुक्तं तदध्यक्षः तद्व्यापारवानभिहितः सोभिधीयत इति सम्बन्धः ।

तदाहा यु धा गा रा ध्य क्ष इत्यादि । सां ग्रा मि क मि ति प्रयोजनं, यन्त्रादिचतुर्विधद्रव्यजातं वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणैः कारुशिल्पिभिः कारयेत् । तत्र सां ग्रा मि क म् युद्धप्रयोजनं, दौ र्ग क र्मि कं 'स्वदुर्गरक्षणसमर्थं', पर पु रा मि धा ति कं परदुर्गलम्भननिमित्तं यन्त्रज्ञा तदन्यादि, आ यु धं धनुःशक्त्यादि, आ च र णं लोहजालादि, उ प क र णं युद्धभाण्डादि, चस्समुच्चये, त इ ज्ञा ताः स्तत्कर्मनिपुणाः कारवः स्थूलकर्मकृतः, शिल्पिनः सूक्ष्मकर्मकृतः, कृतकर्मप्रमाण-कालवेतनफलनिष्पत्तिमिरिति, कृतशब्दः प्रत्येकं, कर्मप्रमाणं स्थपतिप्रामाण्यादिषुकादिकर्मश्च नाकालावधिचेतनमूल्यफलनिष्पत्तिर्यन्त्रादनिष्पत्तिः एवंकृताः परिभाषिताः कर्मप्रमाणादयो येषान्तैः कारयेदिति केचित् । अथ वा कृतकर्मप्रमाणैः परिभाषितकर्तव्ययन्त्रा-युधाभिसङ्ख्यारेवंकृतकालैः, कृतकावधिभिः कृतचेतनैः परिभाषित-मूल्यैः कृतफलं निष्पत्तिभिर्बहुशो दृष्टकर्मभिः कारयेदिति ।

तानि च कृतानि स्व भू मौ पृथिव्यां स्था प ये त् ।

स्थानपरिवर्तनं स्थानान्तरसन्तारकमा त प प्र दानं विसारणं बहुश खिचतुर्दिनान्तरं कुर्यात् ।

1 ० "दौ र्ग क र्मि कं" - स ।

2 "०तज्जात०"—'श-स-य-गा' नाम् ।

ऊष्मणा घर्षणो प स्ने हे न प्रखेदः किमिभिः धुणकसारिकादिभि-  
रु प ह न्य मा नं विदूष्यमाणम न्य थे ति यथा नोपहन्यते तथा  
स्था प ये त् ।

तानि जात्या दिभिश्च सप्तभिरुपलभेत । तत्र जातिः पाटनादि,  
रूपं मृदूपत्रा<sup>१</sup>दि, प्रमाणं दीपत्ततेत्यतः पृथुत्वमायाममतश्च  
लक्षणमागमोक्तम् प्रशस्तादिलिङ्गमागमो यतो लभ्यम्भूत्यं शताः  
निक्षेपः कोशं भव्यादिः । च स्समुच्चये ।

यन्त्राण्याह सर्वतोभद्रमित्यादि, सर्वतोभद्रं शकटचक्रप्रमाणम्,  
तौक्ष्णनेमिकुड्यस्थितगन्धर्वहस्तस्थं, भ्रमणात्सर्वतः पाषाणान्निक्षपति,  
अपरे तु सिद्धं भूमिरिकायन्त्राख्यं लघुतरपाषाणक्षेपणमाचक्षते, जाम-  
दग्न्यं हर्म्यं ध्रुवि<sup>२</sup>हितमहाशरयन्त्रं, बहुमुखः प्राकारोत्सौधाधिगश्च  
सन्निविष्टः चर्मावृतः त्रिचतुस्तालो धानुष्ठाधिष्ठानश्चाट्टालको भवति,  
तत्रस्था धन्विनो नराः सर्वतः शरान् क्षिपन्ति, विश्वासघाति तिर्यग-  
वस्थितो नगरस्य बहिः, परिघो यन्त्रविश्लेषणेन हन्ति, सङ्घाटिः दीर्घ-  
काष्ठसङ्घटिकाट्टालिकादिप्रदीपनार्थमग्नियन्त्रम्, यानिकं चक्रारूढदण्डो-  
पहितलकूटि, पर्जन्यकमग्निप्रशमनार्थमुदकयन्त्रम् । अन्ये तु  
पञ्चाशद्वस्तायतं बहिः प्राकारस्य सन्ततं यन्त्रविश्लेषणेन समीपगतं  
व्यापादयतीत्याचक्षते, विश्वासघातिनोऽस्य च विशेषः तत्प्रच्छन्नलघु-  
तरञ्च भवति, एवन्तु तद्विपरीतजन्यकार्धप्रमाणं स्तम्भद्वयं परस्परा-  
भिमुखं यन्त्रविश्लेषणेन मारयति, ऊर्ध्वबाहुः ऊर्ध्वस्थितः पर्जन्यक-  
प्रमाणो महास्तम्भः समीपगतानि यन्त्रविश्लेषणेन हन्ति । अर्धबाहुः,  
पूर्वस्यैवार्धप्रमाण इत्येवमेतानि दश स्थितयन्त्राणि ।

१ “रूपमृदुवक्रतादि”-पाठोऽनुमीयते-”ग ।

२ पाठदोषः । “अर्धः”-गस्य याख्या ।

३ “०नि०”-स ।

४ “०दी०”-“सशया” नाम् ।

पञ्चालिका तीक्ष्णमुखनिरन्तरतासादरारूपलकाप्रकाररुद्धिखद-  
कमध्ये<sup>१</sup> कर्दमदण्ड्य परिमार्ग<sup>२</sup> निरोधार्थं<sup>३</sup> क्रियन्ते, देवदण्डः कोला-  
हितो महास्तम्भः प्रतीतरोचाभिधानः प्राकारोपरि स्थाप्यते, सूकरिका  
सूत्रचर्ममयी कार्पासोर्णादिपूर्णमध्या महाभस्त्राप्रमाणतो गोपुराट्टालक-  
देवपथादीनां प्रच्छादिनी बाह्यपाषाणनिवारणाय क्रियत इति केचित् ।  
वेणुमयी चर्मवृता सूकरप्रकारग्रहणनिवारणाय क्रियत इत्यन्ये । मुस-  
लयष्टिः खदिरः शूलः, हस्तिवारको द्विमुखस्त्रिमुखो वा महादण्डः  
हस्त्याघाताय हस्तिपरिधेय इत्यपरे । तालवृत्तं लाचतचक्रं, मुद्गरो  
द्रघणः मुद्गाकारालकुटी, गदा लकुटी प्रतीता, खक<sup>४</sup> तुवा सैव  
कण्टकनिचिताकारा, कुहालः खनित्रमा स्फोटिम<sup>३</sup> चर्मवृत्तं  
सगोष्वा<sup>४</sup> ण्यष्ट्युपेतमुत्पाषाणक्षेपणयन्त्रम्, उद्घाटिम<sup>३</sup> द्धुप्रतीतमुद्गरा-  
भिधानमप्राकाराट्टालकोद्धारणाय क्रियते, उत्पाटिम<sup>३</sup> स्तम्भादीनां  
भूमिनिखातानां उत्पादनयन्त्रम्, बाह्यहुलादिग्रहणार्थं<sup>३</sup> क्रियते, शतघ्नी  
व्यूढदीर्घः कीलाचितो महास्तम्भः पर्यन्ताहतशकटचक्रा प्राकारोपरि  
क्रियते, लिशूलश्चक्रञ्च प्रतीतम् । एवमेतानि सप्तदश चलय-  
न्त्राणि ।

तथा च श्लोकम्,—

विदितम्भामितञ्चैव भारयुक्तञ्च कारयेत् ।

पीडनाद्भ्रामणाद्भाराच्चिधा यन्त्रं प्रवर्तते ॥

आयुधान्याह, शक्तीत्यादि । सर्वलोहमयी चतुर्हस्ता करवीर-

१ तुष्टोऽयं पाठः । “तीक्ष्णमुखनिरन्तरसारदारुफलकं प्राकाराद् बहि-  
रुदकमध्ये” इति शोधनीयः—ग ।

२ “स्पृक्तला” इति मातृकायाम् ।

३ “०स्फा०”—‘श-स-था’ नाम् ।

४ “गोष्पणष्टु”०—स ।

पत्राकृतिमुखा गोस्तनाकृतिरधस्तात्, प्रा सः चतुर्विंशत्यङ्गुलः, स च द्विपीठः सर्वलोहमयः काष्ठदन्तश्च । कुन्तस्त्रिविधः । तथा च,—

हस्तासप्तोत्तमः कुन्तः, षड्दन्तैश्चैव मध्यमः ।

कनिष्ठः पञ्चहस्तैस्तु, कुन्तमानम्प्रकीर्तितमिति ॥

हा ट कं त्रिमुखं कुन्तप्रमाणः, मि एडी' पा लः कुन्त एव पृथुफलः, शू ल मेकशिखमनियतदण्डप्रमाणं, तो म रः शराकारमुखस्त्रिप्रमाणः ।  
तथा च,—

चतुर्हस्तः कनिष्ठस्तु चत्वारोर्ध्वश्च मध्यमः ।

उत्तमः पञ्चहस्तस्तु प्रमाणं तोमरो भवेत् ॥ इति ।

व रा ह क र्णः प्रास एव वराहकर्णाकारफलः, क ण यः सर्वलोह-  
मयः, उभयत्र शृङ्गाटकाकारफलो मध्यमुष्टिः स च त्रिप्रमाणः ।  
तथा च,—

कनिष्ठं विंशतिः स्यात्तदङ्गुलानाम्प्रमाणतः<sup>१</sup> ।

द्वाविंशतिर्मध्यमस्स्यात् चतुर्विंशतिरुत्तमः ॥ इति ।

क र्प णः तोमरतुल्यदण्डो हस्तक्षेप्यः शरः सपक्षश्च त्रिविधश्च,  
तस्य फलप्रमाणं, तथा च,—

कनीयः सप्तकर्षन्तु द्विपलं मध्यमं भवेत् ।

उत्तमं नवकर्षन्तु कर्पणस्य फलम्भवेत् ॥

हस्तमुक्तो गुरुतया क्षेप्तुः शिक्षावशेन च ।

धनुःशतं वृजेत्सामित्याह भृगुनन्दनः ॥ इति ।

ला सि का प्रासप्रमाणा सर्वलोहमयी सञ्चूडा भवति, आ दि-ग्रहणं  
तोक्ष्णोग्रवेणुसंशरादिपरिग्रहार्थम् । एवमेतानि<sup>३</sup> ब हु ल मु खा नी ति ।

१ “०ण्ड”०—ग । “०ण्डवाल” ‘श-स-या’ नाम् ।

२ “प्रमादत” इति मातृकायाम् ।

३ “च हुलमुखानि”—‘श-स-य-गा’ नाम् ।

धनूंष्याह तालचापदारवशाङ्गणीति । तालं तालमयं,  
 चापं वेणुविशेषमयं, दारवं धन्वनादिसारदारुमयं,  
 शाङ्गं शृङ्गमयं, इत्येवं चतुर्योनिधनुर्द्रष्टव्यम् ।  
 तेषां क्रियासंस्थानादिभेदात्तिस्रः कार्मुकादिसंज्ञा भवन्ति, तत्र  
 कार्मुककोदण्डयोः प्रमाणलक्षणादीनि धनुर्वदोपदेशादवगन्तव्यानि ।  
 द्रुणं लोकप्रतीतम्, शास्त्रोपदेश्यम् । प्रायशस्तु दारुर्षिकणात्यातांद्रुण-  
 मेवास्त्रमित्येतानि धनूंषि ।

तेषां मूर्वाद्विचतुर्विधा ज्या, मूर्वाद्वयश्च कुप्याध्यायोक्ताः कोदण्ड-  
 स्यैव वेणुविदलज्या शेषास्त्वितरयोः ।

तस्या इषूनाह, वेणुशरशलाकाः दण्डासननाराचा-  
 श्वेति । तत्र वेणुः कृतजटन्चिमयादिः, शरो जात्या शराख्यः तम्ब-  
 विशेषः । शलाका यूगभेदादिसारकाष्ठमयी, दण्डासनोर्ध्वना-  
 राचो, नाराचस्सर्वायसः, चकारो भ्रमणद्रोणमाक्षिकाद्यावसंगृही-  
 तार्थाः, इत्येवमेत इषवः ।

तेषामिषूणां मुखान्यग्राणि छेदनानि अर्धचन्द्रफलादीनि  
 तायनाशोणितप्रहारकराणि स्थूलमुखानि, तानि च मुखान्यायसानि,  
 अस्थिमयानि, सारदारुमयानि च भवन्ति । व्यूहनस्य  
 भेदनस्य च भेद एवान्तर्भावात्तथा दानयतश्चतुर्विधं हि वाणकर्मा-  
 मिहितम् ।

वाणमोक्षो धनुष्कर्म वाणकर्म च वेधनम् ।

छेदनं भेदनं चैव व्यूहनन्ताडनन्तथा ॥ इति ।

निस्तिंशमण्डलाग्रासियष्टयः खड्गा इति । तत्र निस्त्रिं-  
 शो वक्राग्रः, ऋजुवृत्ताग्रो, मण्डलाग्रः पृथुफलश्च, असियष्टिः  
 तनुदीर्घा<sup>१</sup> ।

तसरुराह, खड्गोऽस्यादि । खड्गो गण्डकः, महिषः प्रतीतः,



वा र णो हस्ती, तेषां वि ष णा नि, दा रू णि सारदारूणि, वे णु -  
मू ला नि च, वंशमूलानि च, त्स र वो मुष्टयः खड्गानाम्भवन्ति ।

क्षुरकल्पानाह प र शु कु ठा रे त्या दि । प र शुः सर्वलोहमयः  
चतुर्विंशत्यङ्गुलैर्धचन्द्राकारफलः, कु ठा रोक्त सारिणीति प्रतीता ।  
प ङ्ग स उभयान्तं त्रिशूलो लोहदण्डः, परशुरेव त्रिशूलयुक्तः इत्यपरे ।  
ख नि त्रं कु हा ल ञ्च प्रतीतं, क क चः करपत्रं,<sup>१</sup> का ण्ड च्छे द नं  
कुण्डासिका क्षु र क ल्पाः छेदनप्रकाराः ।

य न्त्रे त्या दि, यन्त्रादीनान्त्रयाणां पाषाणशब्दः प्रत्येकं, यन्त्रक्षेप्या  
यन्त्रपाषाणाः, गोष्पणाख्ययष्टिविशेषक्षेप्या गो ष्प ण पाषाणाः, हस्तक्षेप्या  
मु ष्ठी पाषाणाः, रो च नी बृहत्काष्ठं, बृ ह न्मः हाशिला, चः स मु -  
चये । एवमेतान्या यु धा नि प्रहरणा नि च ।

वर्माण्याह लो ह जा ले त्या दि । लोहशब्दः चतुर्णां प्रत्येकं ;  
लोहजालम्प्रावरणो सशिरस्त्राणा जाल का मुण्डसन्नाहः पायोवि बाहु-  
सन्नाहः लोहमट्टधटित इत्यपरे । कवचमनेकपुटवध्यबाहुकं, पक्षः<sup>२</sup> पृष्ठमात्रा-  
वरणं, सू त कं कटसूत्रसन्नहनं, शिंशुमारादीनाञ्च पञ्चानां चर्मादिसं-  
घातान्निर्वृणशिल्पिधटिता चर्माणि शरीरावरणम्भवन्ति । शिंशुमारादयः  
तरव्याः शि र स्त्रा णं शिरोमात्रावरणं, क ण्ठ त्रा णं कण्ठमात्रावरणं,  
ए क मे वो प या व र ण वा कू र्पा सोर्धवाहुकः, क ञ्जु को जानुप्रमाणः,  
वा र वा णो गुल्मप्रमाणः, प ट्टो पि बाहुः, पूर्वस्यास्य च लोहमयत्व-  
मूर्णादिमयत्वञ्च विशेष इति । ना गो द रि का कराङ्गुलित्राणम् । इत्येवं  
शरीरधार्याणि वर्माण्यभिधाय हस्तधार्याण्यावरणान्याह, वे त्या दि ।  
वे ति<sup>३</sup> कोष्ठवल्लीमयं खेटकम्बलविटकेत्यपरे, च र्म वसुनन्दकः, ह स्ति-  
क र्णौवकुण्ठनफलकं, ता ल मू लं काष्ठखेटकं, ध म नि का सू त्र किट

१ “०त्रः”—स ।

२ “दृषद्”—इति मूले ।

३ “पट्ट” इति मूले ।

४ “वेनि”—स । “वेरि”—य । “पेटी”—ग । “पेटि”—श-तथा ‘स’-इत  
C मूले ।”

किठिकाः, क पाः टं काष्ठफलकं, कि टि का चर्मवंशदलमयी, अ प्र ति ह तेति ह[ि]स्तवारकः, व ला ह का न्तः स एव, लोहपट्टवे ष्ट न पर्यन्तः ।

इत्येवमावरणान्यभिधाय उ प क र णा न्या ह, ह स्ति र थ वा-  
जि ना मि ति । हस्त्यादीनान्तर्याणां यो ग्य भा ण्डं शिक्षोपकरणक-  
शाङ्कुशचर्मपुरुषादिकं, आ ल ङ्का रि कं वैजयन्ती कु द्र मा ला कुटा दि  
कं, स त्रा ह क ण्य ना चर्मतोमर शारीशराहिकाः, चः समुच्चये ।

ये त्द्र जा लि क महपसैन्यस्य बहुसैन्यप्रदर्शनं, अनग्नावग्निदर्शन-  
मित्यादि, मायागत मौ प नि ष दि क ज्ञागरुधूमा म्बुदूषणप्रलङ्घनादि-  
कमेतद् द्विप्रकारश्च तद् उपकरणसंज्ञं भवति, चकारादन्यच्च हस्त्यादीनां  
बन्धनान्युपकरणानि गृह्यन्ते ।

साम्प्रतमध्यायद्वयस्यापि शेषमन्तश्लोकमाह, इच्छामित्यादि ।  
इ च्छां क्रयविक्रयतां तदाजीविनां राज्ञो वा रुचितेष्वेवा र म्भ नि ष प्ति  
पुरुषार्थानामारम्भमाणानां निष्पत्तिप्रक्रान्तपरिसमाप्तिं वा, प्र यो ग-  
मुपयोगं, व्या जः न्दोषमपरे तु व्याजीमितिपठन्तो राजपण्यविक्रयेन्तर-  
ग्रहणमाचक्षते । उ हे यं लाभं, क्ष यं लाभपिण्डपञ्चभागादिकं, व्ययं  
शिल्पकर्मकरादिभक्तादिपरिव्ययं, एतदिच्छादिकं सर्वं जा नी या त्  
निरूपयेत् । कु प्या ना मध्यायद्वयाभिहितसमस्तद्रव्याणा मा यु धे  
श्व रः आयुधागाराध्यक्षो राजा वा स्वयमिति ॥

इ ति भ दृ स्वा मि नः प्र ति प द पञ्चि का या म र्थः-

शा स्त्र टी का या म ध्य क्ष प्र चा-

रि के द्वि ती ये धि क र णे ऽ-

ष्ठा द शो ऽ ध्या यः ।

आ यु धा गा रा ध्य क्षः आ दि त ए को न च त्वा रिं शो ध्या यः ।

1 “०वा०”—‘श-स-य-गा’ नाम् ।

2 “व्याधिमद् द्वयम्”—स । ‘स’द्वय—C मूले “व्यामिमुभयम् ।” “व्याज-  
मुद्वयम्”—ग । “व्याजिमुद्वयम्”—ग ।

अनविंशोऽध्यायः

## तुलामानपौतवमिति सूत्रम्

तु ला षडङ्गुलादिकाः, मा ना नि कुटुम्बादीनि, तेषा म्पौ त व म-  
पूर्वकरण कृतसंशोधनञ्च शोध्यशोधनयोरमेदोपचारात्तमिहामिधीयते,

इति सूत्रार्थः । सम्बन्धस्तु पूर्वस्मिन्नध्याये “क्षयवययौ  
AS' p. 108.

च जानीयात् कुप्यानामायुधेश्वर” इत्युक्तम्, तत्परिज्ञान-  
न्तुलायामायतमतः तदभिधानम्, अथ वा तुलाप्रतिमानम् पौतवाध्यक्षे  
वक्ष्याम इत्युक्तम्, तस्य च कुप्यशेषत्वात् तदनन्तरमभिधीयत  
इत्येतदाह पौ त वा ध्य क्ष इत्यादि ।

पौ त वा ध्य क्षः समहर्ता तदधिकृतो वा कश्चित्स पौतवक मा-  
न्ता न तुलाधरनारम्भान् कारयेत् ।

तत्र सारत्वात् पूर्वं सुवर्णस्य प्रतिमानमाह, धा न मा वा इति ।  
मध्यमप्रमाण धा न्य मा वा द श सु व र्ण स्य मा ष क इति  
संज्ञा । पञ्च वा गु ञ्जाः माषक इति वर्तते, गुञ्जापञ्चकप्रमाणो वा  
माषक इति ।

पते षो ड श सु व र्ण इति । माषाः षोडश सुवर्णसंज्ञा भवन्ति ।  
क र्णो वे ति संज्ञान्तरम् ।

च तु ष्क र्षं प ल मि ति सुबोधम् ।

रूप्यस्य प्रकारान्तरमाह, अ ष्ठा शी तिः स र्षं वा रूप्य मा ष क  
इति सुबोधम् ।

ते षो ड श ध र ण मि ति । ते षोडशमाषकप्रमाणस्य रूप्यस्य  
धरणमिति संज्ञा । शै ब्या नि विं श ति र्वा, मध्यमप्रमाणपलविंश-  
तिर्वा धरणम् ।

रूप्यस्यैव विं श ति त ण्डु लं व ज्र ध र ण मि ति, मध्यमा-  
खण्डब्रीहितण्डुलविंशतिप्रमाणं वज्रसंज्ञस्य रत्नस्य धरणम्भवति ।

प्रतिमानसङ्ख्यामाह,—अ र्ध मा ष क इ त्या दि । अ र्ध मा ष को,

माषको, मा ष कौ द्वौ, च त्वा रोष्टौ मा ष का, इत्येभिर्व्यस्तसम  
स्तैरर्धमाषकन्युनसुवर्णोत्पत्तिरेवं सु व र्णो, द्वौ च त्वा रोष्टौ सु व र्णा,  
द श विं श ति स्त्रिं श च त्वा रिं श च्छ त मि त्वेवमेतैश्चतुर्दशभिः  
प्रतिमानैः सर्वसङ्ख्यानिष्पत्तिरिति ।

ते ने ति सुवर्णप्रतिमानकरणेन ध र णा नि व्याख्याता नि ।  
तेषामपि धरणानां द्वेचत्वार्यष्टौ दश विंशतिस्त्रिंशत् चत्वारिंशत् शत-  
मिति सर्वं योजनीयम् । धरणग्रहणञ्च माषकानामप्युपलक्षणार्थं तेषा-  
मप्यर्धमाषको माषक इत्यादावपि योज्यम् ।

तानि च प्रतिमानान्याह, अ यो म या नी ति लोहानि, मगधशैलो  
मगधेषु तदाह्वयो, मे क ल शै ला क वी रा ज्ये त त् पाषाणमयानि  
या नि वा न्यानि, शङ्खमयादीनि नोदकेनादिभावेन प्र दो हे न  
वा मलङ्गेन वृद्धिमाधिक्यं गच्छे यु रू णे न वा तापेन ह्रा सं  
न्यूनकत्वं तानि कर्तव्यानीति ।

एवं प्रतिमानान्यभिधाय तुला दश व्याचष्टे, ष ड्ङ्गुला दूर्ध्व मि  
त्यादि । प्रथमा षडङ्गुलायामा लोहपलप्रमाणा, द्वितीयाष्टाङ्गुलोक्ता ।  
तथा चतुर्दशाङ्गुला द्विपललोहा च भवतीत्येव दशमी तुलाष्टसप्तत्य-  
ङ्गुलादिणा लोहपलार्धं भवति, य न्न यु भ य तः शि ष्यं वे ति, सर्वा-  
सामुभयतः मेयमानयोर्युगपद्धारणार्थं वा शब्दादेकतः शिष्यं वा पर्याये-  
णविधारणसम्भवप्रदर्शनार्थमित्येव ।

सुवर्णरूप्यतुला निर्दिश्येतरं व्याचष्टे, प ङ्च लिं श त्प ल लो हा -  
मि ति, तावन्मात्रलोहघटितां द्वि स स व्या या मां त्रिहस्तदीर्घां  
स म वृ त्ता मि त्यन्वर्थसंज्ञोपेतां कारयेत् । त स्याः प ङ्च प लि कं  
म ण्ड लं चेलकञ्च ब ध्वा स म क र ण मुन्नतावनतोभयान्तचिह्नं  
का र ये त् । तस्मात्समकरणपाठात् क र्णोत्त रं प ल मि ति कर्णोत्तरं  
यावत्पलमिति कृत्वा ततः पलोत्तरमेकपलं द्वे त्रीणीत्येवं याव-  
द्द श प लं ततो द्वा द श प लानि प ङ्च द श विं श तिः षोडश-

पदानि लेखाः कारयेत् । ततो विंशतेरूर्ध्वं माशतादिति, शतं यावदशोत्तरमिति त्रिंशच्चत्वारिंशदित्येवमादि कारयेदक्षेषु पञ्चमदशमादिषु नान्दीपिनञ्च<sup>१</sup> स्वस्तिकं विशेषार्थं कारयेत् ।

परिमाणमाह, द्विगुणलोहा मिति । अतस्समवृत्ता या द्विगुणलोहा सप्ततिलोहामयी षण्णवत्यङ्गुलाया मां चतुर्हस्तदीर्घां परिमाणो नाम तुलां कारयेत् तस्माच्छतप-  
 AS', p. 104 दादूर्ध्वमिति, पूर्वोक्तन्यायेन कर्षोत्तरं पलं पलोत्तरं दशपलमित्येवं शतपदङ्कृत्वा ततस्तस्माच्छतपदादूर्ध्वं विंशतिः पञ्चाशच्छतमिति पदानि कारयेत् ।

एवञ्चैषां शरद्वयपलधारणी भवति विंशतितौलिक इति, पलशतप्रमाणं तुला, तुलाविंशतिप्रमाणो भारसंज्ञो भवति ।

पूर्वस्मात्परिभाषितसुवर्णपलादधिकमपरद्रव्यान्तराणां परिच्छेदाय पलविशेषमाह, दशधरणिकं पलमिति पूर्वोक्तदशधरणपरिमाणं पलं ततश्च पूर्वोक्तपलात् कर्षाधिकमेतत्पलं भवति ।

तत्पलशतमिति । दशधारणिकानां पलानां शतं यथाकृति, अथ एवानया यस्मान्मीयते तस्मादायमा नी संज्ञिकेयं तुला भवति ।

पञ्चपलावरेति । वीप्सालोपोत्रद्रष्टव्यः, पञ्चभिः पञ्चभिः पलैरवरा निकृष्टा व्यापहारितादयस्तिष्ठः तुला भवन्ति, आयमान्या पञ्चभिः पलैः निकृष्टत्वात् पञ्चनवतिपलधारिणी व्यावहार<sup>२</sup> तिलोकक्रयविक्रयार्थं भवति, तस्या अपि पञ्चपलावरा नवतिपलधारिणी भाजनो हृत्य देवोवयोगिनी तुला भवन्ति[त], ततोऽपि पञ्चपलावरा पञ्चाशी अन्तःपुरभाजिनी तिपलधारिणी देवीकुमारादिदेवोपयोगिनी तुला भवति ।

1 "नन्दीपिनञ्च"—ग । 'वरत्राबन्धं वस्त्राकारेखाबन्धं कारयेत्'—इति 'ग'स्य वशाल्या ।

2 "तस्याः"—'श-स-य-गा' नां पाठः ।

3 "व्यावहारिकी"—स ।

ता सा मि ति व्यवहारीत्यादीनाम धै ध र णा व रं प ल मर्ध-  
घरणेनावरम्पलं भवति । तद्यथा आयमान्या समवृत्तलक्षणाया दशधरणि-  
कम्पलं व्यावहारिक्याः सार्धनवधरणिकंभाजन्या नवधरणिक मन्तःपुर-  
भाजन्याः सार्धाष्टधरणिकमिति । द्वि प ला व र मु त्त र लो ह मि ति,  
उत्तरस्याः उत्तरस्याः पलद्वयहीनं लोहम्भवति । तद्यथा, आयमानी  
पञ्चत्रिंशत्पला षष्ठ्यङ्गुलायामा, भाजनीहाव्यवहारिकी, त्रयस्त्रिंशत्पल-  
लोहान्तःपुरभाजिन्येकोनत्रिंशत्पललोहेति । ष ड ङ्गु ला व रा श्वा यामा  
इति । षड्भिः षड्भिरङ्गुलैर्निर्गुष्टा आयामा दीर्घत्वानि, तद्यथा, आयमानी  
द्विसप्तत्यङ्गुलायामाः व्यावहायीति षष्ठ्यङ्गुलायामा अन्तःपुरभाजिनी  
चतुःपञ्चाशदङ्गुलायामा ।

पू र्व यो रि ति संवृत्तपरिमाण्योः परिमाणायमान्योर्वा प ङ्क्व -  
प लि क प्र या म इति पलशते तुलिते पञ्चपलमधिकं देयं मां स -  
लो हः म णि व र्ज मि ति तेषामप्रयामो न भवति ।

काष्ठान्तुलामाह, काष्ठतुलेति । सारदारुमयी प्रमाणतो ष्ट ह स्ता  
ऽद व ती कृतपलादिपदा, प्र ति मा न व ती हारादिप्रमाणप्रतिमान-  
पाषाणोपेता, म यू र प दा धि ष्ठि ता स्तम्भद्वयतोरणोपनिबद्धा,  
कर्त्तव्येति वाक्यशेषः ।

का ष्ठ प ङ्क्व विं श ति प ल मि ति, तावतैन्धनेन तण्डुलप्रस्था-  
पाकनिष्पत्तिरेष प्र दे श इति प्रदेशः प्रकारः, प्रदर्शनमिति यावत्,  
यथा काष्ठपञ्चाशत्पलं प्रस्थद्वयसाधनमित्यादिप्रसङ्गाश्चाल्पमूल्य-  
स्याप्यमितो व्ययो न कार्यः, किमङ्ग पुनरस्येति ज्ञापनार्थम् ।

अत एव कोष्ठगाराध्यक्षतेनामित्येवं षोडशतुलाश्चतुर्दशप्रति  
मा ना नि च व्याख्यातानि ।

मानधान्यादीनाह,—अथेत्यधिकारान्तरे धा न्य मा षा णां पलश  
तद्वयतुलितमा य मा नं नाम द्रो ण म् भवति ।

ततोर्ध्वत्रयोदशपलावरा व्यावहारिकभाजनीयान्तःपुर-  
भाजनीयसंज्ञकानि त्रीणि द्रोणमानानि भवन्ति ।

तद्यथा, द्विशतपलद्रोणमायमानं, सप्ताशीतिपलशत-  
मर्धपलञ्च व्यावहारिकं, पञ्चसप्ततिशतं भाजनीयं,  
द्विषष्टिशतमर्धपलञ्चान्तःपुरभाजनीयम् ।

तेषामिति, चतुर्णामायमानादिद्रोणानामाढकप्रस्थकुडुबा  
यथास्वं चतुर्भागावराः यथाक्रमश्चतुर्भागा चतुर्भागा अवराः  
निकृष्टाः । तद्यथा द्रोणस्याढकश्चतुर्भागः, आढकस्य प्रस्थः, प्रस्थस्य  
कुडुब इति ।

षोडशद्रोणेत्यादि सुबोधम् ।

तेषां तुलापरिच्छिन्नानां द्रोणादीनां सुखव्यवहारार्थं मानान्याह,  
शुष्कसारदारुमयमिति । शुष्कं दृढदारुवटितं समं सदृशं  
मूलाग्रं चतुर्भागशिखं भागत्रयेण मुखसमं हृतस्य  
चतुर्भागेन यथा शिखा भवति तथा शिखां कारयेत् ।  
अन्तश्शिखं वा मुखसमं हृतशिखाचतुर्भागं वा धान्यानां देशा-  
न्तरप्रसिद्धा, विकल्पोयम् ।

रसस्यत्विति । अन्तःशिखमिति वर्तते तु-शब्दोवधारणे,  
रसस्य तैलघृतादेरन्तःशिखमेव, न तत्र वा-शब्दसम्बध्यते । सुरादीनां  
षण्णां भागत्रयेण मुखसमं हृतस्य शिखायां भागद्वयम्भवति, ततश्चैषा-  
मपञ्चभिः कुटुम्बैः प्रस्थो भवति, सुरायास्तन्तःप्रविष्टपञ्चकुटुम्बङ्कूर्तव्यं  
द्रव्याणां शिखाभावात् । पञ्चकुटुम्बप्रस्थार्थं पुष्पादिभिः सह पाठः ।

तुलामानभाण्डं पौतवहस्तात् क्रीणीयुरित्युक्तं, तस्य मूल्यमाह,  
सपादपण इत्यादि प्रबोधम् ।

द्विगुणमित्येतदेवार्धं तृतीयपणादि रसानां घृतादीनां  
द्रोणादिमानमूल्ये तेषामन्तःशिखत्वेन धान्यमानेभ्यो रूपतः पृथुत्वात्  
श्लक्ष्णतरदारुवटनीयत्वाच्च मूल्यद्वैगुण्यमिति ।

विं श ति प णाः प्र ति मा न स्ये ति चतुर्दशविधस्यापि  
समुदितस्य ।<sup>१</sup>

तु ला मू ल्यं लि भा ग इ ति । प्रथमायाः ; सुवर्णतुलायाः  
पणत्रिभागो मूल्यं, एवम्पलवृद्धौ मूल्यवृद्ध्या दशपल लोहायास्त्रिभागाधि-  
कपणत्रयमूल्यम्, एवंशेषाणामपि योज्यमिति केचित् । अपरे तु तुलामूल्यं  
त्रिभाग इति अनन्तरोक्तमूल्यप्रतिमानविंशतिपणत्रिभागस्तुला ।

अ प्र ति वि ष्टस्याशोधितस्या त्य यो द ण्डः, स पा दः स त-  
विं श ति प णः न्यूनातिरिक्ततायान्तु कण्टकशोधनोक्तदण्डाः ।

प्रा ति वे ध नि क मि ति प्रतिवेधननिमित्तं का कि णी क म ह र-  
ह रि ति, अहन्यहनि दूषः चतुर्भागं प्रतिवेधनकाले मौनचतुष्टयस्य त्रिंश-  
न्माषकं पो त वा ध्य क्षा य वणिजो दद्युः ।

प्रसङ्गादन्यदप्यादेयमाह । द्वा त्रिं श द्वा ग इति सर्पिषो द्वात्रिंश-  
द्भागो ग्राह्यः । तस्या त स व्या जी ति संज्ञा, तै ल स्य च तुः ष ष्टि-  
भा गः ।

पञ्चा श द्वा ग इति । तथापरोपि पञ्चाशद्भागस्तैलसर्पिषोः तत-  
व्याजी, सा हि ते ग्रा ह्य, अन्येषान्तु द्र वा णां पञ्चाशद्भाग एव केवलः ।  
तस्य भ न्ना<sup>२</sup> स्ना व इति संज्ञा ।

कु ङ्कु म्बा र्धे च तु र ष्ट भा गा नी ति । कुङ्कुम्बप्रमाणमुक्तम्,  
प्रस्थचतुर्भागं कुङ्कुम्ब इति । तन्मानसाधनं कुङ्कुम्बं, कुङ्कुम्बार्धं,  
कुङ्कुम्बचतुर्भागं वक्ष्यति हि । अष्टौ वा र काः स र्पि षः पर्णाकः  
प्रच्छमङ्कचर्म चेत्यादि ।

इ ति भ द्द स्वा मि नः प्र ति प द प ञ्चि का या म्

अ र्थं शा स्त्र टी का या म ध्य क्ष प्र चा-

रि कै द्वि ती ये धि क र णे

ए को न विं शो ध्या यः ।

तुलामानपौतवं आदितश्चत्वारिंशोध्यायः ।

१ “दुष्ट०” पाठः कल्पनीयः ।

२ “मानस्नावः”—‘श-स-य-गा’ नाम् ।



एकचत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः

## देशकालमानमिति सूत्रम्

देशो भूमिः, तद्ग्रहणाद्विकारस्यापि प्राकारादेर्ग्रहणं, का लो पि  
त्रुटिलवनिमेषादिस्तयो र्मानं परिच्छेद इति सूत्रार्थः। सम्वन्धस्तु  
AS' p. 106 द्वादशहस्तादूर्ध्वं ओजं युग्मं वेत्यादि दुर्गविधाननिवेशादौ  
हस्तारत्निदण्डादयोभिहिताः। तत्स्वरूपन्तु नोक्तं, तथा  
राजप्रणिधिप्रभृतौ च पूर्वं दिवसस्य भागे रक्षाविधानमित्यादि  
कालप्रविभागश्च, तन्मानविधिरित्यतस्तुलामानादिप्रसङ्गेन देश-  
कालयोरपि मानविधानमभिधीयत इति।

तदाह—मा ना ध्य क्षः पौतवाध्यक्ष एवान्यो वा समाहर्तृ प्रकृतः,  
स देशकालमानं विधात्।

कथमित्याह—अ धौ प र मा ण व इत्यादि। अष्टावतीन्द्रिया  
प र मा ण वः संहताः सन्तः एको र थ च क वि प्रु ट, रथचक्रोद्धतं  
चक्षुर्ग्राह्यं यद्गजः।

ततः क्रमेणाष्टोत्तराणि लि क्षा यू का यवमध्यांगुलानि।

प्रकारान्तरमङ्गुलानि आह, म ध्य म स्येत्यादि। म ध्य म स्या कु-  
लशतारोहस्यार्धनवतिपरिणाहस्य पु रु ष स्य मध्यहस्तांगुल्या  
मध्यमप्रदेशस्य प्र क र्षः पृथुत्वातिशयः स्वांगुलम्।

तच्चतुष्टयं ध नु प्र हं नाम।

स द्विगुणो ध नु र्मु ष्टिः।

स एव त्रिगुणो वि त स्तिः छा या पौ रु षं शंकुप्रमाणं तदपि  
द्वादशांगुलमेव।

च तु र्दं शां गु ल स्य श मा द्यश्चतस्रस्संज्ञाः।

द्वि वि त स्ति श्चतुर्विंशत्यंगु लो र त्तिः, स एव प्रा जा ष त्यः  
सामान्यो ह स्तः।

स एव स ध नु र्ग हो षाविंशत्यंगुलः पौ त व वि वी त मा नं  
तयोर्हस्तप्रमाणं तत् पौ त वं काष्ठतुलादिः, वि वी तं प्रतीतम् ।

स ध नु र्मु ष्टिः स एव प्राजापत्यो हस्तो द्वात्रिंशदंगुलः कि ष्कु-  
रुच्यते कं सो वेति तस्यैव संज्ञान्तरम् ।

द्वि च त्त्वा रिं श दं गु लः त क्ष्णो विश्वकर्मणो मतेन, यद्वा  
तक्ष्णो वर्धकेः दुर्गादिपरिकर्मणि क्र क च कि ष्कुः करपत्राणां च  
हस्तेनैव स्क न्धा वा र दु र्ग रा ज प रि ग्र ह मा नं कर्तव्यम् ।

च तु ष्प चा श दं गु लः कु प्य व न ह स्तः द्रव्यवनकर्मान्तेषु  
मानहस्तः ।

च तु र शी त्यं गु लो ध्या मो नाम र ज्जु मा नं तेन रज्जुनां मानं  
खा त पौ र षं चेति, खातस्य कूपादेः पुरुषमानमपि एतदेव ।

च तु र र त्ति रित्रादि, तावत्प्रमाणस्य द ण्डादयश्चतस्रः संज्ञाः ।

गा र्ह प त्य मि ति गृहपतिना विश्वकर्मणा द्दृष्ट म ष्ट श तां गु लं

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धनुः, तच्च प थां राजमार्गादीनाम्प्रा का रा णाश्च द्वादशहस्ता-  
दीनाम्मानस्यो रू षं च पुरुषमानम् अग्नि चि त्या ना म-  
ग्निचयनविशेषाणां सुवर्णविदादीनाम् ।

ष ट् कं स इति प्राजापत्रहस्ताष्टकप्रमाणो द ण्डो ब्र ह्म दे या ना-  
मृत्विगादिदेयक्षेत्राणा मा ति थ्या ना श्च सत्रादिधर्मनिमित्तधर्माधिकारक्षे-  
त्राणाम्मानम् ।

द श द ण्डः चत्तारिंशद्वस्तो र ज्जुः ।

द्वि र ज्जु को विंशतिदण्डः प रि दे शः ।

त्रि र ज्जु कं तिंशदण्डः चतुरस्रं नि व र्त्त न म् ।<sup>3</sup>

ए क तो द्वि द ण्डा धि क इति तदेव चतुरश्रान्निवर्तनमेकत एक-

1 'स' धृत-C—मूले "किञ्चः" ।

2 "०कु०"—स ।

3 cf. Hemādri—Chaturvargachintāmaṇi—40,000 hastas square,

स्मिन् पार्श्वे दण्डद्वयाधिक्यात् वा हु भवति, त्रिंशद्वण्डो यतः त्रिंश-  
द्वण्डविस्तारो वा हु रिति ।

‘धनुः स ह खं गोरुतमिति । गो रु तं क्रोशम् ।

च तु गो रं रु तं यो ज न मि ति सुखबोधम् ।

इत्येवं दे श मा नं व्या ख्या त मि ति शेषः ।

का ल मा न म त ऊ र्ध्वं मि ति देशमानपूर्वकत्वात् कालमानस्य  
बक्ष्यत इति वाक्यशेषः ।

तच्च ऋत्यादियुगान्तं सप्तदशविधमभिधाय स्वयमेव व्याचष्टे ।

निमेषचतुर्भागः ऋ टि रिति कालपरमाणुनिमेषचतुर्भागस्तस्य  
ऋ टि रिति संज्ञा ।

द्वौ ऋटौ ल वो निमेषार्धः ।

द्विलवो नि मे षः, शेषं सुबोधम् ।

ना डि का धटिकादाविति ।

सु व र्ण मा ष का श्च त्वा र श्च तु रं गु ला या माः तावत्प्रमा-  
णशलाशीकृतास्तावत्प्रमाणं कुम्भच्छिद्रमाढकमम्भसो वा  
कुम्भगतं यावत्तेन छिद्रेण गलतीति वाक्यशेषः, सा वा ना डि का ।

नाडिकाद्वयं मुहूर्त्तः, पूर्वापरभागाविति पूर्वेषामुत्तरेषाञ्च सम्भवतो  
योजनीयौ, उत्तरेषां दिवसादीनां पूर्वाह्नं पूर्वत्रादि पूर्वभागः अपराह्ना-  
परत्रादि अपरभागः ।

पञ्चदशमुहूर्त्तौ दिवसो रात्रिश्च, चैत्राश्वयुजयो-  
AS' p. 108 र्मासयोर्मेषतुलाभ्यो भवतः ।

प र मू र्ध्वं विषुवम् ।

तद्यथा त्वि मि मु ह तैः प्रत्येकं चतुर्लवोपचयामचयक्रमेणान्य-  
तरयोरहोरात्रयोरैकतरः षण्मासं वर्धते च तत्रापीति, वर्धते  
इति ह स ते चैति विशेषो गणितादवगन्तव्यः ।

1 “०द्विषुः०” ‘श-स-य-गा’ नाम् ।

2 “०प्रमाणाक छि०” – स ।

छायायामपि कालज्ञानमाह, छायाया मष्टपौ रथ्यामिति  
षण्णवत्यंगुलायां छायायां दिवसस्याष्टादशभागः छेदः  
अष्टादशभागोऽवगतो मन्तव्यः सप्तदशावशेषः ; षट्पौ रथ्यां  
द्विसप्तत्यंगुलायां चतुर्दशभागो दिवसस्यावगतः, त्रयोदश शेषाः ;  
चतुःपौ रथ्या मष्टभागो र्धप्रहरः सप्त शेषाः ; द्विपौ रथ्याः  
षड्भागश्छेदः प्रहरतयं शेषम् ; अष्टांगुलायां दशधा विभक्तस्य तत्र यो  
दशभागवच्छेदः सप्तदश शेषाः ; चतुरंगुलायामष्टधा विभक्तस्य  
तयोष्टभागच्छेदभवश्च शेषः ।

अच्छायः शंकुप्रविष्टच्छायो मध्याह्नः ।

परिवृत्ते दिवसे शेषमेवमेव विद्यादिति, परिवृत्तौ  
मध्याह्नात् परतः दिवसशेषमेवैवापगमप्रकारेण चतुरङ्गुला-  
दिष्वष्टपौ रथीपर्यन्ता स यत्पूर्वमपगतं तदिह शेषं जानीयात्, तद्यथा  
पूर्वतः चतुरङ्गुलायां छायायां त्रयोष्टभागाः अवगतास्त एवेह शेषा  
इत्यादि ।

आषाढे मासि, आषाढमासावसाने शंकुप्रविष्टच्छायो  
मध्याह्नो भवति ।

तत्र श्रावणावसाने द्वांगुलच्छायः, भाद्रपदान्ते चतुरंगुलच्छायः,  
द्वांगुलोत्तरता च यावत्पौषान्ते द्वादशांगुलानि, ततो माघे दश,  
फाल्गुनेष्ट द्वांगुलावरोहणं यावत्पुनर्नष्टच्छाय इति ।

पञ्चदशाहोरात्राः पक्षः, स द्विविधः ।

सोमप्यायनश्चन्द्रपूरणः शुक्लसंज्ञः ।

विपरीतश्च बहुलः ।

द्विपक्षो मासः ।

सावनस्त्रिंशदहोरात्रः ।

अर्धश्चाहोरात्रस्यार्धं न्यूनश्चात्रः ।

चन्द्रमानेनैकात्रिंशदहोरात्रो भवति हायाः अश्वयवसं घास-  
कादीनां ।

च त्वा रिं श द होरात्रो ह स्ति वा हा याः हस्तिवाहादीनां  
वेतनमासः ।

द्वौ मा सौ वाद्यमासा वृ तु स्तद्विशेषा वर्षादयः श्रावणादिमासयुग्मै-  
AS', p. 109 भवन्ति ।

प्रौ<sup>१</sup> ष्ट पा दो भाद्रपदः ज्येष्ठामूलज्येष्ठः शेषमृजु ।

शि शि रा दिमासादिकमृतुत्रयमु त्त रा य ण म् ।

एवं व र्षा दि श्रावणादिकं द क्षि ण म् ।

एतद्द्वयं सं व त्स रः ।

तैः पञ्चभिरित्येतद्व्यावहारिककालमानमिति ।

अधिमासकसम्भवमाह, दि व स स्ये त्या दि, दि व स स्या हो-  
रात्रस्य ष ष्ठि भा ग घटिकामर्कः प्रत्यहं ह र ति चिनति, ततः क्रमेणैतौ  
मासद्वयातिक्रमे क रो त्ये क क म ह च्छे द म धिकमहोरात्रं यथा  
सः तथैव च त्दो प्येकमेवाहच्छेदमृतौ करोति । ए व मनेन प्रका-  
रेणार्धं तृ ती या ना म ब्दा नां त्रिंशतो मासानामेकम धि मा स-  
कमधिकं मासं ज न य तः, तथा च सति युगस्य द्वावधिमासकौ  
भवतस्तत्रापि मासादारभ्य पूर्वं श्रां ष्मे त्रिंशत्तमं द्वितीयमाषाढं  
जनयन्तं पञ्चाब्दान्ते युगावसानं संवत्सरान्ते श्रावणादारभ्य  
त्रिंशत्तमं द्वितीयं पौषं ज न य त इति ।

इ ति भ द्र स्वा मि नः प्र ति प द पञ्चि का या म्

अ र्थं शा ख णो का या म ध्य क्ष प्र चा -

रि के द्वि ती ये धि क र णे

विं शो ध्या यः ।

देशकालमानं आदित एकचत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ।

—:—

१ “प्रो०”—‘श-स-य-गा’ नाम् ।

२ “भातियः”—स ।

एकविंशोऽध्यायः

## शुल्काध्यक्ष इति सूचं

शुल्कः पञ्चदशभागादि देयं राज्ञः, तस्या ध्यक्ष इति सूत्रार्थः ।  
सम्बन्धस्तु देशनिर्देशतोयवा दुर्गान्तर्गतं पौतवाध्यक्षमभिधाय तदनन्तरं  
सप्तभाण्डानां तुलादिपरिच्छेदकपूर्वकत्वात् शुल्कस्य दुर्गान्तर्गत-  
त्वमेव ।

शुल्काध्यक्षव्यापारमाह शुल्कशालाध्यक्ष इति । शुल्कशाला  
शुल्कग्रहणावस्थानम्, च ध्वजश्च तच्चिह्नं प्राप्नुम्य मुदङ्मुखो  
वेति, द्विग्रहणं मङ्गलार्थम्, महाद्वाराभ्यां मध्यमद्वारसमीपे  
निवेशयेत् ।

शुल्कादायिनः शुल्कग्राहिणः शुल्काध्यक्षेण निरूपिता इव त्वा-  
रः पञ्च वा जनाः सार्थोपयाता स्तद्भाण्डद्वयसार्थादा-  
गतान् वणिजं पण्यव्यवहारिणो लिखेयुः कथमित्याह, के  
कुतस्त्या इत्यादि पृष्ट्वा के यूयं किं जानीयाः, किन्नामयेया वा  
कुतस्त्याः किं देशवासिनो वा कियत्पण्याः किम्परिमाणभाण्डाः ।

कच भिज्ज्ञानमन्तपालकृतपण्यपुटानां स्वचिह्नं मुद्रा विमृश्य  
युष्माकं कृतेति पृष्ट्वाः ते यथा ब्रूयुः तथा लिखेयुः ।

अमुद्राणामिति । मुद्रारहिताणां मत्तयो दण्डः, देयद्वि-  
गुणः शुल्कद्विगुणः ।

कूटमुद्राणां स्वयंकृतमुद्राणां शुल्काष्टगुणो दण्डः ।

भिज्मुद्राणां गृहीतमुद्राणामेव प्रमादिना नष्टमुद्राणां मत्तयो  
देशकालाद्यपेक्षया कश्चित्स्वयमेव कल्पनीयः । घटिकास्था नैवेला-  
यामागन्तूनां स्थानं, सन्निरोधेन यदि वा शुल्कशालायां सन्निरोधमेकमह-  
स्वस्थानमयमेव तेषां भिज्मुद्राणां मत्तयः मुद्रातिवर्तन इत्यनुषङ्गः ।

समावव्याणां तूलकार्पासादीनां ना म प रि व र्त्त ने कृते कार्पासा दिनेव तूलादिनामकरणे तदावेदने वा स पा द प णि कं पादाधिक वर्णं व ह नं भाण्डहरकं वा प ये त् ।

ध्व ज मू लो प स्थि त स्ये ति । शुल्कशालाङ्गणस्थस्य प्र मा ण-मियत्ता म र्घं मेतावता लभ्यत इति । वै दे ह का वणिजः प ण्य स्य ब्रूयुः ।

तेनेति । तदुक्तप्रमाणमियत्ता मूल्य मर्घं वा ही नं ब्रू व तो वैदेह-कस्य त द ति रि कं कथितातिरिक्तं रा जा ह रे त् । शुल्क म ष्ट-गु णं वा द द्या दि ति । तस्यैवन्देशकालाद्यपेक्षया विकल्पः ।

त दे व कथित्तातिरिक्तम् शुल्काष्टगुणं वा नि वि ष्ट प ण्य स्य भाण्डस्य हि निसन्निवासितचित्रपण्यस्य भाण्डस्य ही न प्र ति-व र्ण के न निकृष्टवर्णिकाप्रदर्शनेना र्धा प क र्ष णे मूल्यावरोपणे सा र-भाण्डस्य च वज्रमणिमुक्तादेः फल्युभाण्डे न कार्पासादिना प्र ति-च्छा द ने च कुर्यात् ।

प्र ति क्रो ट्ठ म वा द्वे ति । अयमपि क्रैष्यति इत्यादावेव प्रसिद्धं प ण्य मू ल्या दु प रि मू ल्यं व र्द्ध य तः क्रैतुस्तन्मू ल्य वृ द्धि मा ह-रे इ द्वि गु ण मुचितंशुल्कद्विगुणं वा शुल्कं कुर्या दि ति । देश-कालाद्यपेक्षया विकल्पः । अन्ये त्वत्र वा-शब्दं चार्थे वर्णयन्ति ।

त दे वे ति । सर्वशेषः यस्मिन्नपराधे यद्वणिजामुक्तं तत्तद-पराधे तदेवाष्टगुणं शुल्का ध्य क्ष स्य राजा कुर्यात् । तद्विषमुत्कोचा-दिना प्र छा द य तः ।

त स्मा दि ति । वणिजामध्यक्षाणाञ्च प्रतिचारसम्मवाङ्मिक्यः प ण्या नां, धृतस्तुलया कुङ्कुमादीनां, मि तः कुङ्कुमादिना धान्यादीनां, गणितो गण्यपण्यादीनां पूगफलादीनां, का र्ये स्त कः प्रत्याकलनादिना, इमेतावज्जवेदिति फल्युभाण्डा ना मसारपण्यानां वहितकांगार-

सुधादीना मा नु ग्रा हि का णा श्च साराणामपि महोपकाराणाम् एवा-  
नारतप्रवेशार्थम् ।

ध्व ज मूल म ति क्रा न्ता ना श्च शुल्कस्थानातिगानाम कृ त-  
शुल्का नां शुल्का ष्ट गु णो द ण्डः, च-शब्दोबधिसमुच्चये ।

पथिकाः सुखचारिणो वैदेहकव्यं जनादयः उत्पथिकास्वकाष्ठा-  
AS. p. 111. हारगोपालादयोऽनुमताः पथसञ्चाराः तदष्टगुणशुल्ककारणं  
मतिक्रमणं विद्यु रन्विष्य जानीयुः ।

विवादे वा साक्षिण्यस्योच्छुल्कमाह, वै वा हि क मि त्या दि । वै वा-  
हि कं विवाहप्रयोजनम्, अ न्वा य नस्पृणितायाः पितृगृहादानीत-  
मौ पा य नि कं कौशलिकं, य ज्ञ कृ त्य नै मि त्ति कं य ज्ञ कृ त्ये चयो-  
हिसनोहारादिकं, प्र स व नै मि त्ति कं, जातकर्मसूतिकाभैषज्यार्थं दे वे-  
ज्या यां देवयाज्ञायां, चौ लो प न य न गो दा ना दीनि प्रतीतानि, व्रते  
देयानि व्रते देयं व्रतादौ द्रव्यव्यवधाने उदीक्षणे व्रतमोक्षणे आदिशब्दा-  
दन्येष्वपि संस्कारधर्माख्येषु विकार्येषु भा ण्ड द्र व्य मुच्छुल्कं  
ग च्छे त्, शुल्कं न दद्यात् ।

अ न्य था वा दि न इति । वैदेहकस्यायथाभूतम्ब्रुवतः स्ते य-  
द ण्डः ।

कृ तं शुल्के न दत्तशुल्के नां कृ त शुल्कं नि वां ह य तः तेन सह  
सङ्गलेन च तद्वि ती यमेकमुद्र<sup>१</sup>या वा एकस्य मुद्रया संमानमन्यं  
प ण्य पु टं निर्वाहयतः मि त्वा वा प ण्यपु टं<sup>२</sup> पण्यवासनं मि त्वा  
तदन्तर्गतम प ह र तो वै दे ह क स्य त ष्च ता व ष्च द ण्डः ।

शुल्क स्थाना द्वजमूलाद् गो म यं प ला लं वा नितरामसारं-  
थावत्प्रमाणं कृ त्वा विधिर्या प ह र तः उ त्त मः सा ह स द ण्डः ।

१ “वाहिन”-श ।

२ “मुद्रणया”-स ।

३ “वा पुट”-ग ।



शस्त्रादीनां हेतुषु सत्सु प्रतिषिद्धनिर्गमानां निर्वो ह य तो निर्गमयते यथा गुप्ति तो यथोद्दिष्टो दण्डः पण्यनाशश्च तस्य पण्यहानिश्च पण्यशब्दः प्रत्येकं, शस्त्रमायुधं, वर्म सर्वावरणपर्यायः कवचमनेकसंपुटं तस्य ग्रहणं प्राधान्याद्यर्थं लोहाद्यध्यक्षव्याख्यातम्

तेषां शस्त्रादीनाम् अन्यतमं परविषयादा न य तो बहिरेव दुर्गादुच्छुल्कं शुल्कहोनविक्रयः ।

प्रसङ्गादन्तपालस्य च कृत्यमाहास्ते पाल इत्यादि । अन्तपालो विषयान्तरक्षाधिकृतः पण्यग्रहनस्य धान्यादिपण्यवाहिनः शकटादिषु पादपणिकां वर्तनीं गृहीयादित्येकैकस्य पण्यग्रहनस्य सपादपणं गृहीयात् । अन्तपालादिर्यस्य च वर्तनीति संज्ञा वर्तनीमार्गः तद्रक्षणनिमित्ता वर्तनीति ।

पणिका मेकखुरस्य खराश्वतरादेः, पशूनां गोमहिषादीनामर्थपणिकां, क्षुद्रपशूनां मार्गेरूपादीनां पादिका मं सारस्य स्कन्धाभारवहस्य मूषिकाम् ।

नष्टं स्वयमवगमनमपहृतं तत्स्फुरेन्तपालः प्रतिविदध्यात् अन्विष्य प्रत्यानीय च दद्यात् । तदलाभे स्वकीयमपि दद्यात् ।

वैदेश्यमन्यदेशागतं, कृतसारफल्गुभाण्डविचयनमिति कृतसारभाण्डस्य फल्गुभाण्डस्य च विचयनमन्वेषणं यस्य तमभिज्ञानं स्वाक्षरादिन्यासोपेतं मुद्राञ्च तस्य दत्त्वा न्तपालः प्रेक्षयेत् ।

अन्तपालशुल्काध्यक्षहरणप्रतिषेधार्थमाह, वैदेहकव्यञ्जन इत्यादि । वैदेहकव्यञ्जनो राजप्रयुक्तः, सार्थप्रमाणं वहनपण्यसङ्ख्याः राज्ञः प्रेक्षयेत् ।

एकेन प्रदेशेनेति । वैदेहकव्यञ्जनोपदेशेन राजान्तपालशुल्काध्यक्षयोः सार्थप्रमाणं भाण्डविशेषं तत्संख्यां चोपदिशेत्, किमर्थं, सर्वज्ञो राजेति लोके ज्ञापनार्थम् । ततस्तसार्थमध्यक्षोभिगम्यामुष्यामुष्यवणिजः सारभाण्डं फल्गुभाण्डञ्च तद्वद्विज्ञः न निगूहितव्यं अपगममेव

तदस्यादिर्नचात्रास्तगुणः कश्चिदेषः राज्ञः प्रभा वो यदेष दिव्येन  
चक्षुषा दूरस्थोपि सर्वम्पश्यतीति ।

तथापि विनिगूहितफल्युभा एव मूर्णाकार्पासादिकं शुल्का-  
ष्टगुणो व एवः । सारभा एव मणिमुक्ताचन्दनकुङ्कुमादिकं सर्वा-  
पहारः ।

अध्यायप्रान्ते श्लोकमाह, राष्ट्रपीडाकरमित्यादि । राष्ट्र-  
पीडाकरं विषसुरादिकर्म, उच्छिन्नाग्निवेधयेत्, आच्छिद्य विनाश-  
येत् । यद्रा अफलश्च यन्निष्फलश्चकारादल्पफलश्च वरका-  
दि तदप्युच्छिन्ध्यात् यत्नेन नावाहयेत् । यन्महोपकारं व्रीह्यादि-  
धान्यं हारीतक्यादिभेषजं बीजन्तु यहर्लभं दुःशुल्कं कुर्यात् शुल्कं  
तस्यानुगृहीयात् ।

इति भट्टस्वामिनः प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्

अर्थशास्त्रटीकायामध्यक्षप्रचा-

रिके द्वितीये धिकरणे

एकविंशोऽध्यायः ।

शुल्काध्यक्षः आदितो द्विचत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ।

द्वाविंशोऽध्यायः

## शुल्कव्यवहार इति सूत्रम्

शुल्काध्यक्ष एवाध्यायान्तरेण शुल्कव्यवहारो विधीयते तत्र बाह्या-  
दिशुल्कभेदानां कस्य वा पण्यस्य कियद्ग्रहणमित्यादि परिज्ञानं  
शुल्कव्यवहारः ।

तदाह बाह्यमाभ्यन्तरञ्चेत्यादि । बाह्यं स्वजनप्रदोत्पन्नं  
आभ्यन्तरं स्थानीयादुत्पन्नं चातिथ्यं चकारो भिन्नक्रमः सम्बध्यते  
परदेशागतवैदेहकोत्पन्नमातिथ्यमित्येवं संक्षेपात्त्रिविधं शुल्कम् ।

तत्पुनः प्रत्येकं द्विविधं, नैष्काम्यं प्रावेश्यञ्च । निष्कामण-  
निमित्तं प्रावेश्यम्पण्यवेशननिमित्तं शुल्कं प्रावेश्यानाम्परदेशात्  
स्वदेशञ्च स्वदेशेस्वास्थानीयम् ।

प्रविशतां पण्यानां मूल्यपञ्चभागः शुल्कमित्युत्सर्गः ।

तस्यापवादः पुष्पफलेत्यादि । पुष्पं कुसुमादि, फलं पनस-  
वार्ताकादि, शाकं वास्तुकजीरकादि, मूलं वालुकादिकं दाः सुरण-  
पेरण्डारकादयः, वल्लवय<sup>१</sup> कूष्माण्डकलेकादिवल्लीफलं, वीजमेतेषामेव  
विशेषेण वा धान्यादीनां शुष्कमत्स्यादीनां च शुल्कं षड्भागं  
गृहीयात् ।

शङ्खादीनां तज्ज्ञा<sup>२</sup> तपुरुषैस्तन्निपुणैः शुल्कं कारयेत् ।  
भूयस्तेषां विशेषणं कृतकमेत्यादि । कृतइत्यनेकार्थत्वात् करोते-  
र्नैष्पादिता विज्ञाता दृष्टा शङ्खवज्रादीनां कर्मप्रमाणकालवेतनफल-  
नेष्पत्तयो यैस्तैः वैवच तज्ज्ञातैरिति सिद्धे पुरुषग्रहणं स्त्रीणां कुर्वादि-  
ज्ञानेन विनिवृत्यर्थं हारग्रहणञ्च वज्रादीनामयुक्तानां युक्तानाञ्च  
परिग्रहार्थम् ।

१ “पल्लिक्य” — “श-८” — योः “वल्लिक्य” — य । “वल्लिक्य” — ग ।

२ “तज्ज्ञात” — “श-स-य-गा” नाम् ।

क्षौ मं स्थूलवल्कलं, दु कूलं सूक्ष्मं, कि मि ता नश्चन<sup>१</sup>पट्टः,  
क ड्ड टः सूक्ष्म<sup>२</sup>सन्नाहः, ह रि ता ल म नः शि ले प्रतीते । अञ्जनं<sup>३</sup> सौवी-  
रकादि, लोहवर्णस्याह्लादिलोहजातिः, धातुगैरिकादिः, च न्द ना ग रु णी  
प्रतीते, कटुकं पिप्पल्यादि, कि ण्वं मद्योपकरणं अपरं विदमलमपरे तु  
चन्दनादीनां किञ्च पर्यवसानामिति ध्याचक्षते, तेन समस्तदाराणां  
तैलवर्णकादीनामपि ग्रहणं च भवति । दन्तो, हस्तिदन्तादिः,  
अ जि नं चर्म, क्षौ म दु कूलं निष्पन्नमभिहितम् । इह तु तत्कारणानि  
वि का राः संहताः गृह्यन्ते । आ स्त र णं शयनीयोपकरणं, प्रा व र णं  
प्राचारादि, कि मि जा त म् कौशेयं लाक्षदीत्यन्ये, अ जै ल फ म्प्रतीत-  
मित्येषां द श भा गः प ञ्च द श भा गो शुल्कः । विकल्पश्चायं  
देशकालद्रव्याद्यपेक्षया ।

व स्त्रा द यो धा न्या द यश्च प्रतीताः । का ष्ट वे ण्वा दी नां  
AS . p. 118 पञ्चानां स्वरूपग्रहणं तन्मयानाम्भाण्डानां च ग्रहणमित्येव  
पतेषां विं श ति भा गः प ञ्च विं श ति भा गो वा शुल्कम् ।

द्वारादेयमाह, द्वा रा दे यं शुल्कं प ञ्च भा ग इति । यस्य  
शुल्कमुक्तम् तस्य पञ्चभागो द्वाराध्यक्षणं प्राह्यमेति । आ नु प्रा हि कं  
वे ति सर्वापवादः यत्पण्यमनुग्रहनीयं तस्य शुल्कं द्वारादेयं वा  
य था दे शो प का र मित्यनवरतागमने यथा स्वदेशस्योपकरोति तथा  
स्था प ये त् ।

जा ति भू मि ष्वि ति, उदपत्तिभूमिषु प ण्या ना म वि क्र यः  
कर्तव्य इति वाक्यशेषः । पवमर्थात्क्रेतुरपि प्रतिषेधे तस्य दण्डा-  
न्याह, ख नि भ्य इत्यादि । स चात्ययोर्विक्रेतुरप्यवगन्तव्यः । शङ्क-

१ '०क्षी०' पाठो युज्यते—स ।

२ 'सूत्र०'—'स-ग'-योः ।

३ 'हिङ्गुलुक' पाठो दृश्यते—'श-स-य-गा' नाम् ।

४ 'अनु०'—'स'—तथा 'स'-धृत-*C* मूले ।

लोहलवणाद्याकरेभ्यो धा तु प ण्या दा ने<sup>१</sup> कारणस्य कार्यस्य वा ग्रहणे  
षट् श त म त्य यः, षट्शतानि दण्डः ।

पु ण्या दि वा टे भ्यः पु ण्या दि ग्रहणे च तु ष्यं चा श त्प णो  
द ण्डः ।

ष ण्डे भ्यः शा का द्या दा ने द्वि प ञ्चा श त्प णः ।

क्षेत्रे भ्यः स र्वं स र्या दा ने<sup>२</sup> पण्यादिसर्वधान्यग्रहणे त्रि-  
प ञ्चा श त्प णो दण्डः ।

प णो ध्य र्ध प णः सी ता त्य य इ ति । क्रेतुर्विक्रेतुश्च यथा-  
क्रमं पणोध्यर्धपणश्च हितात्ययः धान्यदण्डः, स च त्रिपञ्चाशत्पणा-  
दधिको ग्राह्यः, पुष्पफलादेरपि सर्वशेषोयमिति ।

साम्प्रतमध्यायप्रान्ते श्लोकमाह, अ त इत्यादि । अत इत्युक्त-  
व्यतिरेकेण न वा नां पु रा णा ताञ्च पण्यानां देश च रि त्र तो  
देशाचारतः तद्वज्जा ति च रि त्र तो जात्याचारतो वा शु ल्कं स्था प-  
ये त्, अ त्य य ञ्च दण्डम प का र तो पराधानुरूपं अनुक्रमेणूहेदिति ।

इ ति भ द्र स्वा मि नः प्र ति प द् प ञ्चि का या म्

अ र्थ शा स्त्रे टी का या म ध्य क्ष प्र चा -

रि के द्वि ती ये धि क र णे

द्वा विं शो ध्या यः ।

शु ल्क व्य ष हा रः, आ दि त स्त्रि च त्वा रिं शो ध्या यः ।

तयोविंशोऽध्यायः

## सूत्राध्यक्ष इति सूत्रम्

सूत्र मूर्णाकार्पासादिजं तस्य कर्तनवानादिकारयिता सूत्राध्यक्ष इति सूत्रार्थः । सम्बन्धस्तु कार्पासक्षौमाणां पञ्चपले सूत्रपलमित्युक्तं तस्याध्यक्षः कर्तनवानादिकारयिता । तत्कर्तनवानादिकं च नोक्तं, तदभिधीयत इति ।

तदाह सूत्राध्यक्ष इत्यादि । सूत्रवस्त्रादयः प्रतीतास्तेषां व्यवहारं कर्तनवानादिलक्षणं तज्जा<sup>1</sup> तपुरुषैः तत्कुशलैः कारयेत्, पुरुषग्रहणं प्राधान्याद्विवादीनामपि व्यवहारोपदेशात् ।

ऊर्णं इत्यादि । वल्को मालतीमूर्वाप्रभृतीनां त्रसरः कृमितानादिः, तूलमर्कशल्मलीत्यादि, राङ्गमृगरोमेत्यपरे । क्षुमा विरूपशेषः, तत्प्रभवं क्षौमं, शेषाणि प्रतीतानि । शणक्षौमयोर्वलकप्रहणेनैव गृहीतत्वात् पृथगुपादानं प्राधान्यग्रहणार्थम् । विधवादयः प्रतीताः । दण्डकृति कारिणी कर्मणा दण्डस्य प्रवेशयित्री, रूपा जीवा देवराजकुलप्रतिभावातन्मातृकाभिः निरूपयोगादिभिः तद्वात्रादिभिः बृद्धराजदासीभिः, अनन्ययोग्याभिः व्युप रतो पस्था न देवदासीभिः संगीतकाद्ययोग्यादिभिः, कर्तयेत् सूत्राणि कारयेत् ।

श्लक्ष्णस्थूलमध्यतामिति सूत्रस्य प्रकूरतां ज्ञात्वा  
AS. p. 114 त्रिविधमेव वेतनं कल्पयेत् ।

बहुल्यताञ्चेति । तुल्यकालेल्पत्वबहुल्ये च कर्तनस्य दत्त्वा वेतनं कल्पयेत् । सूत्रप्रमाणं ज्ञात्वेति, सूत्रस्य श्लक्ष्णत्वान्याधिक्यं ज्ञात्वा तैलामलकोद्वर्तनैरेनामनुगृह्योयात् चक्षुःप्रसादार्थमन्यासामपि यत्नातिशयार्थं च ।

तिथिषु अकर्तनदिवसेषु पौर्णमास्यादिषु प्रतिपादने<sup>2</sup> नोच्छिष्टा-

1 "तज्ज्ञात०"—स ।

2 'पादनमानैः'— 'श-स-य-गा' नाम् ।

**ABBREVIATIONS IN THE FOOTNOTES TO  
BHATTASVAMIN'S COMMENTARY.**

- ॐ—Shama Sastri, R.—Arthasastra of Kautilya. Mysore, 1909.
- ॠ—Sorabji, I. J.—Some Notes on the Adhyaksha-Pracāra Book II of the Kauṭīliyam-Arthasāstram.—Allahabad, 1914.
- ॡ—Jolly, J.—Arthasāstra of Kautilya.—Lahore. Vol. I, 1923, Vol. II, 1924.
- ॢ—Gaṇapati Śāstri, Mahamahopādhyāya. The Arthasāstra of Kautilya.—Trivandrum, 1924.





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LEADING ARTICLES

I.—The Inscription on the so-called Bodh-Gaya Plaque

By Dr. Sten Konow, Oslo

The illustration which adorns the title page and the cover of the various issues of this journal has, as every member of the Society will know, been reproduced from a terracotta plaque which was recovered during the excavations at the terrace of Kumrahar in the year 1914.

The plaque was discovered and described, in the very first article of this journal, by the late Dr. D. B. Spooner, who tried to show that the temple depicted is the famous temple at Bodh-Gayā and “unquestionably, the oldest drawing of this temple in existence.”

The late Dr. Vincent Smith was unable to agree to this identification and gave very urgent reasons against it,<sup>1</sup> to which Dr. Spooner replied.<sup>2</sup>

I am not going to re-open the discussion about the identity of the temple depicted on the plaque, because I do not think it possible to decide the question. The fact that the plaque was recovered at the Kumrahar site does not, of course, prove anything about the identity of the temple or the locality where

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<sup>1</sup> J.B.O.R.S. Vol. II, pp. 375ff. <sup>2</sup> Ibid. pp. 375ff. ;

the plaque was originally prepared, for such a small object can easily have been left by some pilgrim from any part of India.

Nor can, as pointed out by Dr. Spooner, any chronological inference be drawn from the fact that the plaque was found only one foot six inches below the surface, though it raises some presumption in favour of the possibility mentioned above, that it has been left, at some indefinable date, by a Buddhist pilgrim. Dr. Spooner states that a considerable hoard of copper coins of the Kuṣāṇa period was found in the same neighbourhood, but at a depth of six feet, and thinks it probable that the plaque dates from about the same epoch. That is *à priori* possible, but by no means certain.

Some information about the epoch of the plaque and the home of the person who executed it can apparently be gathered from the inscription which has been mentioned by Dr. Spooner, who says:—"The lettering is so very faint that I doubt if it will be apparent in the reproduction. It occurs above, i.e. within the Sungan railing, being most visible on the left side of the entrance. Unfortunately I cannot decipher it; but it is certain even so that the characters are those of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet. This is indeed an unexpected feature, and one which is most suggestive. It is the first epigraph in this Indian form of Perso-Aramaic to be found in eastern India."

To my mind the use of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet can only be interpreted in one way: the person who executed the inscription and, as we shall see, probably also the plaque, was not an inhabitant of Bihar, but hailed from a more western part of India. For there is absolutely no indication to show that Kharoṣṭhī was ever used to the east of Mathura, and even the three Kharoṣṭhī records which have been recovered there seem to have been executed by persons who came to the place from the west.

The characters are found to the left of the pillar depicted in front of the entrance to the temple. When the courtesy of my friend Mr. Jayaswal made it possible for me to examine the plaque at leisure in February 1925, I could read the

first akṣara and the seven concluding ones. Between them is a space, sufficient for three letters, but I could not see any trace of lettering, though I examined the original in all kinds of light and shade. After my return to Europe last summer, I received an excellent photograph from Mr. Jayaswal, and now when I have to deal with the inscription for the forthcoming edition of the Kharoṣṭhi volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, I find to my astonishment that two of the invisible letters can be distinguished, and the result is that the whole record can be read with almost absolute certainty.

The number of characters is too small to allow us to draw any certain conclusion with regard to the date of the inscription. My impression is that it is older than Kaniṣka, i.e. according to my view, c. A.D. 134, and is roughly contemporaneous with the Mathura Lion Capital. I may draw attention to the rectilinear and square shape of *ka*, which has its nearest parallels in the Mount Banj and Pāja inscriptions of the years 102 and 111, i.e. according to 'my reckoning' 18—19 and 27 A.D., respectively, and to the distinct prolongation of the vertical of *sa* up towards the top, which has its nearest parallel on the Pāja stone. The head of *sa* is bent backwards, as is also sometimes the case on the Mathura Capital. Similar forms, however, also occur in later records, so that it is impossible to arrive at certainty.

The first akṣara is clearly *ka*, but there seem to be distinct traces of an *o*-stroke and I therefore read *ko*. The next two letters are absolutely invisible to my eye, but the photograph clearly shows them to be *thuma*. Then comes a letter which seems to have become entirely defaced, but which can be restored with absolute certainty as *sa*. We thus get *kothumasa* which evidently represents a Sanskrit *kauṭhumasya*.

The ensuing word is almost certainly *Samghadasasa*. The *sa* between *da* and *sa* is, it is true, defective, the top having disappeared into the relieve above it, and the akṣara as it stands actually looks like the preceding *da*. The head seems, however,

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<sup>1</sup> See *Acta Orientalia* III, p. 82.

to have been continued upwards and forwards, and I have little doubt about the reading *Samghadāsa* being a well-known name.

The last word of the epigraph is *kiti*, which I take to correspond to Sanskrit *kṛti*, work, production, a word which is also used to denote a stūpa or religious structure.<sup>1</sup>

My reading of the whole inscription is accordingly :  
*Ko[thumasa] Samghada[sa]sa kiti*, the work of Samghadāsa, the Kauthuma.

Now it is of interest to note that the Kauthumas are never mentioned in the Mahābhārata but they were known to Pāṇini who hailed from north-western India, where the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet had its Indian home. According to the sixth chapter of the third book of the Viṣṇupurāṇa, the pupils of Hiraṇyanātha Kauśalya and Pauṣyīñji were known as the northern (*udīcya*) sāmagas and Kauthumi, from whom the Kauthumas take their name, was a pupil of Pauṣyīñji. I think that we have here a further indication which tends to show that the so-called Bodh-Gaya plaque was left in ancient Pāṭaliputra by a Buddhist pilgrim from the North-West, an inhabitant of the country where Kharoṣṭhī was the usual script.

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<sup>1</sup> Pischel, Z.D.M.G. LVI, pp. 157f.

## **II.—Glimpses into the Story of Pictorial Art of India\***

**By P. C. Manuk, Bar.-at-Law**

My object in accepting Mr. Horne's invitation to take the platform this evening was not so much to deliver a set lecture on so wide a subject as Indian Pictorial Art, as to give my audience a general idea, the broad outlines, of the history and development of that Art. The title was therefore carefully chosen as indicative of the method I propose to adopt.

Moreover with the limited time at my disposal I could but touch on the salient features of the subject with occasional illustrations of specimens of the different periods and schools.

You need not therefore attempt to count the pages of my typed note in apprehension of the extent of boredom you have exposed yourselves to, by responding to the announcement of the lecture !

Let me add another foreword. I would warn those of my audience not familiar with my subject, particularly those who have been nourished on Western traditions, that they must not approach the pictorial art of India with the academic prejudices of the West, founded on standards developed from Greek and Roman principles. The rules of technique are entirely different, notably in respect of perspective and shading. Indian paintings have what is known as a flat surface, and Oriental artists reveal the wonderful power of the line of form and face to convey expression and meaning. Thus do they display a culture and refinement which must command our admiration, despite what to Western eyes might seem defective technique.

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\* Lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, delivered at a Quarterly Meeting of the Society on the 9th April 1926 at the Srimati Radhika Sinha Institute, Patna.

Another matter I should mention is this : there is very little contemporary literature of the various periods of which specimens have survived to us. Of the Prehistoric Period, some rude drawings, in red pigment, of hunting scenes have been found on the walls of caves in the Kaimur Range of the Central Provinces and somewhat similar drawings in caves of the Mirzapur district. Photos of the latter are to be seen in the Patna Museum.

Prehistoric man in Europe also depicted similar scenes on the walls of caves in France or carved them on reindeer bones.

Of the earliest Historic Period, at about the beginning of the Christian era, we have a few wall paintings in red and black in the Jogimara Cave of the Ramgarh Hills (Central Provinces) ; these are mostly of animals and monsters,

Later, we have the famous frescoes of Ajanta and the less known caves at Bagh in the Gwalior State. At Ajanta the paintings are not executed on the rock of the caves but on plaster superimposed on the walls and ceilings. They have alas ! suffered great damage from the hand of Time and also, I regret to say, from the hand of man.

To the June number of the Research Society's Journal I contributed a short article on Ajanta with descriptions of its principal frescoes and I ventured to express the opinion, fortified by those of more competent critics than myself, that no one who had spent even a few days in an intelligent study of the originals could fail to be impressed by their accomplished execution, their variety of design, their beauty of form and colour, their complete command of posture and movement expressed mainly by the power of their lines or their modelling, and, finally, by their surprising vitality. Ajanta may therefore truly be called a National Gallery of India's Pictorial Art in historic times.

[Shows two slides of Lovers from central spandril of ceiling in Cave 1. The Jataka of the Shipwrecked Sailors (Cave 16), two women, and a Bodhisatva.]

The figures, fortunately still in an excellent state of preservation and unvarnished, of the two pairs of lovers from the central

spandril in the ceiling of Cave 1 will compare favourably for softness and delicacy with the frescoes of Pompeii or even of the later Renaissance period in Europe.

Many types of men and women are depicted at Ajanta. The two specimens of female figures selected for my slides demonstrate the ability of Ajanta's artists to convey by line and posture two widely differing conceptions: the one softly supplicating, and the other radiant and pulsating with the joy of her womanhood.

The Bodhisatva shown is one of the best known figures in the Caves and, as you will observe later, this painting has undoubtedly exercised an influence on the modern Bengal School.

Buddhist writings in old Pali texts contain accounts of picture galleries in the palace of the King who was a contemporary of Buddha. It may therefore be inferred that it was an existent Art that was utilized at Ajanta by the Bodhisatva monks for the propagation of their Faith.

Taranath, a Tibetan Lama, writing in the 17th century, speaks of Deva artists prior to the disappearance of the teacher, i.e. about the 5th century B.C.; also of Naga artists in the early centuries A.D., and finally of a School in Bengal under the Pala dynasty in the 9th century A.D. He actually mentions the names of two artists, Bimbisāra and Dhiman, as the great masters of this period.

In passing, I may mention here that explorations by Sir Aurel Stein and other savants in Chinese Turkistan have revealed the remains of frescoes and distemper paintings on wood and plaster. Most interesting to us in India is a female water sprite, which combines in her execution a Hellenistic Venus, Grecian in her proportions with a face partly Chinese and partly Persian, her ornaments purely Indian and the whole very reminiscent of an Ajanta beauty. So here was the meeting ground of four cultures in the 7th and the 8th century A.D.

There is however no authentic work of the artist's brush so far as I know of the period between that of the Ajanta Cave Frescoes and the Moghul Revival in the 15th century A.D.,

with the possible exception of illustrations to Sanskrit religious works.

[Shows slides : Jain Picture—15th century.]

These paintings have a historic interest, inasmuch as they bear no trace of Moghul influence, but they hardly deserve a place in the ranks of Art.

I have spoken of the Moghul Revival and have deliberately avoided the term "Renaissance" for that term implies two mistaken ideas : that Art was dead and that it rose again in its old form. The absence of specimens, remembering the political and climatic conditions of the country, by no means proves that Art was dead. Dead things are not capable of evolution and at the beginning of the Revival, Moghul Artists found disciples but not mere copyists in their Indian colleagues.

The Moghul House reigned in India some 300 years. Conquerors and warriors though they primarily were, their achievements in the arts of peace were no less striking than their warlike successes.

Babar who may be said to have founded the dynasty reigned from 1525 to 1530. He mentions in his lively memoirs Beizad as the most eminent of Persian painters. Another famous Persian Court painter somewhat later than Beizad was Mirak.

[Shows double frontispiece A Royal Reception by Beizad.

Portrait signed Mahomed Ali.

Dancing Girl.

Two dragons fighting, with a portrait of the artist in the corner.]

You will observe the strong Chinese influence visible in these paintings and drawings. The faces incline to the Mongolian type, the human figures in the painted frontispiece attitudinise in the mincing manner affected by Chinese artists. The dragons are a subject familiar to collectors of Chinese porcelains, while the conventional clouds and rocks also betray Chinese affectations. It can not be doubted, therefore, that these Persian artists were taught by artists from China and absorbed and retained the latter's predominant characteristics. The love of



curves is also a common feature of both, and persisted into the early Indo-Persian School.

It was however the enlightened though illiterate Akbar who gave the first definite impulse to the movement which established what came to be known as the Moghul School of Painting, with its offshoot the Rajput School. For half a century from 1556 the Emperor Akbar's personal interest and patronage were responsible for the gorgeous miniatures characteristic of the period. The *Ain-i-Akbari* gives a long list of the more famous Court painters of Akbar's reign. Amongst these I may mention Basawan, Daswanth Mansur, and Miskin Makund as names which must have been household words at the cultured Court of Akbar.

[Shows six slides of the period.]

The *Durbar of Akbar* (shown) is a particularly magnificent specimen. The beautiful colours in the original baffle description. It is also of historic interest in as much as it gives us a lifelike portrait of the great Emperor in the later years of his reign receiving his Chief Minister Raja Todar Mull. Seated below the Emperor is Prince Danyal, and guarding the steps to the throne are two warrior princes; one may be Raja Man Singh, the most famous of Akbar's generals. Further down we get Birbul the wit of the Court and Tansen the Singer. Some of the names are written in clear gold characters below the figures, but unfortunately I cannot trace the name of the master who wrought this work to perpetuate his sovereign's glory.

Akbar's son Jehangir was an enthusiastic lover of painting and also a generous patron of artists. In his memoirs he gives pride of place to Abul Hassan whom he honoured with the title of Nadir Uz-Zaman (Wonder of the Age) and to Ustad Mansur who lived into his reign and to whom he gave the title of Nadir-ul-Assar. Of the latter, Jehangir says that he was unique in his generation in the Art of Drawing. Mansur is chiefly famous for his animals and birds and flowers:

[Shows seven slides: 1. Elephant in movement. 2. Pair of mountain sheep. 3. The Elk. 4. Hill Pheasant. 5. The Declaration. 6. The Swing. 7. The Persian Lesson.]

The reign of Shah Jehan (1628 to 1658) marked the culmination of Moghul magnificence and probably of Moghul Pictorial Art. By this time Hindu artists had learnt all that their original Persian masters could teach them of the use of the line, the sweep of the brush, and the preparation of the pigment. To the orthodox Mohammadan the depicting of the human figure or anything that had life was declared *haram* or sinful by the edicts of his religion,—the old Mosaic Law “Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image” carried to its extreme interpretation. True, under the enlightened Shah Abbas of Persia and the liberal early Moghuls, the followers of Mahomed broke away from these edicts, but wonderful as their productions are in the delight they give to the eye and senses, they rarely appeal to the soul. No such prohibition, however, stood in the way of their Hindu disciples and colleagues, to whom their gods and goddesses were very real beings, assuming traditional shapes and forms and this may be the reason why the Hindu artist was more able to appeal by his productions to the soul of man, which is after all the supreme test of high art. It must be remembered that Art and Religion have been closely connected for long ages and most of the masterpieces of the European Renaissance depict religious subjects or quasi-religious subjects culled from the mythology of Ancient Greece and Rome.

[Shows late Moghul slides].

1. Shah Jehan and four sons.

2. Rishya Shringa—the handsome youth, seduced from his ascetic life to the court of king Dusrath at Ajodhya, where he married the King's daughter (Ramayan Legend).

This picture is remarkable in that it is signed by a Mohammadan artist Faizulla, though the subject is purely Hindu. It is also remarkable for its wonderful colours and fine brush-work.

3. Rishya Shringa—the handsome youth, seduced from his ascetic life to the court of king Dusrath at Ajodhya, where he married the King's daughter (Ramayan Legend).

Another conception of the same subject and a fine specimen of Moghul chiaroscuro work.

4. The Jogis. The prevailing ash-gray colour and the clear exposition of expression by line and portraiture are notable features of this picture.

5. The Emperor Shah Jehan learns of his forced abdication—a delightful piece of miniature work, full of pathos.

6. The Veena Player. A delicate study of a lady musician in black and white.

7. The Penance of Parbutti. The combination of cold austerity and warm religious fervour displayed in this small painting marks it as a gem of the Rajput School in the late Moghul Period. The open white marble temple with the black background of a dark night, the sacred bull in white with the impression in red of the devotee's hand on the bull's shoulder, and the solitary woman praying at Shiva's shrine make a composition which can rank with the masterpieces of any country and any period. A Hindu Magdalene painted by the loving hand of a Hindu Raphael.

Both Mohammadan and Hindu artists excelled in the drawing and painting of portraits, and in the inimitably expressive power of the line, where the slightest stroke, the lightest emphasis give utterance to the intended expression. In this respect they compare with the great European master of the line, Rembrandt (1609-1659), who, it is interesting to note, made free copies from imported Indian paintings.

[Shows seven portrait slides including one of the Emperor Shah Jehan, another of the Emperor Jehangir in his prime and three black and white drawings of Moghul and Rajput grandees.]

With the advent of the bigoted Aurangzebe the decadence of Moghul Art undoubtedly began.

[Shows slide : Aurangzebe going to hunt.]

Fortunately however for India and posterity, a new school commonly called the Pahari or Kangra School soon sprang up. Its great exponent was one Mola Ram (1760-1833) who

flourished in Garhwal on the banks of the Alaknanda a tributary of the Ganges. Very charming and distinctive are the works of this master and his disciples though less glowing in colour and less lavish of detail.

[Shows eleven slides amongst which were] —

1. Sri Rama after his return from Lanka to Ajodhya, signed "Makund Akbari."

I have shown this slide here in order that the audience may compare it with paintings of the later Kangra School of which it may be said to be a prototype.

2. The Power of Music. All creation being attracted by the flute of the divine Musician, Sri Krishna, a masterpiece in its harmonious blending of colours, its fine composition and brilliant execution.

3. The Milun or Bridal night of Sri Krishna and Radhika.

4. The Happy Family—Shiva, Parbuiti, Kartik and Ganesh.

This school, as you have observed, found its topics almost exclusively in scenes from the life of Sri Krishna and from the two great Indian epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

To come nearer home, in Patna itself a local school of painting of very distinctive character came into existence in the latter half of the last century.

[Shows Patna School slide.]

The Moharram procession in Patna by Munshi Shiblal Saheb.

With the demise of its local patrons, the Patna School languished and its artists migrated to Calcutta. Mr. Ishwari Prashad, Vice-Principal of the Calcutta School of Art, himself an artist of great merit, is a descendant of the artist who painted the picture shown on the slide.

Mr. Ishwari Prashad's son, Mr. R. P. Varma, is a young and rising artist now absorbed into the Bengal School but still adhering to Indian traditions.

[Shows two slides.]

1. The Bride of Braja (Radhika), a charming study, slightly tinted.

2. A printing inspired by Omar Khayam's Rubaiat :

“ And look ! a thousand Blossoms with the Day

Woke—and a thousand scattered into Clay.

And this first summer month that brings

The Rose—shall take Jamshyd and Kaikobad away.”

Another painting by Mr. Kundan Lall of Lahore, who was introduced to me by the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha is worth showing :—

[Shows Kaliya Daman or the subjugation of the serpent by  
Sri Krishna.]

And now we have the Bengal School founded by Mr. Tagore, himself a master of worldwide fame.

[Shows slides—Bengal School.]

1. The Slaying of Putana, the false nurse who was to poison Krishna.

This is a powerful black and white study by the late Mr. Gangoly, who was cut off at the threshold of an extremely promising career.

2. The greeting of the Evening Star.

3. “ Shiva drinking poison to save the world,” by Mr. Nand Lall Bose, who as you all know is Mr. Tagore's most famous disciple.

I desire to add a word of thanks to Mr. Jackson and Mr. Horne for having so kindly made all the arrangements for this lecture and to Professor Mukerji for his courtesy in working the lantern ; also to Professor Sammadar for having my specimens photographed and slides prepared ; finally, to Professor Banerji-Sastri for helping me to arrange the order of the slides. Without the assistance of these gentlemen this lecture would have been impossible.

### III.—Indian Architecture from the Vedic Period\*

By Manomohan Ganguli

This is an attempt at getting up the architectural history of India by piecing together the meagre information gathered from diverse sources. The Vedas will form the starting point of my investigation. I shall not raise in this paper the unsettled question of Vedic chronology, as to whether it was coeval with the age of the builders of the pyramids, or synchronous with the pre-dynastic period in the valley of the Nile where we meet with dwellings of wattle covered with mud, or of sundried bricks in different stages of its history. In the absence of actual monuments it will be a difficult task for me to construct the architectural history, much less to trace the architectural development of a country peopled by a race in the cradle of historic childhood, though the details of their simple life and activity are found chronicled with precision leaving nothing to be desired on the score of clearness. However life-like and simple may be the descriptions contained therein the text does not afford a wide range of information on the subject of my enquiry and discourse.

Professor Foucher remarked the other day in the course of his lectures at the Calcutta University that the early Indians, moved as they in the kingdom of philosophical abstractions and tried as they to escape the miserable existence of desires, did not reasonably care for the development of arts and architecture, and as such we could not naturally trace their history earlier than the 3rd or the 4th century B.C.

On going through the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa I have come across several sections called the Śilpa Śāstras, otherwise called

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\* Messrs. B. Ghose and S. Kundu, friends of the late Mr. Manomohan Ganguli, have helped in arranging the paper and verifying references.—*Ed.*, J.B.O.R.S.

the Śilpa Sūktas forming a part of the sixth Pañchikā (30th Adhyāya) containing references to works of art such as textiles, ivory, bronze, etc. We find mention of gold-embroidered carpet or *hiranyakaśipu* in the eighteenth chapter of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (seventh Pañchikā) where both the *Hotā* and the *Adhvaryu* are enjoined to sit while reciting the story of Śunaḥ-sepa, his "installation to primogeniture," to the king after his initiation in connection with the Rājastūya sacrifice.

We find a reference to effigy made of potter's clay in the Kauṣika Sūtra (35, 22-28) in connection with the arousing of the love of a woman dealt with in III, 25 of the Atharva Veda. Mention has been made in the Atharva Veda (III, 5) of "the skilful builders of chariots, and the ingenious workers of metal in connection with the strengthening of royal power.

*ye dhivāno rathakārāḥ karmārā ye manāṣiṇaḥ*, etc.

I should ask the learned Professor and those sharing his view, that if arts and architecture were unknown why were they encouraged in the Vedic age? Why were *Pūrta*, or engineering works, particularly mentioned at the initiation ceremony of a Kṣatriya king as noticed in the 39th Chapter of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa? Why was the offering of oblations so rigidly insisted on in the following Yajur Mantras for the granting and preservation of engineering works:—

*Brahma punaristam pūrtam dat svāhā* or *Kṣatram punaristam pūrtam dat svāhā* (Ait. Br. VII, 21).

I shall come to the *Pūrta* later on. I can only say that in explaining the passage *Iṣṭāpūrte paśumścha sarvān* Śaṅkarāchārya has taken *Pūrta* to mean the merit accruing to the construction of the Rest Houses. It may be mentioned here that Sāyaṇa has spoken of the divergence of opinion as to the import of the word *Pūrta*, it being according to some, Smārta or domestic offering as opposed to the *Iṣṭa* or Śranta and also engineering works.

The Vedas deal with the sacrificial rites and the persons figuring conspicuously therein are the *hotā*, the *adhvaryu*; and the structure meant for the *dīkṣita* or the initiated, is the

*prāchīnavamśasālā* or *prāgvamśasālā* which cannot naturally claim any pretension to architectural or artistic skill.

I have come across in the *Ṛgveda Samhitā* two passages referring to palaces with a thousand pillars. It may be interesting to quote one of the two passages. In the 2nd Maṇḍala, 41st Sūkta and the 5th Ṛk we find *rājānau anabhidruhā sadasi uttame sahasrasthūṇa āsāte*. The commentary of Sāyaṇa on this passage is as follows:—*rājānau īśvarau anabhidruhā anabhidrogdharau dhruve sthīre uttame utkrāṣṭe sahasrasthūṇe sadasi sthāne āsāte upasthitau*. The two kings (Mitra and Varuṇa) not hostile to each other live in a good, firm and many-pillared house:

The association of the word *dhruve*, i.e. permanently fixed with *Sahasrasthūṇe* suggests the idea of a brick or stone column. Sāyaṇa, the great Vedic commentator, has understood a *sthūṇā* to mean a brick column while interpreting a similar passage in the 5th Maṇḍala, 62nd Sūkta and the 6th Ṛk *anekavaśṭambhākastambhōpetam sandhādī rūpam grham*. He has, however, spoken generally of a column supporting a structure as the import of the word *sthūṇā* while explaining a passage in the Sāma Veda Samhitā *dhruvasthūṇām*; here he has defined *sthūṇā* as “*sthūṇā grhādharabhūtastambham*” a column carrying a structure. Amara Siṃha, too, has taken *sthūṇā* to mean a column supporting a building without specifying what it is made of. *Sthūṇā stambhe'pi vēśmanah ! atra tīkā ( vēśmanah grhasya stambha sthūṇā*.

In the Atharva Veda I have come across the word *sthūṇā* which from the context probably means the wooden post *sālā*. This hymn forms a part of the series of hymns called *Vāstog-patīyāni*.

If we consider the word *Sthūṇā* from the philological standpoint we cannot but be struck by its similarity to

English	...	...	Stone.
Anglo-Saxon	...	...	Stan.
German	...	...	Stein.
Dutch	...	...	Steen.
Danish and Swedish	...	...	Sten.



Again, mention is made in the Vedas of stonebuilt cities. In the 4th Maṇḍala, 39th Sūkta and the 20th Rk of the R̥g Veda we hear of cities made of stone presented by Indra to Divodāsa.

I would take the above two Vedic passages to signify royal palaces with a thousand columns. You may perhaps accuse the ancient ṛṣis of gross exaggeration for their use of the word "thousand." The term *sahasrastambha* has also been used in later works, e.g. Śukranītisāra, to describe the different orders of palaces, e.g., *Sahasrastambhasaṃyuktaschottamo'nyuḥ Samo'dhamah*. The word *Sahasrastambhamaṇḍapa* of a hall of a thousand columns is even now used in Southern India to designate a vast hall, namely the *mahāmaṇḍapa* the fourth or the last of the appurtenances of a Dravidian temple of huge proportions. I was at first puzzled to learn from the Pandit with whom I was studying Iconography at Conjeeveram and Chidambaram that the Mahāmaṇḍapa there was called the Sahasra-Stambha-Maṇḍapa. In the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra the term Sahasra has been used to designate many as in the following passage in the 2nd Chapter, 8th Kāṇḍikā and the 9th Sūtra.

*tatsahasragatam kṛtvā yathādik samachaturasram māpayet.*

In the Gārgyāyaṇi Vṛtti of the Gṛhya Sūtra it is stated that the word *sahasra* means many—" *sahasra sabdo'tra bahuvācī.*"

From the above remarks it will be clear that during the Vedic period the columnar form of architecture was encouraged. That the styler or columnar form of buildings had been popular and in vogue for a long time in the pre-Christian era, will be apparent if we consider that the word *sthūpā* column of the Vedas was used in the figurative sense of support in the third century before the Christian era. We find the word *sthūpa* or *sthūna* in the first line of the Hathigumpha inscription recording the achievements, both military and civic, of Khāravela surnamed Mahā Maghavāhana, the third of the Cheta dynasty of Kalinga flourishing in the second century B.C.

My observations would be incomplete if I were not to refer to the sacrificial posts, or Yūpa-Stambhas of stone, discovered in the bed of the Jumna at Isapur near Mathura in 1910. These pillars, apart from their importance in bearing the second oldest inscription in pure Sanskrit, are important from the architectural point of view, inasmuch as we find in them a concrete example of a continuity of the old Vedic forms at least in the first century of the Christian era. It is laid down in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa that the Yūpa-stambhas should be octagonal, curved at the top and provided near the base of the octagonal portion with the *rasanā* and the *pāśa*. If we examine the *stambhas* we cannot but be struck by a similarity subsisting between their details and the description given in the text.

It is laid down in the 3rd *Kāṇḍa*, 7th *Adhyāya*, the 1st Brāhmaṇa and the 28th *Rik* of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa that the stake should be made octagonal after the *Gāyatrī* containing 8 syllables, both being the "forepart of the sacrifice."

*Sa vā aṣṭātrīṇbhavati aṣṭāk śarā vai gāyatrī pūrvārdhho vai yajñasya gāyatrī pūrvārdhha eṣa yajñasya tasmādaṣṭātrī bhavati.*

If we now look at the sacrificial stakes of Isapur we shall see the representation of a garland at or near the top called *chaṣāla* in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa translated as "top piece or head-ring" by Eggeling. There is also noticeable the *rasanā*, or the girdle-rope with the noose. These details answer to the description in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa ii. 2 in connection with the ceremony of *Yūpa Samśkāra*, or anointing the sacrificial post beginning with *yūva suvāsāḥ pariṇīta āgāt* with which again the *anuvachanapāṭhaḥ* terminates. Here the *Yūpa* is likened to a "youth decorated with ribands," and nicely dressed.

In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, however, the octagonal shape of the *Yūpa* or the sacrificial stake is sought to be explained in a different way. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa II, 1 treating of the erection of the sacrificial post in connection with the animal sacrifice it is prescribed that as the stake is the *vajra* it should be made octagonal after the latter.

*Vajro vā eṣa yadyūpa so' śtāsriḥ kartavyo.*

Dr. Martin Haug has translated the vajra as a mere weapon or iron club. This interpretation does not appear to be correct from the following consideration. Having regard to the comparison of the *Triṣṭubh Chhandah* of the *ṛks* of the subsequent Brāhmaṇa in connection with the *yūpasamskāra* to the *vajra* and to other considerations, Āchārya Rāmendra Sundar Trivedī following the commentary of Sāyaṇa has in his translation of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa used the word *vajra* as it is in its usually accepted sense, and has quoted a passage in the footnote from a different *Śākhā* to mean one of the three parts into which the classical *vajra*, with which Indra struck Vṛtra, was divided. I do not know the text quoted by Pandit Trivedī but it is different from that of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa where the Yūpa is spoken of as one of the four parts into which the *vajra* of Indra hurled at Vṛtra was divided. I quote below the text from the Yajurvediya-mādhyandiniyam Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa: 1st Kāṇḍa, 2nd Prapāṭhaka, 2nd Brāhmaṇa as published from Ajmere.

*Indro' yatra Vṛtrāyāya vajraṃ prajāhāra sa prahr̥taschaturdhā bhavattasya sphyasṛtīyaṃ vā yāvadvā yūpa sṛtīyaṃ vā yāvadvā rathasṛtīyaṃ vā yāvadvātha yatra prāharattachchakano' sis̐ gata sa patitvā Śaro' bhavattusmāchchakaro nāma yadaśiryaṭai vasu sa chaturdhā vajro' bhavat.*

In connection with the making of the Yūpa-stambha after the Gāyatrī, as per text of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa quoted already, it may be noted that the number 8 as it represented the number of syllables of the Gāyatrī verse was invested during the Vedic period with a great sanctity and it governed accordingly the consideration of many things. For instance, the apportionment of the *Agni-Viṣṇu puroḍāśa* belonging to the *Dikṣanīya* Iṣṭi and kept on 11 kapālas, or pot-sherds was based on the number of syllables constituting the Gāyatrī verse which was Agni's metre (Ait. Br. 1st Pañchikā, 1st Kāṇḍa, 1st Adhyāya).

Again, it is stated in connection with the Somapravahana ceremony in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (1st Panchikā, 1st Khaṇḍa of the 3rd Adhyāya) that the *hotārūḥ* or sacrificers tried to restore the lost powers of Soma after he was bought, and they tried with one, two, three to seven ṛiks or verses in succession, but failed; they succeeded eventually with 8 verses or ṛiks in restoring their strength completely; it is stated that from that time forward the word *aṣṭa* has acquired an additional import of what is obtained and restored; so we find that the idea of *aṣṭau* or 8 is intimately associated with that of complete receipt and protection.

Thus we find that the number eight acquired a great sanctity and charm in the Vedic period. In the *prāyaścitta-vidhi* described in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa we find a reference to the number eight. In the 7th Pañchikā of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa while describing the penances for taking fire from the *gārhapatyāgni* and mingling it with the *āhavanīyāgni* it has been prescribed among other rites that a *puroḍāśa* consisting of 8 pieces (*aṣṭakapāla puroḍāśa*) should be portioned out to Agnivīti with the recital of certain *ounvākya* and *yājya* verses such as *agnināgniḥ samidhyate* and *tvam hyagne agninā*, etc., in this *pañchikā* several other penances have been described and we find the mention of *aṣṭakapāla puroḍāśa* in many of them.

If we summarise the directions of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa in connection with the shape of the *Yūpa Stambhas*, or the sacrificial posts, we find that they should be made octagonal in shape after the Vajra, or the thunderbolt of Indra. To shape a column after the Vajra was an idea so ingrained in the minds of the Indian architects that the octagonal pillar actually called the Vajra in Matsya Purāṇam and Viṣṇu Kāṇḍa in later Śilpa Sāstras became the order of the day not only in the pre-Christian era, but also in later times. This idea has been handed down to us, and we find it represented not only in the temples, or ecclesiastical structures of the present day, but also in our domestic buildings.

The scholars who set a great store by the Persian culture in understanding the evolution of art in India will be surprised to find that the only lithic monument, discovered at Taxila containing the Aramaic inscription and bearing testimony to the Persian influence, was made octagonal after the old Vedic tradition. The reason why I say that it was made according to the Vedic usage and tradition will be best understood if we try to find out, either in parts or entirety, a single octagonal column in Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia and Greece which according to the advocates of the Græco-Bactrian School furnished to India the models of art and architecture. The Vedic idea dominated the architectural motif to such an extent that even the *Aiṣṭika* Vēdi necessary for the initiation or *dīkṣā* of the *yajamāna* is found clearly represented at Sanchi, Bharhut, and even in the square or octagonal pillars of the Gāndhāra School found in the district of Yusufzai.

Having established that the Indians living in the Vedic age knew the use of columns it may be asked how these carried the architraves or crosspieces spanning the space from column to column. It appears to me on going through the hymns in the Atharva Veda containing the charms to secure prosperity to a house that the crossbeam, or the *Varnśa* as it was then technically called, was made of wood. Such was the case with the buildings in Persia, both at Pasargadæ in the valley of the Polvar and Persepolis.

The next point that we may naturally enquire about is the roof called *chhandas* and *chhadīḥ* in the Vedas, the words from which our *chhād* is probably derived. It is very difficult to arrive at a correct conclusion as to the manner in which the *chhadīḥ* or the roof used to be constructed; I have come across a passage in the Atharva Veda where the word *chhadīḥ* has been used with a peculiar adjunct admitting of different interpretations. The words are *chatuspaksamiva chhadīḥ*; the passage may according to some mean either the roof of a four-storeyed building, or that of a four-roomed building. Maurice Bloom-

field, the translator of the Atharva Veda, has, however, understood it to mean a roof with four wings, or sides, of façades, though he himself has expressed a doubt as to his own interpretation in the Extracts from the Ritual Texts and commentary appended to the main text. He says "Possibly Grill is right in translating a roof which rests upon four posts." Grill's interpretation, however, appears to be untenable when we consider the 3rd Sūkta in the 9th Maṇḍala of the Atharva Veda in connection with the Śālāsavam ceremony, or the solemn bestowal upon a priest of a house as Dakṣiṇā and also 135-9 Kauṣika Sūkta where the words *aṣṭāsthūno* and *Daśapakṣāḥ* are associated together, Ludwig translates "Pakṣa" by "Room," but Sāyaṇa takes *chatuṣpakṣam* to mean *chatuṣkoṇam* or Square. I have gone through the text and the commentary carefully and feel inclined to interpret this passage as a roof of a structure having a square plan; it is found in the 3rd Sūkta of the 9th Maṇḍala of the Atharva Veda that the houses given to the Brāhmaṇas as sacrificial presents had rectangular, square, hexagonal, octagonal and decagonal plans.

Thatch was also used as a covering for the roof for a permanent trussed structure of the type could Śālā. This is mentioned in the 5th Ṛk of the 3rd Kaṇḍala or Maṇḍala, 12th Sūkta of Atharva Veda *trṇam vasānā sumanā* etc.

*Yā dvipakṣā chatuṣpakṣā satpakṣā yā nirmūyate| Aṣṭapakṣām daśapakṣām sālām mānasya patnīmagnirgartte ivāśoye ||*

The translation by Bloomfield is given as follows:—

"In the house which is built with ten façades, four facades six façades; in the house with eight façades, with ten façades, in the 'mistress of dwelling', Agni rests as if in the womb". The Śālāsavam ceremony referred to above clearly describes the roof of temporary structure *havīrdhānam* or *agnisālām* meant for dakṣiṇā; it was made of wicker-work laid over with thatch or mats viz. Atharva Veda (IX, 3, 4, 5, 8, 17, 18). Stanza 8 (IX, 3 Atharva) speaks of wicker-work frame on covering stretched over the trusses *akṣumopāśam vitataṃ sahasrākṣam viṣuvati* ("Thy covering of wicker-work with thousand eyes, stretched out

upon thy crown".) Stanza 17 (IX, 3, Atharva) refer, to the covering of grass—

*trṇairācṛtā palādānvasānā rātrēva sālā jagato nivesanī.*

*mitā prthivyaṁ tiṣṭhasi hastinōva padmatī.*

"Enveloped in grass, clothed in reeds, like night does the house lodge the cattle ; created thou dost stand upon the earth, like a she-elephant, firm of feet."—Bloomfield.

In connection with *chhadi* I have come across a most interesting passage in the R̥gveda Samhitā (6th Maṇḍala, 46th Sūkta and 9th R̥k) where the roof of a three-storeyed building has been clearly mentioned:—*Indra tridhātusuraṇaṁ tvārūtham svastimat dṛddhī yachcha mahyam* "O Indra, grant me a building with three blocks, three storeys, provided with an excellent roofing." From the above it may be stated without any risk of criticism that the building referred to here was made of masonry.

Various terms are met with in the Vedas to designate a house, though unfortunately nothing can be made out now as to what they were actually, or what were their special features and characteristics. I quote here the terms to convey a rough idea that the art of building must have been largely practised, or else so many different terms could not possibly be coined. These are *niveśana*, *niveśanī*, *dama*, *pastyā*, *harmya*, *sarmya*, *saraṇaṁ*, *sāla*, *sālā*, *agāra*, *gaya*, *duryoṇa*, *duroṇa*, *trāsāda*, *sadanam*, *sadah*, *havirdhānaṁ*, *sadman*, *gr̥ha*, some of the above structures, e.g. *harmya*, *trāsāda*, or *sarāṇa*, must have been high.

To those who are compiling the *paribhāṣā* or the technical terms of the Śilpa Śāstras it will be interesting to know that the door frames used to be called *ātā* and the door leaves *pakṣa*, the terms *kapāṭa*, or *kavāṭa* occurring only in later literature.

We learn from the hymns in connection with the Śālāsavam ceremony in the Atharva Veda (IX, 3) otherwise called the Śālādevatīyam according to the Anukramaṇī that the vertical post was called the Upamit, the crossbar or the cross beam connecting the posts, the Parimit, and the strut, or the slanting support

to the structure, the *Pratimit*. *Upamitām pratimitāmatho parimitāmuta, sūlāyā risarāriyā naddhasani vi krtāmasi ix.3.1*. "The fastenings of the supports, the struts and also of the cross beams of the *sūlā* that abound in riches, do we loosen." This structure was evidently built of timber, and it was never meant for permanent residence, or occupation as was erroneously supposed by Grill who construed the hymn as a dedicatory ceremony after the erection and before occupation of the house; nor was Henry correct in treating the hymn as dealing with "removals of the ancillary frame, the scaffolding, as the house advances from stage to stage." It was a veritable temporary structure, as interpreted by Bloomfield, of timber and thatch meant for bestowal upon the priest as *Dakṣiṇā*.

It will be clear on going through IX, 3. 11 of the Atharva Veda that this structure was made of timber.

*Yastū sāle nimimāya samjābhāra vanasputēn | prajāyai chakre tvā sāle paramesṭhē prajāpatih ||*

"He who built this, O house, brought together (thy) timbers, he, a Prajāpati on high did construct thee, O house, for his progeny." (Bloomfield's translation.)

I should now say something about the building materials. Mention is made of bricks or ~~ṛk~~ in the Yajur Veda, and Sāyana, I have already stated, has taken the columns of a pillared hall in the 5th Maṇḍala, 62nd Sūkta and the 6th Ṛk as made of bricks. I have also referred to the city made of stone. In the R̥g.Veda we find Indra spoken of as having laid waste the city of the Dasyus made of iron (2-20-8) *dasyun pura āyasīrṇitārīt*. In the 7th Maṇḍala, 3rd Sūkta and 7th Ṛk and the 7th Maṇḍala, 95th Sūkta and 1st Ṛk we also come across similar cities, made of iron as in the following :—*Satam pūrbhirāyasibhīh or Sarasvatī dharuṇa māyase pūh* 1

Now, a city made of iron may either mean a city provided with defensive fortifications made of iron, or one containing houses in which iron was used as a building material. The latter interpretation commends itself to our acceptance, for in the Atharva Veda is found the mention of a house built of iron



In the R̥g Veda (9th Maṇḍala, 5th Sūkta and the 5th R̥k) is noticed a reference to the doorway made of iron :—*br̥haddvāro devīr̥khiranya dhīh* 1, I may mention in this connection that the use of an iron door at once explodes the popular theory that the houses in the Vedic period were all made of dab and wattle, for to hold that iron doors were fixed to a hut would exceed the limits of rational inference.

There are references in the R̥g Veda to Prākāra or rampart provided with *nivyādha* apparently windows, and we find a mention of *durga* or fortress in the 5th and the 7th Maṇḍalas. The term *dehī* met with in 6th Maṇḍala, 47th Sūkta and 2nd R̥k and the 7th Maṇḍala, 6th Sūkta, 5th R̥k probably means a defensive fortification or wall. From the above references we may conclude that walled cities, be they of stone or iron, existed in the ancient Vedic period though we cannot ascertain with certainty how they were constructed. It is worthy of note that the ancient Persians never constructed defensive fortifications, and when Alexander invaded Persia he did not notice a single walled city either in Iran or in Susiana; no wall was found to enclose Susa or Ecbatana at the time of his invasion. The remains of the defensive works discovered at Susa are ascribed to the Assyrians and the Chaldeans for keeping in check the Elamites who always tried to regain their lost independence. The idea of the homestead being presided over by a deity, called in the Atharva Veda, *Vāstospati*, translated by Bloomfield as the genius of the homestead or the lord of the homestead, is very interesting. The help of this presiding deity, along with *Puṣan*, the guardian of the distant ways is resorted to in the charm or mantra to allay discord or dissension in a family, it being one of the *sāthmanasyāni* charms meant to produce concord. (Atharva Veda 73.) The third stanza of the hymn is also recited in connection with the ceremony of building a house. The *Vāstospati* mantras or the *Vāstospatīni* hymns addressed to the presiding deity of the household were recited for rendering the building stable and also for ensuring prosperity in which case they are called *puṣṭikamantrāḥ* as defined in Kausika 19<sup>1</sup>.

On referring to the *Vāstuyāga-tattvam* by the great smārta Raghunandana we find that Vāstoṣpati mantras have been prescribed for the propitiation of the presiding deity of the household. *Vāstoṣpatena mantreṇa yajechcha gr̥hadevatām Vāstoṣpatena vāstoṣpatirdaivatena pañchamantreṇa*. For his authority Raghunandana has quoted the Viṣṇudharmottaram and has spoken of it as a rite sanctioned by the śrutis *sarvadoṣādanuttara itī kratervāstu sarvadoṣāpanodanam yānam*. This rite is practised even now. Thus we see the idea of the presiding deity of the household, and the propitiation thereof has been handed down from generation to generation, from the remotest Vedic antiquity down to the present day.

In the Atharva Veda the house has been addressed as the goddess, the mistress of the Vāstoṣpati (Atharva III, 12,5) at the ceremony called the *sālākarma* or the ritual of housebuilding, which from the elaboration of the ceremony, is divided into the classes called *Br̥hachchhālākarma* and the *Laghūsālākarma*, the propitiation or deification of the houses after its erection, is significant and affords a very important key in opening one of the forgotten chapters containing the treasures of the old Indian history embalmed in the tradition even of the present day.

The Aṣṭikavedi, I have already mentioned, reminds me of a structure called the *prāchīnavamśasālā* or the *prāgvamśasālā* where the former used to be set up. It is worthy of note that the ridge piece of this structure technically called the *vamśa* used to be fixed due east and west in case of the structures for the consecrated. In the case of the unconsecrated the *vamśa* or ridge piece of a hall or shed was to run from south to north. (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 3rd Kāṇḍa, 1st Adhyāya 1st Br. 7th sūkta.)

The orientation of structures so peculiar to the race given to the worship of the sun or *Bhaga* is thus met with in the ancient Vedic period and this custom is found rigidly observed in later times down to the present day. Kautilya flourishing in the fourth century B.C. has assigned the northern side of the fortified city to the temples. The Buddhists and the Jains were found to

observe it, strictly regarding the construction and disposition of their sacred and monumental buildings. From the plan of the Bharhut stūpa it will be seen that the gateways were made to face the cardinal points of the compass. The Purāṇas, Tantras, canonical or ecclesiastical, the Śilpa Śāstras, etc. are unanimous in recommending the East or the North as the only two directions towards which the temples should be turned. I have found this idea emphasised by the smārta Raghunandana in his *Vastuyāga-Tattvam*. I cannot resist the temptation of illustrating my remarks by citing the case of a well-known temple of the mediæval period, I mean the temple of the Sun-God at Konaraka. I made a survey of the temple with theodolite and prismatic compass about twelve or thirteen years ago and the magnetic bearing of the Jagamohan lying between 359°45' degrees and 1° 15". On referring to the Surveyor-General of India, I was informed that the magnetic north at that time was 1° 16" east of the true north at the town of Puri at a crowfly distance of 20 miles from the village of Konaraka; it is seen that the Hindu architects of mediæval times were so particular about the Vedic orientation which led them to ascertain the true North and to build according to it carefully.

It is stated in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (1st pañchikā, 2nd kāṇḍa and 3rd adhyāya) that as the eastern direction is the 'tejas' and 'Brahma Varchohasa' the Yajamāna should turn towards the east when making the offerings for the *prayāga* deities. Āpastamba explains that as the sun rises in the east, this direction represents 'tejas'; and as the gāyatrī is recited by turning towards the east it represents Brahma-varchohasa or the acquisition of the Vedic lore. In the Vajasaneyī saṃhitā (X, 10-14) as quoted in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, (5th kāṇḍa, 4th adhyāya, 1st Brāhmaṇa 3rd sūkta) we find the eastern direction associated with a gāyatrī. It is also the region set apart for Agni (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 5th Kāṇḍa, 3rd Adhyāya, 3rd Brāhmaṇa, 2nd Sūkta) and is protected by him.

We thus see, orientation is intimately connected with the worship of the sun, Agni, and the recital of the gāyatrī. It

may be mentioned here that in the period of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa the east used to be considered as the "quarter of the gods and the direction from which the gods approached men" (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 3rd Kāṇḍa, 1st Adhyāya, 1st Brāhmaṇa and 6th Sūkta).

It is also stated in connection with the *soma-pravahanam* ceremony in the third chapter of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (1st Pañchikā, 3rd chapter, 1st Khaṇḍa) that the gods bought the king Soma in the eastern direction and it is for this that the Rtvika should buy him in the east of the *Prāchīnavamśasālā*.

For the foundation ceremony of a building the north-eastern direction is recommended from time immemorial and this recommendation has its sanction in the Vedas, where it is spoken of as the *aparājitā*, i.e. unconquerable.

I have come across a reference in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa to the superiority of the north-eastern direction or the *Īśāna koṇa* to all other directions. It is described in the first Pañchikā third Adhyāya and the third Khaṇḍa of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa that after the gods had been defeated by the Asuras in all the four directions they fought in the north-eastern direction and became victorious; and from this fact this direction has got the appellation *aṅgarājitā* or unconquerable. I quote the text as translated by Dr. Haug :—"One should do work in this, i.e. north-eastern direction and have it done there; for such one (alone) is able to clear off his debt, i.e. four kinds of debts :—*deva-ṛṇa*, *ṛṣi-ṛṇa*, *pitr-ṛṇa*, *nara-ṛṇa*.

The Vedic idea sanctifying the north-eastern direction is found perpetuated in the foundation ceremony of the buildings of even the present day. On going through the *Viśvakarmā-Vidyāprakāśa*, a recent work on building construction, published from the Venkateshwara Press, Bombay, it is found in the 71st śloka that the north-eastern direction or the *Īśāna Koṇa* has been described as accommodating the head of the *Vastu-puruṣas*. "*purvottara diṁmūrdhā puruṣopamavāṁmukho'sya śirasi śikhā*."

Before I deal with the building materials I should say something about the foundation of the structures and other accessories. That great attention used to be paid to the foundation of a house is evidenced by the first stanza in III, 12 of the Atharva Veda described by the Anukramaṇī as *Śālāsūktam* and *Vāstospati-Śālā-daivatam*, forming a part of an elaborate ceremony called the *Brhachekhhālākurma* or the great ceremony of housebuilding. I give the translation by Bloomfield: "Right here do I erect a firm house; may it stand upon a (good) foundation, dripping with ghee. Thee may we inhabit, O house with heroes all, with strong heroes, with uninjured heroes." This "*Śālāsūktam*" is meant evidently for a trussed structure as will appear from the 6th Rk which used to be recited at the time of fixing the crossbeams or "*vaṃśa*" upon the post. It may be observed in this connection that the above trussed structures may not be construed to mean anything of the flimsy type made of dab and wattle that is met with at the present day, for in this very *sūkta* a prayer is offered that the structures may be such as would enable the builder to live with his heroes "for a hundred autumns." Anxiety for ensuring firmness of the structures is also evidenced in the first and the second rks. The house, here, though a trussed structure, is meant to accommodate heroes, horses, cattle and strong enough to hold off the enemies. The "*drīḍhikarmāṇi*" rites for rendering houses, etc., firm as prescribed in the *Kausika* (38, 12) performed with the recital of hymns of the Atharva Veda (XII, 1) called the "*bhaumam*" also indicate an anxiety for securing firmness to structures.

In the *Āśvālayana Grhya Sūtra* we come across the following direction regarding the disposition and arrangement of rooms, in the 9th Sūtra, 7th Kāṇḍikā and the second chapter: *dakṣiṇāpravāṇe sabhāṃ māpayet sāidyuto bhavati*, i.e. the mass hall of a building where one's relatives, friends and visitors are expected to meet should be on the north of the site; in that case it will be faultless; again in the 6th sūtra of the very *kāṇḍikā* and *adhyāya* we find that the living or the sleeping

rooms should be made on the eastern side and the site should slope towards the east; the text of the *ṛtti* explaining the sūtra is quoted below:—*prāk pravaṇām bhūmiṃ kṛtvā grāham kuryāt tatra prācīyām diśi grāhaṇaḥ sayanāṃ yaṃ grāham kuryāt*. We find this direction in a somewhat modified form in the portion treating of *vasatīlakṣaṇam* in *Yuktikalpataru* ascribed to King Bhoja otherwise called Bhoja Pramāra of Dhar flourishing in the 11th century A.C. In the treatise called the *Viśvakarma Prakāśa*, the authorship of which is attributed to Brahmā we find *pūrva plave bhavellakṣmī* in consonance with the text of the *Gr̥hya Sūtra*. If we examine the common sayings of Bengal in this direction, in which the practical aspect of the question is embalmed for hundreds of years, we find the same Vedic idea underlying it unmistakably. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting one such adage too well known to all of us:

*pūve hāṃs paschime vāṃs dakṣiṇ chheḍe |*  
*ghur karge bheḍer bheḍe ||*

It is prescribed in the above aphorism or adage governing the selection of site and the disposition of rooms that there should be a pond on the eastern side answering more or less *prākpravaṇām*, of the *Gr̥hya Sūtra*, and that rooms should be erected on the north side of the site keeping the south clear.

Does it not agree more or less with the text of the *Gr̥hya Sūtra* explained thus in the *Gārgya Nārāyaṇī Ṛtti*:—*gatra gr̥ho svairamāste svajānairāgantubhīṣha saha sā sabhā tāṃ dakṣiṇā pravane kuryādūdācīyām diśītyarthah | tatra kṛtādyutādyutavarjitā bhavati*. Again, *prāk pravaṇām bhūmiṃ kṛtvā grāham kuryāt*.

I should now refer to the direction in the *Āśvalāyana Gr̥hya Sūtra* regarding the selection of site bearing on the suitability of the ground for building purposes. We find instructions in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th sūtras of the 8th Kāṇḍikā 2nd Adhyāya as to how the soil should be examined before building functions are undertaken—

*jānumātram gartam khātvā tairava pāṃsubhiḥ pratipūrayet* (2.8.2) *adhīke prasastam, samevārttam nyūne garhitam* (2.8.3) *aśtamite vāṃsupūrṇam parivāsayet* (2.8.4).

"Trench should be dug as deep as knee and it should be filled up with the earth excavated therefrom; if there be any surplus the soil is good, if it just keeps up the trench the ground is tolerable, if there be a deficit it is bad." This practical instruction had been followed in the Purāṇas and the later Śilpa śāstras; we find the very same instructions in the Matsya Purāṇam, the Viśvakarmā Prakāśa, and the numerous other texts. One thing may be said in this connection; in all the texts that I have come across, except the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, the depth of the trench has been prescribed to be an *hasta* or a cubit, the depth has nowhere been spoken of in terms of the *jānu* or knee as in the Gṛhya Sūtra. From this we may infer that the practice of excavating the trench per standard of knee was perhaps done away with and the standard of *hasta* introduced after the period of the Gṛhya Sūtra and before that of the Purāṇas, wherein the Vedic instructions have been repeated to the letter maintaining thereby a continuity of the method that obtained in the pre-Buddhist era.

Another point having an important bearing on the excavation of site is worth mentioning here; it is the classification of the soil as per different classes into which Aryan society was divided. I quote the following sūtras from the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra—

*Sikottaram Brāhmanasya* (2-8-6) *lohitam Kṣattriyasya* (2-8-7), *pītam vaiśyasya* (2-8-8.)

This classification of soil as per different classes of the Brahmanical or Aryan Society has been referred to in the Purāṇas, Śilpa śāstras and the Smṛti śāstras or the text dealing with rituals. We find the following prescribed in the Matsya Purāṇam and the authority of the latter has been referred to by the smṛta Raghunandana in his *Vāstuyāgatattvam* :—

*pūrvam bhūmim parikṣeta paścāt vāstam prakalpayet, svetāraktā tathā pītā kṣṇārjuna purvaśah* ॥

This classification as per Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, etc., has been prescribed in the "Yuktikalpataru", "Viśvakarma-prakāśa", "Vāstuvidyā" etc. In fact, this has been a universal practice since the early Vedic period down to the present day.

I should like to draw your attention to a fact which, I am afraid, might, probably, have escaped you. In the Gṛhya Sūtra the classification of the ground speaks of three classes only up to the Vaiśyas ; but the Purāṇas, Smṛtis and the Śilpaśāstras speak of four including the Śūdras. This is circumstantial evidence as to the ancient character of the Āśvalāyana-sūtra.

I have already referred to the direction of Āśvalāyana Gṛhya sūtra as to the construction of *sabhā* or the assembly hall. The term *sabhā* has also been used in the Atharva Veda (V. 31.6) in a hymn belonging to the series called the Kṛtvāpratiharaṇāni, recited for repelling spells, to designate an assembly hall as in “*yām te cakru sabhāyām yām chakruradhidevane,*” etc. It is also met with in several places, the notable among which is XII. 1-56 of the Atharva Veda in the hymns to goddess Earth, described by Bloomfield. We do not know what an assembly hall was like ; but in Kausika sūtra (38, 28) in describing the practices ensuring victory to a debtor called the *sabhā-vyayakarmāṇi* it is stated that the performer “takes hold of the pillar of the assembly hall and pays his respect to it.” We may thus infer that it was a columned structure.

That the Gṛhya Sūtra of Āśvalāyana is an old text is at once apparent if we consider the grammatical peculiarities noticed therein. In the sūtra *Oṣadhivanaspativat* in relation to Vastuparikṣā *vat* has been used instead of *mat* as in the Veda *chhandah*, for we find the following explanations of it in the Gārgya Nārāyaṇi Vṛtti *matupovvagaraschhāttam*. In another sūtra in this very chapter we find an example of the Vedic peculiarity in the omission of *na* in the word *atravadatya* he vṛtti says as follows: *atravadatya no lopah chhāndasah*. Numerous instances of such grammatical peculiarities may be cited to prove the ancient character of the text with its diction. The Gṛhya Sūtra of Āśvalāyana, the pupil of Śanaka, is a very old text, as old perhaps as the Aitareya Āraṇyaka ; for it is stated that in a manuscript of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka procured in the India Office Library, the entire work is described as *Āśvalāyanoktam Āraṇyakam*,



The kinds of structures dealt with in the *Āśvalāyana sūtra* are of the most ordinary make and design, having no complexity in constructive details or building materials.

We come across examples of buildings illustrating an advanced state of development of the structural art in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya identified with Chanakya or Viṣṇugupta flourishing in the first quarter of the fourth century before Christ. There is no doubt, therefore, that the *Gṛhya sūtra* is very much older than the *Arthaśāstra*.

The setting up of sepulchres in memory of the dead was a feature of the Vedic period; they used to take the form of a house or a monument, or in other words they were either of the residential or of the memorial type. It is laid down in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII. 8-1-1) that the *śmaśāna* or the burial-place or sepulchre should either be a house or a tumulus or a grave mound. Though there is a divergence of opinion as to the derivation of the word *Śmaśāna*, i.e. whether it meant etymologically a couch for the body according to Yāska; *śman* (body), *śayana* (couch) (Nir. 3-5) or a stone couch (*aśman*=stone, *śayana*=couch) as explained by Professor Weber; whether it was derived from *śavāṇna*, that is, the food for the dead or the *śmaśāṇna*, that is, the food for the *śmaśāṇ* or the "caters amongst the fathers"; there is no doubt that in early age a religio-artistic conception had reached the stage required for the development of architecture of the funeral type.

I now proceed to describe the meagre details gleaned from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* before the funerary conception giving an impulse to the funeral art in Vedic India is explained. The charred bones collected from the funeral pyre used to be deposited in an urn before final consignment to the mound; it may be noted that the injunction in this connection was that the mound or the sepulchre should not be erected soon after the death of a man, *tuḍvai na kṣipraṃ kuryāt* "let it not be made too soon." It is enjoined that the mound should be set up either in the month of *māgha* (winter) or in *nīdāgha* (summer) as these two words are derived from *agha* or *sin*, the whole idea

being eradication of sin ; it is also enjoined in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa that the mound should be erected in uneven years, under a single *nakṣatra*, at new moon and in autumn, for all these belong to the Fathers *ayuktesu samvatsaresu kuryāt 1 ayuktaṃ hi, pitrñameka nakṣatra ekanakṣatra hi pitrñamamā vasyāyām*.

It is seen from the above that the funerary conception in the early Vedic period was intimately connected was the idea of perpetuating the connection with the fathers or the *pitṛs* and the extirpation of sin. To break the continuity with the past was as unthinkable in the remote Vedic age as it is to-day. This is nicely expressed in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XIII, 8, 1, 6, in connection with the selection of site inclining towards the north for the erection of the funeral mound ; by selecting this site the deceased is given a share in the world of men and in this respect the fathers also share in the world of men as they have their offerings.

I give the translation of Dr. Eggeling : " For the north is the region of men ; he thus gives him (i.e. the deceased) a share of the world of men ; and in that respect, indeed, the Fathers share in the world of men that they have offspring ; and his (the deceased man's) offspring will, indeed, be more prosperous."

We thus find that an innate desire for maintaining an unbroken continuity about heredity was the main spring for activities so far as funeral architecture was concerned ; and these artistic centres of gravity do not appear to be displaced even after the lapse of so many centuries since the dawn of artistic instincts in India. Unlike the Egyptian conception, the deceased was the connecting link as it were between the past and the present ; in Egypt the dead man has no concern with the present, artistically he was as unconcerned as the gods ; his own people did everything for him.

It may be mentioned here that the idea of perpetuating the heredity of the deceased does not involve that of establishing any connection with the gods ; for it is distinctly stated in

connection with a certain rite before erecting the mound that the divine is kept separate from what belongs to the Fathers (13th Khaṇḍa 8th Adhyāya 2nd Brāhmaṇa).

The following hymn from the Vājāsaneyī saṃhitā chanted while arranging the charred bones of the deceased in the sepulchral mound throws a flood of light on the funerary conception underlying the funeral architecture.

"Propitious be the wind unto thee, propitious be the heat of the sun ; propitious be the fires unto thee and may the earthly ones not scorch thee. May the regions fit themselves to thee, may the waters be most kind to thee, and the rivers ; and kind also the air ; may all the regions fit themselves to thee."

This hymn invokes the aid of nature for bringing about a harmony between her and the deceased so that it may burst into a brighter existence. This idea does not require brick or stone edifices for its elaboration ; it conjures up a scene and surroundings which for ever remain fixed in the memory. It is for this reason that we do not find the long shadows of the pyramids or sphinx stretching over the country as we find in the valley of the Nile. In place of any building of memorial type, surmounting the graves, we should naturally expect the latter to be exposed to the sun and the rain inviting the blossoms of fragrant jessamine sinking through the soft air to join the *rajanigandhā* or the green turf below. But we still find mention of the sepulchral mounds, however small they may be, for the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII,8,3,11) says that in the case of a "Kṣatriya he may make it as high as a man with upstretched arms, for a Brāhmaṇa reaching up to the mouth, etc." The funerary idea that I have adumbrated above is already expressed in the following text in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII,8,11,6) which is worth quoting. Let him make it in a pleasant (spot) in order that there should be pleasure for him. He must not make it either on a path or in an open space, lest he should make his (deceased's) sins manifest.

"Whilst being secluded it should have the sun shining on it from above ; in that it is secluded one hides his sin ; and

in that it has the sun shining on it from above—yonder sun being the remover of evil—he, indeed removes the evil from him, and he alone causes him to be endowed with the radiance of the sun. Let him not make it where it would be visible, ...let there be beautiful objects at the back—for the beautiful objects mean offspring; beautiful objects, offspring will thus accrue to him.”

As the share and plan of the sepulchral mound it is laid down in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII, 8, 1, 5) that it should be fourcornered, symbolical of the expulsion by the gods of the Asuras from the four regions or quarters of the globe. This has been contrasted with circular or round mounds characteristic of Asuras and the Easterns.

The words *āsuryaḥ* and *prāchyāḥ* are expected to offer much food for reflection and speculation. By these two words meaning the people of the Asura nature or race and the Easterns are associated together. The question may be asked as to who these easterns were whose mounds were spoken of as round or circular in plan. From the above one is tempted to locate the place where the people flourishing during the Vedic period resided on the west of it (e.g. Syro-Cappadocia). Before we indulge in speculations of this nature we must remember that the text may admit of a different interpretation as has been pointed out by Professor Weber. *Āsuryaḥ* may be taken as an adjective and the words would thus mean the *āsuryaḥ* or the non-Aryan portion of the Easterns. I quote the text here for reference:—*yā āsuryaḥ prāchyā stvadye tvat parimaṇḍalāni te' nudanta*, etc. Now let us make a comparative study of the ancient funeral architecture of the different countries stretching from Persia towards the west to see if we could find out a sepulchral mound of the circular type characteristic of the Asuras and the Easterns. If we examine the plan of the Gabre-i-Nadea-i-Suleiman (the tomb of Suleiman's mother) near Mershed-i-Murghab identified with Passargadae containing the ruins of the time of Cyrus and Cambyses we shall be struck by the square plan; the plan of the Naksh-i-Rustum tower given in Dieulafoy's *L'Art Antique*,

belonging to the later Achæmenid branch of the Persian kings, is also square. We thus see that the tomb of the Persian kings was square in plan, similar to what is prescribed in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Again the dimensions of these two tombs are not huge, answering more or less to the direction in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, that it should not be made large; the inside length of the *Naksh-i-Rustum* tomb is only 3 metres 77 c.m., that of *Gabre-i-Mâdera-i-Suleiman* is about 3 metres. I need hardly add that these were royal sepulchres though the dimensions are not great. There is also a great similarity noticeable in the conception of the life beyond the grave, both from the Vedic and the Avestan standpoints. The Ferouhess of the Avesta before the "cult of the dead" was elaborated through the different stages of Magdaises, resemble more or less the Pitr̥s or Manes of the Vedas. It should be remembered in this connection of funeral architecture and the incidental rites that the Avesta recommended neither cremation nor burial lest fire and earth should be polluted; we learn on the authority of Ctesias and Strabo that cremation was considered by the Persians to be a serious offence; it is stated by Herodotus that the Persian King Cambyses incurred the displeasure of the Persians for having burnt the body of Amars. The plan of the fire-altar furnishes the key to the cruciferous plan of the buildings of a later age erroneously sought to be derived from the Roman or the Greek prototype. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (10th Kāṇḍa, 2nd Adhyāya, 1st Brāhmaṇa) the firealtar of the Agni-Kṣetra has been likened in shape to a bird provided with wings; and this form was assumed by Prajāpati for going up to heaven. I quote the text :—*Prājāpatiḥ svargalokamājagāmsat, sarve vai paśavaḥ prajāpatiḥ puruṣo' svo gaurāḥ virajāḥ mantrate rūpairnāsaknotsa tritaṃ vayodhī-mātrā nāma paśyadagnim tam vyadhatta.*

The translation by Dr. Eggeling is given below :—

"Prajāpati was desirous of going up to the world of heaven; but Prajāpati, indeed, is all the (sacrificial) animals—man, horse, bull, ram and he-goat, by means of these forms he could not do so. He saw this bird-like body, fire-altar, and constructed it."

## IV.—The Oraon Feast of Sal Flowers

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

The *Sāl* (*Shorea robusta*) is the characteristic tree of the Chōṭa Nāgpur forests and naturally plays a large part in the economic, social, religious and magico-religious life of the Orāons of Chōṭa Nāgpur. One or more *sāl* groves (now, in some places, dwindled down into one or more solitary trees) mark the shrines of some of the principal gods or spirits of the Orāon pantheon. The blossoming of *sāl* flowers in March-April ushers in the spring season with its varieties of blossoming plants and trees and newly-sprouting edible leaves and tubers.

Of these, the *sāl* blossoms form the most striking feature of blossoming Nature. And so the Orāons hold a religious festival in spring in their sacred grove or *sarnā*, in which *sāl* blossoms form an essential element, and which is popularly known as the *sarkhāl* or the Feast of *Sāl* blossoms, but which the Orāons in their own language name as the *Khaddi* and also *Khekel-benjā* or Marriage of the Earth. Until this festival is celebrated in any village, no Orāon of the village may eat or use the new fruits, flowers and edible leaves of the season. As the elaborate ritual of this Feast of *Sāl* Flowers is the principal religious festival of the Orāons and gives us a clear insight into the religious and religio-magical ideas and practices of the Orāons, I shall make no apology for describing the festival in some detail in this paper.

When in early spring the *Sāl* trees begin to blossom, the village elders in every Orāon village hold

### **The summons and preparation**

a consultation and appoint a day for celebrating the *Sarkhāl* in their village. One or two weeks before the date fixed in this way for the *Sarkhāl* ceremony in a village, the Pāhān (priest) or the Pujār (assistant to the priest) of the village under orders of the

village *Panch* proclaims in the village that such-and-such a day has been appointed for fasting and the following day for the celebration of the *Sarhul*.

From that day the Pāhān and the Pūjār go about collecting one wooden *patla*, measuring about a pound, of either paddy or *mārūa* (*Eleusine coracana*) from each house; and in some villages similarly the Pāhān's wife and the Pūjār's wife also go about collecting a small handful of either paddy or *mārūa* from each family.

Out of the price realised by selling the grain collected by the Pāhān and the Pūjār, the potter (*kumhar*) is paid the price of the earthenware required for the coming ceremonies and the Gorait a few annas for playing music during the festival; in some villages, the village blacksmith (*lohār*) is paid a few annas as price for the Pāhān *ohhūri* or knife used by the Pāhān at sacrifices, and in some villages he also supplies an iron *binṭhi* or *bainṭhi* (a kind of cutting instrument) and an iron *karchhul* (large spoon). In other villages old *bainṭhis* and *karchhuls* serve. The Pāhān utilises the balance in purchasing the ingredients for four, five or more jars of *ārkhī* (home-brewed liquor) to be prepared at his house for general drinking by all at the festival.

Three days before the Sarhul, at the Pāhān's house and in some villages also in the Pūjār's house, three or four seers of rice are boiled in water and placed in an earthen vessel on the cowdunged floor of the Pāhān's hut and covered over with a little straw. When the contents cool down, *bichchhi* \* is mixed with them and the mixture is stored in a large jar (*gharā*) and left to ferment. On the Sarhul day, these jars are taken to the *sarnā* grove and there more water is poured into the contents and the mixture is strained with a cloth sieve and the liquor thus prepared is drunk only by the Pāhān, the Pūjār and the Mahto of the village.

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\* *Bichchhi* is a tabloid made of a few vegetable roots powdered and mixed with rice-flour.

At sunrise on the day before the Sarhül festival, the Pūjār in company with a few Orāons of the **Dari-chitna (Toosa ohhechdam)** village go to the sacred spring known as the *Sarnādāri* (Chāala Toosa) of the village, carrying two or more new earthen pans (*tāoās*) or in some villages, small bamboo baskets (*nāchuās* or *baugi*), and also a little oil and vermilion. In a village where there is no permanent *Sarnādāri*, one is excavated for the occasion. The Pūjār and his companions bale out with the new pans or baskets all the water in the spring and cleanses the spring. The Pūjār then anoints the stone with vermilion moistened in oil (*isumsindri*). In a few villages situated by the side of rivers, such as the Koel, the river serves as the *Sarnādāri*. After baling out the water of the sacred spring, where there is one, the party take a bath in some other spring or stream and thence go to the Pāhān's house, where they are treated to a pot of home-brewed beer called the 'spring-baling beer' (*dāri-chhiṭua-hāri*).

On the same day, two tall bamboo poles are planted, one at each side in front of the doorway of the Pāhān's house. About two feet down the top of each pole a natural knot is left. A short stick with a small flag called *Chāṇḍi Jhāṇḍā* hanging from it, is attached to each pole at right angles to it. These flags are at other times carefully stored in a bamboo box in the Pāhān's house, and when they are taken out for the ceremony, the Pāhān and Pūjār sing—

*Mūghē māghē purūchā dō Nāyāngō.*

These flags are taken down and stored in the bamboo box after *Chhālōtā Pāchcho* has been installed again in the Pāhān's house by the *sup-baithānā* ceremony. (see *posteo*).

About an hour or so after midnight the Pūjār and either the Pāhān or the Māhto or some other Orāon each carrying in a carrying-pole and net **The Omen-giving Water (Neg-amm.)** two earthen jars (*gharas*) filled with water, go to the *Sarnādāri*. They take care not to come across any human being on their way, and if they cannot avoid



meeting anybody, religiously avoid talking to such person; nor do they talk to each other on the way to the *dāri*. Arrived there, the Pūjār takes each jar by turns, dips it perpendicularly with its face upwards into the water and fills it while holding his breath. The four \* jars, thus filled with the sacred water, are similarly taken in the carrying-nets (*ugi-epta*) and carried to the *sarnā* or sacred grove in pin-drop silence. Arriving at the *sarnā*, forming the four corners of a rectangle, four grooves will be scooped out on the ground with one end of the *bāhingā* pole, and the jars will be placed one over each of these grooves. The four scoops and the jars placed on them respectively represent the four directions of the compass. The jars are covered over each with a small earthen vessel.

At sunrise, the Pāhān, the Pūjār and other elders of the village go to the *sarnā* to examine the water and read the omens from it. The Pāhān takes off the lid from each jar by turns and the men all examine the water to see whether it is as full as when it was left there. If the jars are found so, it is concluded that rainfall will be abundant in the coming year, but if the water in any one or more of the jars appears to be less than what it was when left there, it is apprehended that rainwater will not be abundant in the direction which the jar or jars respectively represent.

After reading the omen indicated by the sacred water, the Pāhān returns home with his companions and brings out a jar of home-brewed beer from his house, and they all drink it. A few villagers are then told off to collect fowls from the different houses of the village for the sacrifice. In a big village fowls may be collected in different years from different quarters of the village; but in a small village the same families may have to supply fowls in successive years. The number of fowls required is not fixed, and as many are collected as possible, in no case less than five or six. A few young men go to some neighbouring stream or pool to catch fish for the *dubki tiañ*—

\* Nowadays, in some villages only two such jars are employed instead of four.

a curry of which the principal ingredients are small cakes of *ūrid* (*Phaseolus roxburghii*) pulse and fish which must be partaken of on the occasion of the *Sarhūl* festival.

Another batch of young men go to some low-lying fields to catch crabs for a magic ceremony to be described later. It is only for this crab-catching that the earth may be dug into on the *Sarhūl* day; on no other account may the earth be ploughed or dug up that day.

As the *Sarhūl* is the most important religious festival of the tribe, in former days a goat and a pig, it is said, used to be always sacrificed in addition to a number of fowls. But now-a-days the sacrifice of pigs on this occasion has almost fallen into disuetude, and even goats are not sacrificed in every village or in every year.

If a goat or a pig, or both, have to be offered in sacrifice, the village elders now decide which of the villagers are to supply them that year. The sacrifices to *Chhālā Pācho* must be female animals, as the *Chhālā Pācho* is a female spirit. The *Pūjār* then brings out a pot of rice-beer from the *Pāhān's* house and the *Māhto* and other village elders and the fowlcatchers regale themselves with it.

Now the *Pāhān*, the *Pūjār* and other village elders have to take a ceremonial bath. The village *Goṛāt* with his band of **The Ceremonial** musicians playing on drums and bugles and **bath** flutes escort the party to the bank of some stream or tank, and leaving them there return to the village. First, the *Pāhān* and then the *Pūjār* silently plunge into the water stiffly straight and take care that their hands do not come in contact with other parts of their bodies, for in case either of them touches any part of their bodies with their hands, it is said to forebode a pest of mosquitos in the village in the ensuing year. After the *Pāhān* and the *Pūjār* have plunged into the water, their companions follow them and all take a ceremonial bath.

In the meanwhile, when the musicians have gone back half way towards the village, they make a halt and remain playing music. Now such women of the village as have been fasting

since morning, start for the river or tank for a ceremonial bath. The Pāhān's wife and the Pujār's wife, each carrying in a new earthen pan some *urid* pulse (*Phaseolus roxburghii*) soaked in water, head the party. After they pass the spot where the musicians are playing, the Pāhān and his party on their return from the river or tank arrive at the spot and halt there for a while. In the meanwhile, the village Gorait or some other member of his family fetches a number of twigs of *tānd* (*Cedrela toona*) or, failing that, of some other tree. The Gorait and his people spread the twigs one by one breadthwise across the path, and leave the place escorting the Pāhān and his party back to the Pāhān's house. The Pāhān and his party go on singing the following song:—

*Teiā dabsā Gosāin, makhā dabsā*

*Gosāin sārem !*

*Hāe-rē Khāddi māñōey, Hāe-re Fāgū māñōey,*

*Gosāin sārem.*

*Hiō-hi dal-dal ! Hiō-hi dal-dal !*

TRANSLATION.

O Keond \* tree god ! O Sal \* tree God !

The Fagu god ! the *Sarkul* god !

O it is *Sarkul* now ! O it is Fagu !

The Fagu god ! The *Sarkul* god !

Come ! Let us play ! Let us play !

While singing the last line, the singers vehemently stamp their feet upon the ground. This song is repeated again and again alternating with ribald songs.

When the men have left the spot where the twigs have been spread by the Gorait, the women with their clothes dripping with water come up in rows, the Pāhān's wife with the Pujār's wife to her left occupying the centre of the front row and each of the two carrying on the head her pan of *urid* pulse. The women take up a twig each. In the meanwhile, the Gorait and his party of musicians return to the spot after reaching

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\*The *Keond* is the *Diospyros tomentosa* tree and the *Sal* is the *Shorea robusta*. The literal meaning of the word 'dabsa' is 'stick'.

the Pāhān's party to the Pāhān's place. They now escort the women to the Pāhān's house with music, while the women go on singing :—

*Mūno jhāra Gosain, bōthā jhārā !  
Hāerē khaddi mānoey Hāe-rē-Pāgu mānoey !  
—Gosain sārem !  
Hiōhi dal-dal ! Hiōhi dal-dal !*

#### TRANSLATION.

New rice-beer god ! Dregs of rice-beer !

O, it is Sarhul ! O, it is Fāgu !

The Fāgu god ! the Sarhul god !

Come ! let us play ! Come, let us play !

Singing such songs, the women enter the *āngan* or courtyard of the Pāhān's house where the men have already collected and a number of earthen

#### Ducking

jars filled with water kept in readiness. As soon as the women reach there, both men and women begin to pour out the water from the jars on the women as well as on the ground. The women, thus thoroughly drenched, go on dancing and singing songs, mostly obscene, and also uttering filthy abuse.

Now the Pāhān tells his wife, " Pour water into the pot for brewing rice-beer for offering"; and the

#### Making ricebeer and rice ready for the Puja

Pujār tells his wife, " Pour water into the pot for brewing rice-beer for *Mandnā Farnā*." The Pāhān's wife does so inside her hut and the Pujār's wife on the courtyard or open space in front of the Pāhān's house. When the villagers see water being poured into the pots for making rice-beer, they all return to their respective houses to fetch their contributions of rice and, if possible, pulses for the sacrificial feast. One man from each family brings at least a handful of rice on a winnowing-basket called *keter* in Orāon and *sūp* in Hindi. As each man brings his quota of rice, the Pūjār blesses the man. The winnowing-baskets with rice in them brought by men of each *khūnt* are arranged one above the other. Thus the rice-baskets are heaped up in two or more piles according as there are *khūnts*

(such as the Pāhān Khūṇṭ, the Māhāto Khūṇṭ, the Mūṇḍā Khūṇṭ) in the village. The baskets brought by the *gairōs* or non-Bhūinhārs are arranged each in the piles of the particular Bhūinhār Khūṇṭ to which they are respectively attached by near cognatic relationship and, where no such relationship exists, their baskets are placed on the same pile as that of the Bhūinhārs of their *ṭola* or quarter of the village. The Māhto or secular headman of the village now places a grindstone (*silout*) on the *āngan* or courtyard of the Pāhān's house and upon the grindstone are placed three bundles of straw and over that a yoke. He then fetches some mango leaves and makes three leaf-cups, each made of one leaf with each end doubled up and stitched with a reed-pin, and places the leaf-cups by the side of the *silout*. The Māhto then calls out to the Pāhān and his wife to come out into the *āngan*. "Be ready, O Pāhān and Pahanain; the offerings of the people have arrived."

At the summons the Pāhān sprinkles a little of the newly brewed rice-beer on the *sarnā-sūp* or winnowing-fan (*keter*) used in ceremonies at the *sarnā* (sacred groove) and at other times hung up inside the Pāhān's house. He then takes down the *sarnā-sūp*, and both the Pāhān and his wife drink a little of the rice-beer brewed for the occasion. Then the Pāhān sits down on the floor with his legs folded across each other and the *sarnā-sūp* held close to his arm-pit. The Pūjār now enters the room with a new earthen jug (*baṭāri*) having a spout, under his arm-pit, and squats down on the ground by the side of the Pāhān just east of the latter. The Pāhān's wife fills the Pāhān's *sūp* with *arūa* rice and the Pūjār's wife fills the Pūjār's *baṭāri* with cold water from a big earthen jar (*ghaṭlā*). Then the Pāhān and the Pūjār get up holding respectively the *sūp* and the *baṭāri* under their arm-pits as before, and the Pūjār's wife pours the remaining water in her jar on the heads of the Pāhān and his wife. Then they proceed to the spot where the grindstone has been placed, the Pūjār preceding the Pāhān and marking his way by a stream of water running out of the spout of his *baṭāri*, and the Pāhān similarly leaving behind him a trail of

*ārua* rice dropping down in dribblets from his *sūp* which is carried aslant under his arm-pit.

The Pāhān with his *sūp* then sits down upon the yoke and the Pūjār with his *batāri* squats down on the Pāhān's right. Their wives now come up with their wet clothes on, and the Pāhān's wife sits by her husband's side, on his left, and the Pūjār's wife sits down on the left of the Pāhān's wife. The old sacrificial knife which was stuck into the left rim of the *sūp* is now taken out and handed over by the Pāhān to some member of his family and a new knife is inserted in its place.

Now the village Māhāto covers up the Pāhān and his wife with a cloth over their heads and faces. The Māhāto's wife then approaches the Pāhān with a little vermilion in a small wooden receptacle (*hiā*) and mustard oil in a small earthen cup. She first rubs oil on the Pāhān's head and combs his hair with a wooden or bamboo comb, and then with the middle finger of her right hand places a mark of vermilion over his brows and one vermilion mark on each of his temples. Then she similarly rubs oil on the Pāhānāin's head and combs her hair, and with her right thumb and right index-finger anoints vermilion on the parting of her hair. The Pūjār and his wife are similarly anointed with oil and vermilion.

The Māhāto next takes up one of the mango leaf-cups prepared for the ceremony (*neg*), fills it with rice-beer from the beer-pot, and holds up the cup, first to the Pāhān's lips and then to the Pāhānāin's, then to the Pūjār's and finally to the Pūjārāin's, saying,—“They are very hungry and very thirsty, so I am making them drink rice-beer.” Then with the auspicious ululation or ejaculation of sounds of “*ālū-ālū-ālū*”, he throws the mango leaf-cup on to the roof of the house. This process is repeated twice again. Then the Māhāto fills three (*sāl*-leaf) cups and fills them with rice-beer, keeps the first-cup for himself, and hands over the other two

**Invocation of the  
Ancestor-spirits**

to the rest of the villagers assembled. The Māhāto holds his leaf-cup over the palm of his left hand, and with the thumb and ring-finger of his right hand sprinkles a few drops of the liquor on the earth, saying :—

“ .....*Pāch-bālārō innā em punā khaddi māndam. Nim pāchehō-pāchgi khattārkhē mōkh'kē onnkē; Pāchbalāro, tāchinū mamunū rūsi-rāgē āmkē mānā. Iarnū dosti-nā or Kōil pār-Kōil rūsirāgē āmkē mānā* ”.

“ O ! Ancestor-spirits ! [of such-and-such (names) a clan] ! To-day *sarhūl* is being celebrated. O ! Ancestor-spirits (lit., old men and women) ! Do ye eat (and) drink. O ! Ancestor-spirits ! Don't ye be offended with our paternal and maternal aunts and maternal uncles (i.e. with our agnatic and cognatic relations, namely, the non-Bhuinhars of the village), with our friends and associates, with those living on this side of river Koel or on the other side (i.e. those at home and abroad). ” While uttering this invocation, the Māhāto goes on dropping rice-beer on the ground. The beer remaining over in the leaf-cup is poured back into the beer-pot and the leaf-cup thrown away. Then two of the assembled non-Bhuinhars (*gairōs*) similarly offer rice-beer on the ground in the name of their ancestors, and finally bow down on the ground.

A man of the Pāhān *khūnt* now goes up to the pile of rice-filled *sūps* of the Pāhān *khūnt* and takes up successively three handfuls of rice and places them in the Pāhān's sacrificial *sūp*, and then bows down before the Pāhān. The Pūjār all the time goes on relieving the Pāhān's *sūp* of its superfluous rice which he puts into baskets placed beside him. The Pāhān takes up some rice with the tips of the fingers of his two hands joined together, and puts the rice into a *sūp* belonging to his own *khūnt*. This rice is called *Āsīrbādī* (or “blessed”, i.e. sanctified) rice and is carefully preserved by the members of the *khūnt* till sowing time when the seed-paddy is sanctified by mixing it with this *āsīrbādī* rice and a little cowdung and a bit of copper, in the belief that this will make the seeds multiply abundantly. A man of the Māhāto *Khūnt* similarly takes up three handfuls

of rice and puts the same into a *sūp* belonging to his *khūnt*, and this rice is carefully preserved by members of the *khūnt* to be mixed at sowing-time with their seed-paddy along with a little cowdung and piece of copper coin. If there be a Mūṇḍā *khūnt* in the village, a man of that *khūnt* will similarly sanctify some of the *āsīrbādi* rice to be similarly mixed with their seed-paddy by men of the *khūnt*. The non-Bhūinhārs get a portion of this "sanctified" rice from the Bhūinhar *khūnt* to which they are respectively related.

Some men of the village now carry to the *jāher* or *sarnā* (sacred grove) the baskets thus filled with rice together with a new spoon or ladle, a vegetable knife, some *sāl* leaves for making cups, a little unbleached cotton thread, a pot of oil, and a little vermilion on a leaf; and another man carries in a net-bag a number of chickens contributed by the villagers. (See illustration). The Pāhān, carrying his *sūp* filled with rice, and the Pūjār, carrying his *bāṭāri* filled with water which is let fall in drops as he goes along, lead the procession, and musicians (of the Ghāsi or Gōṛait caste) playing on drums and pipes bring up the rear. Arrived at the *sarnā*, the Pūjār circumambulates the sacred *sarnā* trees so as to keep the tree to his left, dropping water from his *bāṭāri* all along his path. He then stands by the side of the Pāhān who now sits down upon a stone slab, with his face to the east. The Pūjār stands by his side holding his *bāṭāri* under his arm-pit.

After a few minutes the Pāhān rises from his seat leaving his *sūp* on it, and goes to the hearth-stones that were used for cooking the sacrificial meat at the preceding year's *Sarkul* feast. **Preliminaries of the sacrifice** The Pāhān inspects the stones and moves with his hands such of them as he approves of. Some of the party then come forward and prepare new hearths with the old stones thus approved. The Pāhān then takes up the unbleached thread and winds it round the trunk of the *sarnā* tree in three or five convolutions. The Pūjār then scrapes the grass off the earth for



a space of about a foot and a half in width and about 18 feet in length, commencing from the eastern foot of the tree and proceeding in a straight line in a northerly direction. This cleared space forms the *ākhārā* for sacrifice. At intervals of three or four inches on this line a handful of *arua* rice is placed for the sacrificial fowls to feed upon. Each of these spots where rice is thus placed is called the sacrificial *kūri* of the *ākhārā*. At the southernmost end of the line, about four or five feet away from the furthest *ākhārā*, another handful of rice is kept as the *ākhārā* for a white cock to be sacrificed to Dharmes or the Sun-god. All the operations are conducted by the Pāhān, Pūjār, etc. with their faces to the east.

Now the Pāhān asks the Māhto and others whether any pig has been got ready for the sacrifice. But now-a-days sacrifices of pigs at the *Sārkhūl* are, as I have already said, falling into disuse, and additional fowls are offered in their place. The Pāhān next asks the men of his *khūñṭ* if any goat is to be offered in sacrifice. In some villages a goat is sacrificed every alternate eary. If no goat is to be offered, one or more additional fowls are offered in its place. If a pig or a goat or both, are to be offered, similar *ākhārās* are made for their sacrifice by scraping the grass off the earth for a space of about three or four feet in length and one foot in breadth towards the south-west of the *ākhārā* for fowls already described. To avoid the disturbances caused by the grunts of the pig it is not brought to the *sarnā* grove until the actual time of sacrifice.

The Pāhān now asks the Pūjār to bring water. The Pūjār comes to him with his *bāṭāri* filled with water, and the Pāhān washes his own face, hands and feet with the water and sprinkles some water on his head and other limbs. Then he takes up rice in the joined palms of his hands and nimbly goes on dropping the rice at several spots along the lines of *ākhārā* described above, just as is done by the sower when sowing paddy in the fields. This is repeated a second and a third time.

#### **The Sacrifice (Puja-nana)**

The Pūjār then selects fowls of appropriate colours for the different spirits. He first takes out four or five fowls, namely, a *rāngua* or red and in some villages a *mālā* or (black and white) mottled fowl for *Dārkhā Deswālī*, a *kāsri* or grey fowl for *Chālā Pācheko* or *Sarnā Būrhia*, one or more black fowls for *Chāndi* and a white one for *Dharmes*.

He then takes out the sacrificial knife from the sacrificial *sūp* and hands it over to the Pāhān. Now he takes up the red or the mottled fowl, as the case may be, dips his hand into water from the *bāṭāri*, and with his hand thus moistened wipes the head, trunk and feet of the fowl, and then hands it over to the Pāhān who next makes it eat from the ground of the *ākharā* described above the *ārua* rice placed there for it to feed on, and while it is feeding on the rice nimbly cuts off its head, saying, "O Dārkhā Deswālī village-spirit (*Gāon-devti*), we are offering this fowl to thee". Similarly in quick succession the grey fowl is sacrificed to *Sarnā-Būrhia* and the black fowl to *Chāndi*. Then the rest of the fowls except the white one are offered one after another to the remaining spirits (*kūnṭ dānt*, etc.). The heads of all these fowls are not wholly cut off but partly severed from the neck. While thus sacrificing the Pāhān says, "Oh Ghosts and Spirits, Muās, Churils, stray spirits, wandering spirits, and all the whole host of you, wherever you be,—either east, west, north or south—in all your *parhas* distribute this meat among yourselves and eat your fill. May all the people of our village, men and women, adults and children, enjoy themselves, and dance and play to their hearts' content during *Sarhūl*, and may prosperity attend us."

After these sacrifices, the Pāhān washes his knife and his hands and then proceeds to offer the white fowl to *Dharmes*. If no white fowl is available, the egg of a hen is offered. This sacrifice or offering is made at the northernmost end of the line. It is said that the reason for placing the *kuri* of *Dharmes* at one end is that *Dharmes* controls the other spirits who are sometimes apt to be mischievous. While sacrificing to *Dharmes*, the Pāhān prays: "Nin Dharmē Bābā hekdāe.

Akkām bālkām ādin sāmrahākē. Embāi khann malā iri. Nighāi khann iri. Ninhim Bābā hekđai, samrahākē.” “Thou, O Dharmē, art our Father. Whether we know or don’t know (i.e. whether we have inadvertently omitted any rite or sacrifice to any spirit) do thou make up for our omissions. Our eyes don’t see [spirits]. Thy eyes see. Thou art our Father. Do thou control [and make up with those spirits we know and those we don’t know.]” The Pūjār now washes the sacrificial knife and puts it back on the *sūp*. The Pāhān then pours a little milk brought by the village Ahir or cowherd over the rice *kūris* on the ākhārā, and then pours a little water over the same. He then takes up the five fowls already sacrificed, and holding them together by their legs, nimbly waves (*neōchhānā*) them to and fro over the line of rice *kūris*, and then throws away the fowls towards the non-Bhūinhār villagers (*gairōs*), saying, “Hūdi hāro, jimmā chichkān; kāmā.” “I make over these to you. Do ye prepare them (for cooking).” Some of the *gairōs* dress the other slain fowls separately from the white fowl. The rest of the fowls are taken up by others who dress them. The first four fowls are boiled with about two pounds of *āruā* rice taken from the *sūp* or one of the baskets. The meat of the white fowl mixed with a little rice is packed in a covering of four *sāl* leaves stitched together, and the packet (*pātpūr*) thus made is put into the burning hearth and roasted in the fire.

While all this is going on, the pig or goat, or both, are brought to the *Sarnā*. The pig, with its two forelegs tied together and its hind-legs also tied together, is taken to the *kūri* meant for it. The Pāhān throws a handful of rice on the *kūri* at the pig close to its mouth. One or more men now go on hacking at its head with the blunt end of their axes till it dies. While thus sacrificing the pig, no names of any spirits are taken, as this sacrifice is said to be meant probably for the *Bhūlās* or unnamed stray spirits. The carcase of the pig is then taken to a different part of the *sarnā* grove where it is cooked by itself. Many Oraons have given up eating pigs, and so the

pig is cooked separately. The goat, if any, is next taken to its *kūri*, fed on rice and sacrificed by the Pāhān himself by plunging a *bāin̄thi* knife or, if available, a sword, at its neck but not so as to sever the head altogether from its trunk. The goat is also meant for outside spirits, who are therefore not invoked by names. The goat's flesh is also cooked separately from that of the fowls and the pig, either in a separate hearth at the *sarnā* grove or in the houses of two different families.

The Pāhān now resumes his seat, and inquires if milk has been supplied by the Ahīr, fuel and *sal* leaves by the *Bhāṇḍārī* or *Gorāit* of the village, salt by the particular Bhūinhār who may hold service land (*khāin̄ khet*) for supplying this and pots of rice-beer (*tapoān hānrīā*) by different Bhūinhār families. The Pāhān inspects the supplies and, in case anything is found wanting, messengers are sent to the persons whose remissness is responsible for the deficiencies. And the articles required are duly procured. In the meanwhile a few men continually move from the *sarnā* to the village and back to see and inform if things at the Pāhān's house are getting ready. At about evening the Pāhān, the Pūjār and a few elders of the village, accompanied by Ghāsi or Gōrāit musicians playing music, go to the Pāhān's house to see if meal is ready there for the women of the village assembled there who have been keeping fast all the time. At the sound of the music such Orāon women in each family as have not been fasting put a live crab into the burning hearth and hang up over the hearth a few other live crabs. As the burning crab crackles in the fire and the other crabs get their legs straightened and stiffened by the heat, the women exclaim "May *urid* (*Phaseolus roxburghii*) and other pulses in our fields burst forth (from their pods) as the crab is bursting in the fire; may pods of our *urid* and other pulses grow in clusters and resemble the cluster (*ghumpa*) of stiffened legs of the crab."

As the Pāhān and his party approach the village, the Pūjār's wife awaits them at the approach of the Pāhān's house with a metal jug (*lotā*) filled with water, and the Pāhān's wife awaits

Crab-frying  
Kakro-shajna)

Ducking at the  
Pahan's house



white fowl, inside the *sāl*-leaf packet are ready. The Pāhān now takes up a little of the *ṭahari* and the roasted meat, and offers the same by the side of the hearth to four spirits by name, *viz.*, *Dārha*, *Deswali*, *Chālā Pācho* and *Chāndi*.

While the Pāhān has been thus engaged, the assembled Orāons have washed their hands and faces and sat down in three sections, as will be described presently, and the Pūjār has placed a *sāl*-leaf in front of each man. The Pāhān now distributes the *ṭahari* as *praśadi* (blessed food) on each of these leaves. When every one else has been thus served with the *ṭahari*, the Pāhān and the Pūjār distribute the remainder of the *ṭahari* on four other leaves, and then they themselves sit down to eat with two leaf-fuls of *ṭahari* before each of them, one for himself and the other meant for his wife which he leaves untouched. The Pāhān first eats one or two morsels from his leaf, and the Pūjār does the same almost simultaneously, and then the Pāhān gives permission to the others to eat and they all fall to. The Pāhān and the Pūjār now get up and wash their hands and mouths. The Pūjār then places a sal-leaf-plate before each one of the men, and the Pāhān serves the *ṭahari* made of the rest of the sacrificed fowls. It may be noted here that the seats for the feast are arranged in rows in three sections or compartments (*khāndhās*): one section is accommodated round the spot where the fowls were cooked, and is known as the inner section (*bhitar khāndhā*), and two other sections are accommodated round the spots where the pig and the goat were respectively cooked. These last two sections are known as the outer sections (*bāhār khāndhā*.)

The trunks of the pig and the goat, it may also be mentioned, are cut up into two halves lengthwise, one half of each being reserved for the Orāon women of the village and not cooked in the *sarnā*. As for the sacrificial fowls, it is important to note, their meat is taboo to women and they get no share of it. Those who sit down to eat in the inner compartment have only fowls' meat and rice boiled in milk (*dūdih-ṭahari*) to eat; whereas those who sit down in the outer compartment where

goat's meat was cooked get goat's meat *ṭahari*, and those who prefer to sit where the pig *ṭahari* was cooked, get pig *ṭahari*.

All however, as we have seen, get fowl *ṭahari* to eat, as that forms the essential sacrificial meal. As for men of other castes who may be present and have their part in the celebration, the Gorāit or ghāsi musicians eat separately from the Orāons and others, and the Ahirs who supply milk and the Kūmhārs who supply the pottery receive provisions (*sidhā*) which they cook and eat apart from the rest.

As we have seen, it is after all the men have been served that the Pāhān and the Pūjār sit down before a leaf-plate of fowl *ṭahari* each and take up a morsel each and give others permission to eat. When about half the *ṭahari* has been consumed, the man who secreted the Cheprāi fowl inside his clothes suddenly gets up and with his hands and mouth unwashed begins to run in the direction of the village. A number of men get up and chase him to some distance with half-burnt wood taken out of the hearth and with shouts of "Seize him! Seize him! Beat him!" The pursuers soon return and sit down to eat again.

The Orāon women of the village who have already assembled at the Pāhān's house, have taken their  
**Women's Feast** seats in front of a huge basket filled with boiled rice and an earthen vessel filled with curry of which cakes (*bari*) of *urid* (*Phaseolus roxburghii*) forms the main ingredient, when the Cheprāi running away from his pursuers, quietly enters the house and sits down beside the basket of boiled rice and silently helps himself to as much of the rice and curry as he pleases. When he has had his fill, he leaves the *Cheprāi* fowl there, and takes a bath and goes home. The women, including the female inmates of the Pāhān's house, all now sit down to a hearty feast.

By the time the women have finished their dinner (by about 10 o'clock at night) the men, led  
**Dancing and Singing** by the Pāhān and the Pūjār, arrive there, carrying the utensils and other things they had taken to the *sārānā*. The rest of the night is spent by men

and women, boys and girls, of the village in dancing at the village ākhṛā, while many old men sit down to watch the dancing and singing. Next morning they begin a new class of songs, the first song of this class sung being,—

*Gobari gaddinū hinūa chi'khā lāgi,*

*Kāl, pelō, menār bārko;*

*Ilīnūa chikhā lāgi.*

"In the cow-dung pit, sings the Hinūa bird;

Go thou, O girl, and hear the Hinūa sing".

Other songs of this class follow.

In the morning, the Pāhān's wife cleanses a spot in the middle of the village ākhārā with cow-dung and water and places a *sūp* filled with *ārūa* rice for the young bachelors of the village to offer to the Lūgū spirit. The bachelors come up with a stone pounder (*lōrhā*) and place it on the cowedunged spot with its two ends pointing east and west. The spirit Lūgū is supposed to reside in this *lōrhā* or pounding stone. One of the bachelors takes up the rice-filled *sūp* under his [left] arm-pit, and the rest of them each takes in his hands a little rice from the *sūp*. They all stand there arranging themselves in two rows in the shape of two crescents, leaving a pathway between. A young man of nervous or psychic temperament and believed to "possess a light *chhāin* (shade)" is selected as *pāi-chālōwā* to move the *lōrhā* or rather to be led by the spirit in it to the proper person. The boys all sprinkle rice on the *lōrhā* (as offerings to the Lūgū spirit in it), and exclaim, "Select the person who will always serve you properly and keep you pleased." The boy (*Pāi-Chālōwā*) with the "light *chhāin*" lightly places his hands on the *lōrhā*, and his hands begin to shake, and the *lōrhā* moves on, and the boy with it lightly touching it. The other boys move on with the *lōrhā* keeping to their arrangement in rows, till the *lōrhā* touches the feet of some boy who is thereupon selected as the *Dhāngār Pāhān*. Then one of the bachelors washes the feet of the selected *Dhāngār Pāhān* with water and tells him, "You have been



duly elected Pāhān of *Mūtri-Chāṇḍi*. Do not go anywhere this day. We are going to catch fowls. Wait till we come back to fetch you." The boy Pāhān awaits their return either at his own house or at some other place. It is by a similar method that the village Pāhān or priest is periodically selected in some villages. A young man of nervous temperament is blindfolded and made to hold a long pole with the *sarnā sūp* inserted into one end of it which is cleft. The *sarnā* spirit residing in the *sūp* is believed to lead the blindfolded young man to the man whom the spirit chooses to be its priest. The outgoing priest or some other village headman scatters rice-offerings to the spirit all along the way (See illustration 6.)

The Dhāngars then seize a black fowl or one black and one red fowl from the house of some Orāon of the village. Then they go to the newly-elected *Dhāngar-Pāhān*, and one of the stalwart young men carries him on his shoulders to the seat of the *Mūtri-Chāṇḍi* spirit which is marked by a stone half-embedded in the ground under a tree. Other *dhāngars* accompany them to the spot, one of them carrying the *sūp* with rice on it, and another carrying a metal jug (*lōṭā*) filled with water. A hole is dug at the foot of the stone. By the side of the *Mūtri-Chāṇḍi* stone some rice is placed in two *kūris* or small piles for the two chickens to "graze" upon. As the chickens begin to eat up the rice, they are sacrificed, the *Dhāngar-Pāhān* saying, "O *Mūtri-Chāṇḍi*, these are being offered to you for the whole year. May our songs and dances go on merrily during the year. May we flourish." The blood of the sacrificed chickens is sprinkled on the *Mūtri-Chāṇḍi* stone and poured into the hole. The heads of sacrificed fowls and a few *biṇḍios* or ear ornaments which have been robbed for the purpose by the young bachelors from the ears of the maidens of the villages are also thrown into the hole by the boys shouting, '*Kūkkoe Khaṇḍar ghātra-neka; kūkkoe khāddar bārhma neka*'. "May female children decrease; may male children increase." The young bachelors then micturate into the hole. This is believed to please the spirit. They then fill

up the hole with earth and proceed to a little distance. From there they pelt clods of earth at the tree so that the clods may come down and fall just over the filled-up hole. Now the boys, carrying the *Dhāngar-Pāhān* on the shoulders of one or more of them, proceed to the house of the village Pāhān and leave him inside the latter's kitchen where the former forthwith begins to rummage all the cooking-pots and help himself to whatever remnants of food he may lay hands on. The other *Dhāngars* in the meanwhile go on pelting clods of earth at the walls of the Pāhān's house. They are given a *pailā* (about a pound and a half) of rice by the village Pāhān and with this and the meat of the sacrificial fowls prepare *ṭahari*, or pishpash, and have a hearty meal of it. They then go to the *ākhārā* to sing and dance.

At each Oraon house in the village a pot of rice-beer has been brewed for the occasion which the  
**Beer for sons-in-law** *dāmāds* or sons-in-law (that is, persons long married to girls of the family) now strain and which the new *dāmāds* (that is, persons recently married to girls of the family) serve to all relatives and friends which include practically all the Oraons of the village besides other relatives hailing as guests from other villages. This pot of liquor is known as *Ghāns-jhārowni hāṇḍiā*. The Oraons of the village and their invited relatives go on from house to house drinking this *Ghāns-jhārowni hāṇḍiā* at the hands of the *dāmāds* (sons-in-law) of the villagers. These *dāmāds* are anointed with a kind of red-earth powder by such female relatives by marriage as may stand in joking relations (*hāns-nātua*) with them, such as actual sisters-in-law and grandmothers-in-law and those standing in such relations in the classificatory sense. These female relations are in their turn similarly anointed with powdered red-earth by the *dāmāds*. Then all make obeisance (*salām*) to one another.

After the *Ghāns-jhārowni hāṇḍiā* is drunk, another pot of rice-beer known as the *Bātāri-bharnā hāṇḍiā* is brought out to the Pāhān's courtyard. One of the men strains the liquor. The village Gōṛāit now comes there playing upon his

drum, and his wife accompanies him, carrying a basket of *sāl* blossoms. The basket is made over to the Pūjār who arranges the *sāl* blossoms one by one on an ordinary *sūp*, the *sarnā-sūp* with the sacrificial knife inserted in it having been hung up\*, as before, inside the Pāhān's hut for fear of being deseciated by the touch of the profane. The village *Māhāto* (secular headman) and other village elders come up. The Pūjār inserts a *sāl* blossom into the ear of each man and into the hair of each woman present there, while some one else goes on serving rice-beer to all present. Then the Pāhān holding a *sūp* and the Pūjār his *bāṭāri* with their faces to the east, squat on the floor of the Pāhān's house, the latter just to the right of the former, under the *sarnā sūp* suspended from the roof. A cup of rice-beer is now handed over to the Pūjār and another cup to the Pāhān. Each of them drops a little of the liquor on the *bāṭāri* and on the *sūp* and drinks the remaining liquor in his cup. Then the two men sing in chorus—

*Le Le Le Munō jhārā deoman-ghātāia jhāra,*

*Sārē Gosāin Sārem.*

*Hāerē Khaddi mānoē, hāerē Fāgu mānoē, Sarem !*

“ O ! O ! O ! New Rice-beer god !

Beer for marriage-relatives !

It is *Sarhul* God !

O ! It is *Sarhul* ! O ! It is *Fagu* ! ”

The women, led by the Pāhān's wife and the Pūjār's wife, sing

*Rāhāri Chākhnā Gōsāi !*

*Jhūrūngā Chākhnā, Gōsai !*

*Bārōe Chākhnā Gōsāi !*

*Khesāri Chākhnā Gōsāi !*

*Hāerē Khaīdī Mānoē !*

*Hāerē Fāgu Mānoē !*

*Hāere Gosai Sarem !*

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\* Unless the turn for a periodical change of Pāhān falls on a particular year in which year the *sarnā-sūp* is also changed in the manner described later.

The sauce† of *rahar*,\* O God !

Sauce made of *boḍi*,\* O God !

Sauce of *barai*,\* O God !

Sauce made of *khesari*,\* O God !

O ! It is *Surhul* ! O ! It is Fagu — God !

The Pūjrāin now brings a large jarful of water, and after filling her husband's *bāṭāri* with this water, pours the rest of the water over the heads of the Pāhān and the Pūjār. Thus drenched, the Pāhān takes up the *sūp* containing *sāl* blossoms, and the Pūjār takes up his *bāṭāri* filled with water, and they start with the Gōṛāit musicians following them, playing on drums (*dhōl* and *nāgera* and pipes or *sānhāi*) and visit every house in the village. A few elders of the village accompany them. At the door of every house, the Pūjār drops water from his *bāṭāri* so as to describe a circle, and then goes to the part of the house where paddy and other wealth of the family is kept and there too describes a circle with water from his *bāṭāri*, and the Pāhān and the Pūjār squat down in the middle of the circle, facing east, the Pāhān to left of the Pūjār. This is believed to bring luck to the family and increase its wealth. The mistress of the house comes there with a brass plate, a small cup (*mālīa*) of oil, and a large jar of water and proceeds to rub oil over the Pāhān's feet placed over the brass-plate, and pours water over his legs. Then she similarly rubs oil over the Pūjār's feet and pours the rest of the water on his legs. The oil remaining over in her cup is rubbed on their chests and dropped over their heads. Then she also rubs just a little oil on the feet of the other elders of the party and washes their feet. She then holds forward the front part (*ānchal*) of her cloth and on this the Pāhān puts some *sāl* blossoms three times with the joined palms of his hands, and, each time this is done, the woman makes obeisance (*salaam*) to the Pāhān by touching her own forehead with the front part of her cloth

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\**Rahar*, *boḍi*, *barai*, *khesari* are names of different kinds of pulse which are fried and used as sauce or appetiser to add relish to rice-beer.

† The Hindi word 'chakhna' (here translated as 'sauce' for want of a better word) is used of something eaten in India as an appetiser with liquor.

with the *sāl* blossoms in it. If she can afford it, she puts one or two copper coins into the Pūjār's *bāṭāri* as the perquisite of the Pāhān and the Pūjār. The Pūjār inserts one or two *sāl* blossoms over the ear of each man and into the chignon of each woman of the house. Then he takes up with his fingers a little earth moistened with water from his *biṭāri* and with it marks the forehead of each person by way of blessing him.

As soon as the Pāhān and Pūjār and the men leave a house, the Pāhānāin and the Pūjārāin with some female companions enter the house and dance on the floor by the side of the *mōrās* (straw bundles) of paddy where the Pāhān and the Pūjār had sat down, and bespatter the *mōrās* with mud. They go on dancing till rice-beer is strained; and then they sit down and liquor is served to them all in leaf-cups. Then they sing, "*Rākhāri Chākhnā*, etc." and *Chākhnā* is distributed to all. Then they go from house to house entering each house just when the Pāhān and the Pūjār leave it and dance and sing and bespatter the rice *mōrās* in the same way. When by evening all the houses in the village have been visited the Pāhān and the Pūjār return with their following of musicians, etc. to the Pāhān's house. The Pāhānāin and Pūjārāin, who have returned before them, await them at the door of the Pāhān's house, each with a jug of water, a cup of oil and a brass dish. On their arrival the Pāhān and the Pūjār each stands on one of the brass dishes, and each of the two women anoint the feet of the two men one after another with oil and wash their feet with water. The Pāhān and the Pūjār each puts down an *anna* (a penny) or so on each of the two oil-cups for the two women. The two men then enter the room in which the *sarnā-sūp* is hung up, and squat on the floor underneath the *sūp* for a short while, the Pāhān putting down his *sūp* on the ground and the Pūjār putting down his *baṭāri* by the side of this *sūp*. It may be noted that if it be a big village and all the houses cannot be finished in one day, the same procedure is followed the next day, and, if necessary, the day following. The room in which the *sarnā-sūp* is hung up is considered sacred and no outsider is admitted into it, and even members of the family cannot touch the *sūp* until after rice-beer offering

has been made to the spirit in it. If any infringement of this rule occurs, the spirit, it is believed, takes offence and visits the house and the village with sickness and other troubles.

That evening a feast is given at the Pāhān's house. After the Pāhān and the Pūjār have rested a short while

**Batari-sopna** on the floor of the *sarnā-sūp* room in the Pāhān's house, the Pūjār's wife fills her husband's *bāṭari* with water, and hands it back to him and he takes it up under his left arm-pit. In some villages the Pāhān's wife or some one else takes a *hookka* (*hubble-bubble*) and places over it a *chhilam* with tobacco and burning coal in it, and puts the *hookka* into the right hand of the Pūjār. The Pūjār smoking the *hookka*, and holding his *bāṭari* under his arm-pit, is taken up on the shoulders of men and carried to his own house. The Pāhān and his wife, and other Orāons, male and female, of the village follow the Pūjār to his house in procession, with dancing and singing and music. As soon as the party is in sight, people at the Pūjār's house bring out on the *āṅgan* (courtyard) of the house, a number of earthen jars filled with water; and when the party pour out the water from the jars into the *āṅgan*, all dance in this wet *āṅgan* so as to make it all full of mud. This is believed to bring about seasonable and abundant rainfall and success in wet cultivation of paddy. They go on singing and dancing till rice-beer is ready. Then, if the people are still in their senses, the men sit down a little apart from the women. The liquor is distributed to all from the *bāṭari* into leaf-cups. Then all are treated to a hearty meal of rice and curry made of *dūbki* (small cakes made of *ūrid* pulse.) After the feast all return home.

Next morning the Pūjār and other elders of the village again go to the Pāhān's house. A jar of **Installing the Sarna-Sup (Sup-baithana)** ice-beer, called the *sūp-baithānā hāṇḍiā* is a ken to the compartment where the *sarnā-sūp* is ordinarily hung up. The Pāhān enters the compartment and takes a little rice-beer in a leaf-cup and spills it on the

*sarnā-sūp*, saying, "From to-day remain seated quietly on this *sūp*, and do not visit us during the year with any troubles and sorrows." It may be noted that the *sarnā-sūp* is hung up supported against a wall of the room so that the wind may not shake it, for such shaking would signify that the spirit has been disturbed and has left the *sūp*. When the *sarnā-sūp* has been thus installed, the *Chāṇḍī* flags put up at the door of the Pāhān's house on the evening of the day preceding the *Sarkhūl*, are taken down.

From the time that the *dhāngars* catch crabs for the *Sarkhūl* festival until the *sarnā-sūp* is ceremonially installed back in its place, nobody in the

### Taboos

village, not even an alien landlord, is permitted to dig the earth or use the plough or engage in any operation of cultivation or even to gather edible herbs (*sāg*) or climb a tree. It is believed that during this period the *Sarnā* spirit wanders at will and harms anyone climbing a tree or digging earth. Up till the *sūp-baiṭhāna* ceremony in his village it is taboo for an Orāon to eat sāl blossoms or other new flowers and vegetables and fruits of the season.

The only exception to this rule which now occurs, though rather rarely, is that of a village where after the *Pāgu Sikār* (in March), sāl blossoms are ceremonially consecrated and taken from house to house by the village Pāhān in order to make it permissible for the villagers to eat new edible leaves (*sāgs*) of the season. After the *Puñp-kherna* or *Phul-khūsi* ceremony described above has taken place in any village, and the taboo against eating new flowers, vegetables and fruits of the season has been thereby removed, a person of that village is not permitted to touch the well or spring of a village in which that ceremony has not yet been celebrated; nor to touch any food or drink or even lime and tobacco from any person of such a village, or even to enter the hut of any one of such a village or to touch a mat spread out to dry paddy or other grains in such a village. Even a woman of such a village who may be married to a village where the *Phul-khūsi*

ceremony has taken place is not permitted to enter the house of her parents or touch any article appertaining to that house. If she happens to come to her parents' village, she will be accommodated outside the house where food and drink will be provided for her without anybody touching her and she will otherwise be treated as an untouchable, and any utensil or mat or other thing used by her will not be taken into the house until the *Phūl-khūsi* ceremony has taken place in her parents' village. If she or any other person belonging to a village where the *Phūl-khūsi* ceremony has taken place, happens to come in contact with a well or spring of the village where the ceremony has not taken place, the water of the well or spring in question will be regarded as polluted and its water will require to be baled out before it can be used by anybody in the village. A person belonging to a village where the *Phūl-khūsi* ceremony has been celebrated may not even be married to a person belonging to a village where *Phūl-khūsi* has not yet taken place. In fact, persons belonging to a village where *Phūl-khūsi* has not yet taken place will, except in cases of urgent necessity, avoid visiting a village where *Phūl-khūsi* has been celebrated; and even if necessity may compel a person to go to or pass through such a village he (or she) will go away from such village as soon as practicable. It is believed that any breach of such taboos will entail damage to the crops of the village where *Phūl-khūsi* has not yet taken place; but contact with a person or thing belonging to a village where *Phūl-khūsi* has not yet taken place can cause no harm to a village where *Phūl-khūsi* has been celebrated. The reason for this taboo on the one village and exemption from taboo in the other village, appears to be a belief that contact with persons or things belonging to a village where the taboo against the new vegetables, etc., no longer exists, and of which the inhabitants now freely partake of the things yet tabooed to the other village, amounts to a breach by the latter village of the taboo against such food.



## V.—Asura Expansion in India

By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D. (Oxon.)

To a student of history to-day, the world seems strewn with *memento moris*. Peoples, speeches cultural remains float as stray waifs. From the Newton stone inscription <sup>1</sup> in Scotland the north-west of the Old world, to the Maya ruins in Yucatan <sup>2</sup> the easternmost Indian settlement of the New, man's progress through ages abound in lost links. The landmarks in between are many. Basque <sup>3</sup> on either side of the Pyrenees, Etruscan <sup>4</sup> in the heart of Italy, Lydians <sup>5</sup> and Phrygians <sup>6</sup> in Greece, Brahui <sup>7</sup> in Baluchistan, Savar <sup>8</sup> in Rajputana remain philological puzzles. Archæological discoveries in the isle of Crete <sup>9</sup> and the Indus valley <sup>10</sup> are a direct challenge to orthodoxy in research. The work of reconstruction began with the Tel-Amarna tablets from Egypt, scattered tablets from Palestine mounds and Hittite tablets at Boghaz Keui. The result has been a continuous history from the third millennium B.C. with 'Egypt-Babylon-Assyria-Persia-Greece' as the pivot, and 'a tale of interchange of diplomatic correspondence, with inter-marriage between royal houses, such as would hardly have been suggested as possible in the third millennium'. <sup>11</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Thomson, *P.S.A.S.*, v. 22a.

<sup>2</sup> Gann, *The Morning Post*, May, 1925.

<sup>3</sup> Meillet, *Les Langues dans l'Europe Nouvelle*, p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> *C.A.H.*, Vol. IV. p. 385-94.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Herodotus, VII. 73.

<sup>7</sup> *Imp. Gaz.* I. p. 310.

<sup>8</sup> *Ency. Brit.* IXth Ed. Vol. XII. p. 778.

<sup>9</sup> Evans, *The Palace of Minos*.

<sup>10</sup> Marshall, *I.L.N.*, Sept. 1924.

<sup>11</sup> *C.A.H.*, Vol. II. p. 228.

Repercussions on current theories have been far-reaching. Co-lateral suggestions have produced some interesting *obiter dicta*. Waddell's Britons as 'Hittite Phœnicians of Aryan Race,' Macalister<sup>1</sup> appraises as 'a Lewis-Carrolite compendium of incongruities', a complement to 'Bootjacks pickled are nice for tea.'

The question at issue is whether to nurse a riddle and perpetuate it or offer possible, even impossible, solutions and provoke discussions. Credulity may lead to credibility. It may not. In any case, pre-historic times as a penumbra of history approach nearer in view.

The Asura in India has long been a riddle. Mahenjo-Daro<sup>2</sup> has lifted the veil. Recorded data may fill in the gaps. Earliest Indian literature, the Vedic hymns<sup>3</sup> find them at the Indus mouth: in later days in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,<sup>4</sup> they had reached and settled in the east of India:<sup>5</sup> the Buddhist, Jain, Epic and Purāṇa evidence traces their course. Asura attempts to reach the North-West by the tributaries of the Indus failed. The massacre at Taxila<sup>6</sup> was a belated clearing up of the Asura descendants in the north by the Aryans. The Asura expansion southwards to Ceylon attained an epoch of greatness long before the toiling Indo-Aryan hordes by land in the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>7</sup> met their peninsular outposts under Khara and Dūṣaṇa<sup>8</sup>, and outwitted them with the help of their Dāsa allies, the 'noseless'<sup>9</sup> aborigines, the 'ugly men' (vā-nara) looking like 'monkeys' and 'bears'. The story ends with the Indo-Aryan conquest of the last Asura

<sup>1</sup> Macalister, *The Present and Future of Archaeology in Ireland*, 1925, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Marshall, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Śat. Br. vi. 8, 1, 14, Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 124; Ludwig, *Rgveda* Tr. 3, 175.

<sup>4</sup> Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, I, p. 189.

<sup>5</sup> Muir *O.S.T.*, vol. ii. p. 485.

<sup>6</sup> *Sarpayajna* of Janamejaya. *MBh.* I. 43. 26. 50, 29.

<sup>7</sup> *Rāmāyaṇa Aranya* and *Kiṣkin dhā*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* *Aranya*, canto XVIII. ff.

<sup>9</sup> Knauper, Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, 29, 52.

stronghold of Ceylon. The vanquished Asura merges and disappears in the Dāsa.

From the third millennium B.C. Egypt-Babylor-Assyria-<sup>1</sup> 'Persia-Greece' hellenizes the west through Rome-Egypt-Babylor-Assyria-India (Asura-Arya-Dāsa),<sup>2</sup> continues the work in the East, colonizes and civilizes from the Indus-mouth to Ceylon, to Sumatra, Bali, Java and Indo-china,<sup>3</sup> and, through Buddhism, China<sup>4</sup> up to the confines of Japan<sup>5</sup>. Thence across the Behring straits of to-day, lie the immense lands of the Red Indians—their name and culture still unexplored under the snug shelter of a reputed mistake of Columbus.<sup>6</sup> Thus man's history at either end loses in speculation. In such sweeping outlines, incongruities are inevitable. Continuous revision is, however, a safeguard—always envisaging the later stages in the light of corrected earlier data. Points of arrival and of departure are examined, leaving the beginnings and ends of things to shape themselves accordingly. Crete for Europe<sup>7</sup> and Mahenjo-Daro for India<sup>8</sup> supply such central links. Dante's<sup>9</sup> *nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita* is a symbol not only of life but of research. The present discussion will follow the Asura expansion from the Indus-mouth to Magadha<sup>10</sup> in the East of India, with its ramifications to the North<sup>11</sup> and to the South down to Ceylon.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C.A.H., vol. IV. p. 1

<sup>2</sup> J.B.O.E.S. XII. p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> Lévi. *Le Catalogue des Yakça Dans Mahānāguri*. J.A.

<sup>4</sup> Maspero, B.E.F.E.—O., 1910, p. 95; Chavannes, T'oung Pao. S. Das, J.A.S.B., 1882, pp. 89ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Textes Sanscrits découverts en Japon*. Annales Musée Guimet, II (1881)

<sup>6</sup> Ency. Brit. *op. cit.* p. 822.

<sup>7</sup> *Etats, Essai de classification des Époques de la civilisation Minoenne*. London, 1906.

<sup>8</sup> Marshall, *op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> Dante, *La Divina Comédie*, line 1.

<sup>10</sup> Jāśasandha, MBh. Sa. xvii. 21; Bhagadatta of Prāgyotyā (Assam), Mh Dh. xvii. 1, etc.

<sup>11</sup> Takṣaka and Takṣaśilā, MBh. A. xliii. 36; 1. 29.

<sup>12</sup> Laṅkā. MBh., the Asura capital: Ghaṭotkacha sent to exact tribute on the occasion of Yudhiṣṭhira's Rājaseūya Sacrifice. MBh. Va. 281, 42; Sa. 34, Asura Rāvaṇa's island capital, Rāmāyaṇa, Aranya, canto 30, etc.; Laṅkākāṇḍa, etc.

### Vedas

The scene of the Arya-Asura conflict in the *R̥gveda* comprised, roughly speaking the territory 'drained by the Indus river system, between the 35th and 28th parallel of northern latitude and between 70° and 78° eastern longitude'<sup>1</sup>, and corresponding to the present North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab. It included three zones. The Aryas in the North,<sup>2</sup> the Asuras to the South,<sup>3</sup> the Dāsas<sup>4</sup> in the middle, ousted in turn<sup>5</sup> by Asuras and Aryas. The Dāsas were the earliest<sup>6</sup> settlers, next the Asuras,<sup>7</sup> the latest the Aryas.

The Vedic period knew India as divided into Udīchya, Nichya, Madhyadeśa and Prāchya.<sup>8</sup> Of these the *R̥gveda* fairly stops in the Madhyadeśa—at the Jumna, with a slight acquaintance with the Ganges.<sup>9</sup> Of this again the Arya Sudās-Vasiṣṭha Bharata group had occupied the peaks and valleys of the Himalayas. Kubba (Kabul)—*R̥g.* v. 53, 9; x. 75.6, Suvastu (Swat)—*R̥g.* viii. 19, 37; Nirukta, iv. 15, Krumu (Kurram)—*R̥g.* v. 53, 9; x. 75, 6—testify to the Aryan march through Afghanistan. The mountains of the North witness their entrance into India. Himavant (*R̥g.* x. 121. 4) refers not only to the modern Himalayas but also possibly to the Suleiman Hills.<sup>10</sup> Mūjavant and Triakud suggest an eastward direction of the Aryan inroad, before it came into direct touch with 'ascending'<sup>11</sup> Asuras from the South.

<sup>1</sup> Maedonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. I, p. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, I. 97ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Rv.* i. 38. 1; *Śat. Br.* vi. 8. 1, 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Rv.* i. 59, 6; i. 131, 4; i. 174, 2; iv. 21, 10; iv. 38, 1; vi. 20, 10; vii. 5. 3; vii. 19, 3; i. 130, 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Rv.* i. 130, 7.

<sup>6</sup> *The Indian Empire*, I. 390.

<sup>7</sup> *Rv.* iv. 38, 1; vii. 19, 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Vedic Index*, op. cit., vol. I, map.

<sup>9</sup> *Rv.* x. 75, 5.

<sup>10</sup> Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, 3, 198.

<sup>11</sup> *J.B.O.B.S.*, XII. p. 114.

Mūjavant (Rg. x. 34. 1) is on the way to the Uttara Kuru and Uttara Madra. But it was already being left behind as 'a distant people in a distant land' in the Yajurveda<sup>1</sup> (Śatapatha Brahmana, ii. 6, 2, 17). Rgveda (x. 34, 1) collects Soma from Mūjavants. Yaska,<sup>2</sup> Mahidhara<sup>3</sup> and Sāyana<sup>4</sup> take Mūjavant as a well-known mountain Mūjavant. Yaska refers to the Epic<sup>5</sup> Muñjavant mountain in the Himalaya as the Vedic Mūjavant. Zimmer<sup>6</sup> seeks to locate it to the south-west of Kāśmīra. Hillebrandt<sup>7</sup> is not satisfied with Zimmer's exact location. Macdonell<sup>8</sup> accepts its historical bearing as the prototype of a people, later mentioned in the Atharvaveda<sup>9</sup> along with the Mahāvṛṣas, the Gandhāris and the Balhikas. A step further to the east and still along the Himalayan range is indicated by Trikakud.<sup>9</sup> Tri-kakud or Tri-kakubh<sup>10</sup>, Macdonell<sup>11</sup> identifies with modern Trikota. Thus far the Aryans had been clearly following a land-route. Nothing so far shows an acquaintance with the sea. *Matsya*, 'fish' occurs only once in the Rgveda (x. 68, 8). *Per contra*, *Matsya* is the appellation (Rg. vi. 18. 6) of one of the enemies of the Arya Sudās, perhaps one of the Asura group. Arya navigation of the sea is unknown, whereas *asuryam* is very often connected with the river.<sup>12</sup> Much of the controversy<sup>13</sup> about the ancient Arya's knowledge of the *Samudra* is due to a confusion between him and his rival the Asura who undoubtedly occupied all the water-

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<sup>1</sup> *Taittirīya Saṃ.* ii. 8, 6, 2; *Kāṇhaka Saṃ.* ix. 7; xxxvi. 14; *Maitr. Saṃ.* i. 4, 10, 20; *Vāj. Saṃ.* iii. 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Nirukta*, ix. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Vāj. Saṃ.* iii. 61.

<sup>4</sup> *Rv.* i. 161, 8.

<sup>5</sup> *MBh.* x. 785; xiv. 180.

<sup>6</sup> Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 29.

<sup>7</sup> *Ved. Myth.*, op. cit. I. 65.

<sup>8</sup> *Av.* v. 22, 5, 7, 8, 14.

<sup>9</sup> *Av.* iv. 9, 8.

<sup>10</sup> *Maitr. Saṃ.* iii. 6, 3.

<sup>11</sup> *Ved. Ind.*, op. cit., p. 329.

<sup>12</sup> *Rv.* ii. 33, 7.

<sup>13</sup> Zimmer, op. cit., p. 21; Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde* I. 2, 863.

ways from the Indus-mouth along its five tributaries—the Sindhu, the Vitastā, the Asiknī, the Parasnī, the Śatadri and the Vipāś. All these were under the Pūru-Bhrgu group of ten tribes led by Viśvāmitra and as the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1</sup> distinctly lays down, the Pūrus were the Asuras who fought the Aryas under Sudās and Vasistha. Thus, so far as the R̥gveda is concerned, the Arya advance can be followed from the Suvāstu<sup>2</sup> in Afghānistān to Trikakubh, modern Trikota.<sup>3</sup> And the advance was without any grave incidents. The R̥gveda story of stern struggles begins in the vicinity of the five rivers.<sup>4</sup> It is consummated on the bank of the Sarasvatī.<sup>5</sup> It leaves the Arya Bharata master of lands lying between Suvāstu and Sarasvatī. The mighty Asura horde under the Pūrus, dwellers on the Sarasvatī, Apayā and Dṛśadvatī,<sup>6</sup> fled eastward. Sudās's slaughter of Bheda<sup>7</sup> on the Jumna rounded up his conquests. The mingling of the Arya-Bharata and the Asura-Pūru in the Kurus<sup>8</sup> marked the end of the first stage.

The Arya advance from the Suvāstu to the Trikakubh was not without bitter opposition. A late-comer's Dasas 'rightful place under the sun' necessarily implies dispossession of the earlier-comer. The Arya Divodāsa<sup>9</sup> found the dark-skinned aborigines in 'his way. The latter were led by powerful chiefs like Susna, Pipra, Varchin and Śambara. Hillebrandt<sup>10</sup> has demonstrated Śambara's intricacy.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Śat. Br. vi. 8, 1, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Rv. viii. 19, 37.

<sup>3</sup> Ved. Ind., op. cit. p. 329.

<sup>4</sup> Rv. i. 97, 8; i. 125, 5; ii. 11, 9; ii. 25, 3, 5; iii. 53, 9.

<sup>5</sup> Rv. ii. 41, 16.

<sup>6</sup> Rv. vii. 96, 2; viii. 64, 10, 11; iii. 23, 4.

<sup>7</sup> Rv. vii. 18, 18, 19; 93, 3; 83, 4.

<sup>8</sup> Oldenberg, Buddha, 406-9.

<sup>9</sup> Rv. i. 112, 14; i. 116, 18; i. 119, 4; i. 130, 7, 10; i. 19, 6; iv. 26, 3; v. 30, 20; vi. 25, 3, 5; vi. 43, 1; vi. 47, 21, 22; ix. 61, 2.

<sup>10</sup> Ved. yth., op. cit. I. 103, 108; 3, 273.

<sup>11</sup> Oldenberg, Z.D.M.G., 42, 210.

Śambara had ninety (Rg. i. 130,7), ninety-nine (Rg. ii. 19,6), a hundred (Rg. ii. 14,6) forts. Śambara is called a Dāsa (Rg. vi. 26,5). All the earlier references (7 times Maṇḍ I; 4 in II; 2 in IV; 6 in VI; 2 in VII) understand him as a formidable foe<sup>1</sup> of the Arya chief Divodāsa Atithigva.<sup>2</sup> His mythical character (Rg. Maṇḍ ii and vii.) is of later origin. Śambara and his people resisted, unsuccessfully, Divodāsa and his Arya host's march from Arachosia to India. Another proof of the Arya progress, not by river, but along the mountains lies in Śambara and other chiefs like Br̥saya<sup>3</sup> and Pāravata<sup>4</sup> being described as living in the mountains.<sup>5</sup> The Asura-Pūru group had to meet with similar opposition along 'their ascent' by the waterways. Rg. i. 59,6; 131,4; 174,2; iv. 21,10; iv. 38,1; vi. 20,10; vii. 5,8; vii. 19,3, all describe desperate Dāsa efforts to stem the advancing Asura tide, but in vain. Both Trāsadasyu and Tr̥kṣi Trāsadasyava are noted among the Pūrus for success against the Dāsa. Both Purukutsa on the Asura-Pūru side and Divodāsa Atithigva and Sudāsa on the Arya-Tr̥tsu-Bharata side fought and overpowered the aboriginal Dāsa (Rg. i. 129,5; iv. 38,2; v. 17,1; vi. 46,8; x. 4,1; x. 48,5). But whereas the fight against Divodāsa is up on the hill,<sup>6</sup> that against the Pūrus is down by the rivers.<sup>7</sup> In the ensuing Arya-Asura conflict for the waterways of the Punjab up to the Sarasvatī, the dispossessed Dāsas would throw in their lot with either party, e.g. the Simyus (Rg. vii. 18,5) and Śigrus (Rv. vii. 18,19) helped the Pūru-led ten tribes against

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<sup>1</sup> Geldner, *Rigveda. Glossar*, 178.

<sup>2</sup> Roth, *St. Petersburg Diet.* Rv. i. 51,6; i. 112,14; i. 130,7; iv. 26,3; vi. 47,22.

<sup>3</sup> Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* I. 97-104.

<sup>4</sup> Rv. viii. 34,18.

<sup>5</sup> Hillebrandt, *op. cit.* I. 97. Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, 3,162,197. Geldner, *Rigveda Glossar*, 109.

<sup>6</sup> Rv. i. 130,7; ii. 12,11; vi. 23,5; vii. 18,20.

<sup>7</sup> Rv. vii. 18,8,9.

Sudās. Ilīśa <sup>1</sup>, Dhuni <sup>2</sup>, Chumuri <sup>3</sup>, Pipru <sup>4</sup>, Varchin <sup>5</sup>, the Ajas <sup>6</sup>, Yakṣus <sup>7</sup> and Sigrus <sup>8</sup>, the Kikaṭas under Pramaganda <sup>9</sup> were gradually driven eastward and southward.

Indologists <sup>10</sup> are agreed that the crux of the R̥gveda is the

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*Dāsarājñā*, 'the war of the ten kings'.<sup>11</sup>

Yet not one is sure what that war is about. The scene every one <sup>12</sup> admits, is on the Paruṣṇī: the Ārya Bharatas slowly advancing southward. But how the opposite camps, the Pūrus came to the east of the Sarasvatī <sup>13</sup> is left unexplained. Both camps are dubbed Aryan, yet unintelligibility of speech *mr̥dhravāchaḥ* <sup>14</sup> of one group *vis-à-vis* the other is passed over. The Aryan tradition of a land people about Divodāsa and Sudās is accepted, but Purāṇic mention of a people coming from 'across the sea of salt water',<sup>15</sup> stories of Bhuyyu's marine navigation <sup>16</sup> (Rv. i. 112, 6.20; i. 116,3; i. 117,14; i. 119,4; vi. 62,6; vii. 68,7; x. 40,7; vii. 62,7; x. 65,12; x. 143,5) even Pargiter's <sup>17</sup> suggestion about a body of invaders by sea (though curiously mixed up by the assumption of their coming from the east) are brushed aside. Results a hopeless confusion between the Ārya, the Asura and the Dāsa.

<sup>1</sup> Rv. i. 353.

<sup>2</sup> Rv. ii. 15,9; vi. 18,8; vi. 20,13; vii. 19,4. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, 157,158,

<sup>3</sup> Rv. vi. 20,13; x. 113,9; vi. 26,6; vi. 30,31; Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.*, 3,275.

<sup>4</sup> Rv. viii. 32,2; iv. 16,13; x. 138,3. Ludwig *op cit.*, 3,149.

<sup>5</sup> Rv. iv. 30,15; vi. 47,21; vii. 99,5.

<sup>6</sup> Rv. vii. 18,19. Zimmer, *op cit.*, p. 127.

<sup>7</sup> Rv. vii. 18,6,19. Zimmer, *op cit.*, p. 126-7.

<sup>8</sup> Rv. vii. 18,19.

<sup>9</sup> Rv. iii. 53,14.

<sup>10</sup> Roth, *Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Veda*, pp. 121ff.

<sup>11</sup> Rv. vii. 83,2,1; vii. 83,8.

<sup>12</sup> Geldner, *Rigveda, Kommentar*, 103.

<sup>13</sup> Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, 3,175.

<sup>14</sup> Rv. vii. 18,19.

<sup>15</sup> *Bhaviṣṣya Purāṇa*.

<sup>16</sup> Buhler, *Indische Palaeographie*, 17.

<sup>17</sup> *J.E.A.S.*, 1908, pp. 851-3.



Yet the indications are unmistakeable. The 'ten kings' led by the Pūrus—the Alinas, the Pakthas, the Bhalānases, the Śivas, the Viṣāṇins, the Anus, the Druhyus, the Turvaśa, the Yadus, the Pūrus—are explicitly differentiated from the Bharāta Sudās group. The Pūrus are enemies of the Tṛtsus (Rv. vii. 18,13) and of the Bharatas (Rv. vii. 8,4) to both of whom is affiliated the Arya Sudās (Rv. vii. 20,2 ; vii. 25,3 ; vii. 32,10 ; vii. 64,3 ; vii. 83,1). Vasiṣṭha was the priest of Sudās <sup>1</sup> (Rv. vii. 231), Viśvāmitra <sup>2</sup> of the Pūrus, though Viśvāmitra before the actual conflict was a helper of Sudās (Rv. iii. 33,63). Aryan in the R̥gveda (Rv. i. 51,8 ; i. 130,8 ; i. 156,5) is sharply distinguished from Dāsa (Rv. i. 51, 8,9 ; i. 103,3 ; vi. 20,10 ; 25,2,3). The Aitareya (iii. 2,5) and Śāṅkhyāyana Aranyakas <sup>3</sup> viii. 9 lay stress on speech *vāc*, as a criterion of judging an Aryan from a non-Aryan. The Taittīriya Samhitā (vi. 4,7,3) and the Maitrayaṇī Samhitā (iv. 5,8) emphasize its divine character for Aryans. But specially important is the attempt in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (iii. 2,1,23) to differentiate Aryan speech from Asura speech. The same insistence on speech as of the pure Aryan type or otherwise can be traced in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (iii. 2,3,15) praise for the Kuru-Pañchālas—*uttarāhi vāg vadati Kurupañchālātrā*.<sup>4</sup> It would thus follow that whereas *varṇa* or 'colour' is the basis of distinction <sup>5</sup> between the Arya and Dāsa (Rv. ii. 12,4 ; iii. 34,9 ; i. 104,2), *vāc* or 'speech' was the dividing line between Arya and Asura (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa iii. 2,1,23,24). Hence Macdonell <sup>6</sup> rightly doubts the opinion of Weber <sup>7</sup> that the five peoples known to the R̥gveda were all Aryans. As a matter of fact the Pūrus are distinctly

<sup>1</sup> *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vii. 34,9 ; viii. 21,11. *Śāṅkhyāyana Sranta Sūtra* xvi. 11,14.

<sup>2</sup> Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, pp. 15,260ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Aitareya Aranyaka*, i.52. Eggeeling, *S.B.E.*, 41.20un.

<sup>4</sup> *Sat. Br.* iii. 2,3,15. Franke, *Pāli und Sanskrit*, 89.

<sup>5</sup> *Arya varṇa* as against *dasyu*, Rv. iii. 34,9 ; ii. 3,5.

<sup>6</sup> Macdonell, *Fed. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 66.

<sup>7</sup> Weber, *Indische Studien*, 17,288.

non-Aryan<sup>1</sup> in speech—*Pūrum vidathe mṛdhravācham*<sup>2</sup> (Rv. vii. 18,13). To corroborate all these, comes the direct statement in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (vi. 8.1.14) that Pūru in the R̥gveda (vii. 8,4) is an Asura. Hence Asura expansion in India might conveniently take the ten tribes under the leadership of the Pūrus as its primary point of departure.

A glance at the rough map in the Vedio Index by Macdonell and Keith will show the gradual upward march *dyāmārohanam* of the Asuras. The ten tribes<sup>3</sup> occupy all the tributaries of the Sindhū. (1) The Pakthas (Rv. vii. 18,7) had reached between the Kubha and the Krumu and were the northernmost Asura outpost. Zimmer<sup>4</sup> identifies them with the modern Pakthūn in Eastern Afghanistan. Herodotus<sup>5</sup> knew them as Paktus of Paktuike in the north-west of India. Macdonell<sup>6</sup> confused their relative position by placing them north of the Bharatas. The Bharatas could not have reached Madhyadeśa with an undefeated Asura force in their rear. The Pakthas opposed<sup>7</sup> the Tr̥tsu-Bharatas and are connected with Tr̥sadasyu of the Pūru tribe (Rv. viii. 49,10). It is only after their defeat along with the Pūrus, the road to the Madhyadeśa lay clear for the Arya Bharatas. (2) To the east in a southerly direction, between the Mehatanu and the Sindhū, stretched the Alinas (Rv. vii. 18,7). Closely allied to the Pakthas,<sup>8</sup> they were related to the Pūrus and fought

<sup>1</sup> Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* I. 89,90,114. The 'five peoples' are described as opposed to the Bharatas, in *Sat. Br.* xiii. 5,4,14 and *Attareya Br.* viii. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, 2.135. Viśvāmitra is supposed to invoke aid for the Pūrus in "an unintelligible speech." This unintelligibility of speech and an attempt to acquire the Aryan speech on the part of Viśvāmitra are further hinted at in Rv. iii. 53.15,16,21-24. Durga (on the Nirukta); declined to explain (Muir, *op. cit.*, 2.344). His successors attempted and missed the meaning. Oldenberg, *R̥gveda Notes* I. 254.

<sup>3</sup> Rv. vii. 33. Geldner, *Ved. Stüd.*, 2.130.

<sup>4</sup> Zimmer. *Altindisches Leben*, 430.431.

<sup>5</sup> Herodotus, vii. 85; iii. 102; iv. 44.

<sup>6</sup> Macdonell and Keith, *Ved. Ind.*, vol. I. p. 464.

<sup>7</sup> Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, 15, 260.

<sup>8</sup> Rv. vii. 18, 17.

the Bharatas at the Dāsarājña. Ludwig <sup>1</sup> has rectified Roth's <sup>2</sup> mistake in affiliating them to the Trtsus. Their region roughly corresponds to the north-east of Kafirstan.<sup>3</sup> (3) South of the Pakthas, spread the Bhalānas (Rv. vii. 18,7) another tribe very clearly related to the Pūru group. They fought the Aryas under Sudās.<sup>4</sup> The tract roughly refers to East Kabulistan and Zimmer <sup>5</sup> points out a similarity in name with the Bolan Pass. (4) Further down, between the Krumu and the Gomatī were the Viṣanins (Rv. vii. 18,7), enemies of the Trtsu-Bharatas and allies of the Pūrus. (5) Between the Sindhu and the Vitastā to the east, lay the Śivas (Rv. vii. 18, 7) another group of the Pūru forces, opposed to the Arya Bharatas under Sudās.<sup>6</sup> The name itself is significant as reminiscent of Rudra, the Asura deity.<sup>7</sup> These five were the outposts of the main group of the Pūrus on the main stream of the Sindhu, with headquarters on either side of the Sarasvatī. (Rv. vi. 61.12) The main body on the Sarasvatī (Rv. x. 58, 4) comprises (6) the Anus, (7) the Druhyus, (8) the Yadus, (9) the Turvasa and (10) the Pūrus (Rv. i. 108, 8). They are very often called *pañcha-janāh*.<sup>8</sup> The term *pañcha* is a mystery. Against Roth<sup>9</sup> and Geldner<sup>10</sup>, Zimmer <sup>11</sup> seeks to exclude the Dāsa from its scope. But if it ever meant the Arya-Bharata is a matter of conjecture.<sup>12</sup> That it stood for the Asura-Pūru group in particular is proved by Rv. i. 108, 8. Whether the Asuras in the Indus Valley and the Phœnicians were related will be discussed

<sup>1</sup> Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, 3,207.

<sup>2</sup> Roth, *Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Wēda*, 95.

<sup>3</sup> Rv. vii. 18,7.

<sup>4</sup> *Altindisches Leben*, 186.

<sup>5</sup> Zimmer, *op. cit.*, 430-1.

<sup>6</sup> Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 431.

<sup>7</sup> Weber, *Indische Studien*, pp. 13, 376, *J.B.O.R.* i., xii. p. 124, Rv. x. 34, 2.

<sup>8</sup> Rv. i. 108, 8; Zimmer, *op. cit.* p. 122.

<sup>9</sup> Roth, *Nirukta Erläuterungen*, 28.

<sup>10</sup> Geldner, *Siebensig, Lieder*, 18.

<sup>11</sup> Zimmer, *op. cit.*, 119-23.

<sup>12</sup> Macdonell and Keith, *Ved. Ind.* p. 65.

later. But it may be mentioned in this connection that Waddell<sup>1</sup> has been ridiculed for his suggested equation of *pañcha* with phœnic-es.<sup>2</sup> But ridicule leaves the puzzle worse than ever. In any case, these five tribes were led by the Asura Pūrus. (6) The Yadus (Rv. i. 36, 18; i. 54, 6; i. 174, 9; iv. 30, 17 etc.) were to the east of the Marudvṛdhā. They lent powerful aid<sup>3</sup> to the Pūrus against the Arya Bharata Sudas (Rv. vii. 18, 6). (7) The Druhyu, (8) the Turvaśa and (9) the Anus were settled between the Asiknī and the Paruṣṇī. The Druhyus (Rv. i. 108, 8) were allied to the Pūrus against Sudās.<sup>4</sup> More pertinent to the present discussion is the description of the Druhyu king perishing in the waters (Rv. vii. 18) —evidently their own element in times of stress. (8) The Turvaśa (Rv. i. 108, 8) are correctly taken by Macdonell<sup>5</sup> as a tribe closely allied to the Yadus, against Hopkins<sup>6</sup> attempt to restrict it to the name of a king. The Turvaśas, as allies of the Pūrus, fought Sudās, after crossing the Paruṣṇī. As the Bharatas had by then engaged the main body on the Sarasvatī, the Turvaśas may, as held by Pischel<sup>7</sup> and Geldner<sup>8</sup>, have crossed from the west to the east. (9) The Anus (Rv. i. 108, 8; Rv. vii. 18, 14; Rv. viii. 10, 5) are connected with the Bhr̥guṣ<sup>9</sup> and allied to the Pūrus in their conflict with Sudās (Rv. i. 108, 8). It is of interest to note that Grassman and Roth<sup>10</sup> had instinctively seen in them a people foreign to the Vedic Aryan and, of course, different from the Dāsa. (10) This leads to the main body, the Pūrus called Asuras in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (vi. 8, 1, 14). Their centre is on the

<sup>1</sup> Waddell, *Phœnician Origin of Britons, Scots and Anglo-Saxons*, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Macalister, *op cit.* p. 15. Also *Ind. Ant.* 1925.

<sup>3</sup> Rv. ix. 30, 18.

<sup>4</sup> Rv. vii. 18, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.* 153-4.

<sup>6</sup> Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, 16, 258 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Vedische Studien* 2, 218.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 3, 152.

<sup>9</sup> Rv. viii. 3, 9; viii. 6, 18; vii. 102, 4, Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, 16, 262.

<sup>10</sup> Both, *St. Petersburg Diet.*

Sarasvatī (Rv. vii. 96, 2). The Pūrus had advanced earlier to the west.<sup>1</sup> Alexander met a colony on the Hydaspes<sup>2</sup> of Poros. They had spread eastward in later Kurukṣetra.<sup>3</sup> They were recognized all along the Sindhu. Theirs was the last Asura stand between the Sarasvatī, Apayā and Dṛṣadvatī against the Aryan onrush from the north. And they failed India became Indo-Aryan. Ended the Vedic Arya-Asura epoch of between the Suvastu and the Sarasvatī-Dṛṣadvatī. Began the Brāhmanical Arya culture-era of the Madhyadeśa, between the confluence of the Saravastī and the Dṛṣadvatī in the west and that of the Sadānīra and the Ganges on the east. And the dominant Asura of the R̥gveda seeks fresh but lonely fields ahead.

To sum up. The R̥gvedic geography divides India—the North-West and the Punjab—into two camps. The Aryas 'on the height'<sup>4</sup> moving along the mountains downwards—with the rude contrivances of a land people. The Asuras following the Sindhu (the Indus) and its tributaries both north-west and to the east—gradually 'spreading upwards' <sup>5</sup> *dyāmarohantam*. The main centre of the Asuras was on the Sarasvatī,<sup>6</sup> its two flanks stretched along the Indus,<sup>7</sup> east and west. A sure sea-sense gave them mastery over the whole fertile plains lying between the Kubhā<sup>8</sup> on the north-west, the Indus<sup>9</sup> on the south-west, the Vipās<sup>10</sup> on the north-east and the Sarasvatī<sup>11</sup> on the south-east. Reconnoitring parties had penetrated as far as the Sarayū (Rv. iv. 30, 18). The Turvaśa-Yadu Asuras had overcome

<sup>1</sup> Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth*, I. 114ff.

<sup>2</sup> Arrian, *Indica*, viii. 4, ix. i.

<sup>3</sup> Ludwig *op. cit.*, 3, 175..

<sup>4</sup> Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth* I. 98. Grierson, *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, 637ff.

<sup>5</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.*, XII. p. 126. | Rv. ii., 12, 12.

<sup>6</sup> Rv. vii. 96, 2; viii. 64, 10, 11.

<sup>7</sup> Hillebrandt, *op. cit.*, I. 114.

<sup>8</sup> Rv. v. 53, 9; x. 75, 6.

<sup>9</sup> Rv. i. 132, 390, 438; ii. 11, 27, 180, 434, 436, 450.

<sup>10</sup> Rv. i. 63, 99, 169, 310, 321; ii. 301, 434, 454.

<sup>11</sup> Hillebrandt, *op. cit.*, I. 50, 115; i. 3, 374.

a party of Aryans<sup>1</sup> on the Sarayū led by Chitraratha and Arpa. The episode testifies to Aryan infiltration eastward in the Madhyadesa which gradually drove the Asuras further east. The 'seven rivers' *Saptasvasā* (Rv. viii. 24, 27; vii. 36, 6; viii. 54, 4; vi. 64, 10, 12)—Sarasvatī with the Indus. The Kubbā, and the five Punjab rivers—the Vitastā, the Asiknī, the Paruṣṇī, the Sutudrī and the Vipās with adjoining lands were all in the hands of the ten tribes led by the Asura Pūrus. Their natural base was the Indus-mouth which kept them in touch with the Ocean,<sup>2</sup> *Samudra* (Rv. i. 56, 2; iv. 55, 6) the venue for people eager for gain *Sarisyavaḥ* (Rv. i. 56, 2; iv. 55, 6). It was the great Sarasvatī 'the foremost of rivers' *madītamā* (Rv. ii. 41, 16) that connected the celebrated Pūru stronghold with the Ocean (Rv. vi. 61, 2, 8; vii. 96, 2). Mighty kings of the five tribes Rv. viii. 21, 18; vi. 61, 12) made this 'iron citadel' of the Asuras far-famed and divine *devitamē* (Rv. ii. 41, 86). The Punjab tributaries that met and swelled the Sarasvatī,<sup>3</sup> and flew to the sea<sup>4</sup> (Rv. vii. 96, 2) kept the other five tribes—the Paktha, Alina, Bhalānas, Viṣaṇin and Śiva—in touch with their base at the Indus (Rv. iv. 54, 6; iv. 55, 3; v. 53, 9; vii. 95, 1; viii. 12, 3; viii. 25, 14; viii. 20, 25; viii. 26, 18; x. 64, 9) and their kinsmen on the Sarasvatī (Rv. ii. 41, 16). While the land people of the north, the Indo-Aryan Tṛtsu-Pharatas ignored fish<sup>5</sup> as a diet and their king and tribe are helped to cross a river by Visvāmitra (Rv. iii. 53, 9-11) who had evidently served<sup>6</sup> them before the actual Arya-Asura conflict—the large sea-worthy vessels with hundred oars *Satasitra* (Rv. i. 116, 3) roamed in search of the treasures of the ocean (Rv. i. 47, 6; vii. 6, 7; ix. 97, 44) pearls and gains of trade<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Maedonell and Keith, *Ved. Ind.*, II. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Pischel and Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, I. xxiii.

<sup>3</sup> Rv. ii. 41, 16.

<sup>4</sup> Rv. vi. 61, 2, 8.

<sup>5</sup> Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben* p. 22ff.

<sup>6</sup> Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, 3, 152.

<sup>7</sup> Bühler, *Ind. Palaog.* 17; *Arch.* iv. 10, 4.

(Rv. i. 48, 3; i. 56, 2; iv. 55, 6). This acquaintance with sea-voyage<sup>1</sup> denied by Vivien de Saint Martin<sup>2</sup> is accepted by Max Müller.<sup>3</sup> Lassen<sup>4</sup> and Zimmer<sup>5</sup> find a striking corroboration of it in Bhujyu's marine adventure<sup>6</sup> (Rv. i. 116, 3) and Asvin's help to luckless mariners of the deep sea.<sup>6</sup> Who were these mariners? Certainly the men in possession of the Indus system. In other words, the ten tribes of the Pūru group and as certainly not the Tṛtsu-Bharatas. Prevalent confusion<sup>7</sup> in reconciling plain statements<sup>8</sup> in the R̥gveda disappears with a proper appreciation of the fundamental difference between the two peoples—the Āryan Tṛtsu-Bharatas and the Asura-Pūrus. Macdonell<sup>9</sup> generally cites the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa with approbation. But he rejects<sup>10</sup> its clear statement as to the Pūrus being the Asuras (vi. 8. 1. 14). He does it on the ground that it goes against tradition. Patañjali<sup>11</sup> was at least 2,100 years nearer the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. He is expected to know the tradition better and he takes the Asuras seriously evidently as a people—'mlechchhā mā bhūma'. Macdonell<sup>12</sup> denies their existence. The resulting chaos is frightful. To take only one instance—the Tṛtsu-Bharatas with their priest Vasiṣṭha and the Pūrus with their's, Viśvāmitra. Vasiṣṭha is the priest of the Bharatas.<sup>13</sup> The Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa (xiv. 3, 13; xv. 5. 24), the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (ii. 25; iii. 18), the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (v. 4. 1, 1) and the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (i. 27, 2) supply clear information

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Vivien de Saint Martin, *Étude sur la géographie du Vēda*, 62ff.

<sup>3</sup> Max Müller, *S.B.E.*, 32, 61ff.

<sup>4</sup> Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* 1<sup>a</sup>, 883.

<sup>5</sup> Zimmer, *op cit.*, 22ff.

<sup>6</sup> Rv. i. 122, 6, 20; i. 116, 3; i. 117, 14; i. 119, 4; vi. 62, 6; vii. 68, 7; vii. 69, 7; x. 40, 7; x. 65, 12; x. 148, 5.

<sup>7</sup> Roth, *Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Wēda*, 95. Hopkins, *J.A.O.* 260-1.

<sup>8</sup> Rv. vii. 18, 13.

<sup>9</sup> *Vedic Ind.; Hist. Skt. Lit.; Vedic Myth.*

<sup>10</sup> *Vedic Ind.* Vol. II, p. 13.

<sup>11</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.* XII, p. 110.

<sup>12</sup> The word is not even recorded in the *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*.

<sup>13</sup> cf. Tṛtsu-Bharatas as Śvityaścho...Kapardīnaś, Rv. vii. 83. 8.

about the duties of the Bhārata priests. The Bharatas were fire-worshippers.<sup>1</sup> The *R̥gveda* is definite about the 'Bhārata Agni', 'Fire of the Bharatas' (Rv. ii. 7. 1-5; iv. 25. 4; vi. 16, 19). Divodāsa Atithigva, son of Vadhryaśva (Rv. vi. 61. 1) and ancestor of Sudās, leader of the Tr̥tsu Bharatas was one of earliest of the Ārya Bharatas. Both Vadhryaśva (Rv. x. 69) and Divodāsa were ardent<sup>2</sup> fire-ritualists. Divodāsa is almost tantamount to Agni in Rv. viii. 103. 2, *daivodāsa* 'worshipped by Divodāsa.' Hence the priests of the Tr̥tsu-Bharatas, the Bharaadvāja-Vasiṣṭhas were natually of the same cult as their masters, viz. of the Fire-Soma ritual.<sup>3</sup> That the Vasiṣṭhas were their priests is demonstrated by Rv. vii. 33, 6. They were the first Brāhmaṇa priests.<sup>4</sup> The importance of 'soma' is significant in the case of Āryas still struggling on the Himālayan heights. The Asura-Pūrus had no such necessity for soma-worshipping Brāhmaṇa priests. Their priest Viśvāmitra composes hymns in honour of the rivers Vipāś and Śutudrī (Rv. iii. 33). He knows how to smoothen the angry floods (Rv. iii. 53, 9-11). He is son of Kuśika (Rv. iii. 335), a king according to the Nirukta (ii. 24). Kauśiki is known later as a tributary of the Sarasvatī. Viśvāmitra is lord of the Jahnus in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, vii. 18. 9. The later designation of Jahnavi for a river is well known. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa calls him a *raja-putra* (vii. 17, 6, 7). This prince-priest led the Asura-Pūrus against the Ārya-Bharatas under Vasiṣṭha. Vasiṣṭha is accused of an attempt to steal the goods of Varuṇa<sup>5</sup> (Rv. vii. 55). Vasiṣṭha's sonship to Varuṇa (Rv. vii. 33, 11) is an afterthought. Viśvāmitra is thus committed to the Varuṇa cult. Only a seafaring people would need a priest proficient in sea-lore. The Asura-Pūru of the Indus rivers thus put Viśvāmitra in

<sup>1</sup> *Agni-Brāhmaṇa Bhārata, Śat. Br. i. 4, 292.*

<sup>2</sup> Rv. vi. 61-1; x. 69. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Bergaigne, *Religion Védique*, 2, 387, 344.

<sup>4</sup> *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vii. 16. Sacrifice of Sunahśepa,

<sup>5</sup> *Vedic Studies*, 2, 55.



charge at their hour of need.<sup>1</sup> But before the actual Arya-Asura conflict, Viśvāmitra had helped the Bharatas (Rv. iii. 33, 53) and led them across the rivers<sup>2</sup> (Rv. iii. 53, 9-11). But it is one thing for a foreigner to sell his services to an alien in ordinary circumstances<sup>3</sup> and quite another to help him against his own people. And there is not a shred of evidence that Viśvāmitra ever assisted the Arya Trtsu-Bharatas against any of the ten Asura Pūru tribes. On the contrary. This is made explicit by Yāska (Nirukta ii. 24) even regarding the Bharata-Viśvāmitra incident on the rivers (Rv. iii. 33). Viśvāmitra had been *paid* by the King Sudās for services as priest only for the occasion. This tradition is accepted by Sāyaṇa (on Rv. iii. 33): Viśvāmitra secured wealth in exchange for his services and went off with it to the rivers, pursued by others.<sup>4</sup> Macdonell<sup>5</sup> needlessly complicates the whole issue. He<sup>6</sup> makes Viśvāmitra 'at one time the Purohita (domestic priest) of Sudās'. Hence Sāyaṇa<sup>7</sup> and Yāska<sup>8</sup> are summarily disposed off. 'Curiously enough, Sāyaṇa quite misunderstands the situation.' etc.<sup>9</sup> But it is more curious that a student of Sanskrit literature should forget that Viśvāmitra has all along remained in popular mythology an emphatic protest against the Aryan order of things: a Kṣatriya he rose to be a Brāhmaṇa<sup>10</sup> he wanted to create a new world<sup>11</sup> and send his protēgē Trisamku<sup>12</sup> to heaven in spite of its

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<sup>1</sup> Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, 2, 35. Rv. vii. 18, 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 3, 152.

<sup>3</sup> It is a common practice even to-day to utilize alien experts in times of peace.

<sup>4</sup> Sāyaṇa is only recording tradition.

<sup>5</sup> Macdonell and Keith, *Ved. Ind.*, vol. II. p. 275.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> On Rv. iii. 33.

<sup>8</sup> Nirukta, ii. 24.

<sup>9</sup> cf similar rejection of the *Sat. Br.*, *Ved. Ind.* vol. II. p. 13.

<sup>10</sup> Muir, *O.S.T.* I<sup>2</sup>, 388ff.

<sup>11</sup> *MBh.* Ādi. 191. 4.

<sup>12</sup> *Hārivaṃśa*, I. 12.

Aryan denizens.<sup>1</sup> After this successful muddle, the whole problem gets obscure. The relative positions of Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha in reference to the Tṛtsu Bharatas and the Pūrus sinks into a quagmire.<sup>2</sup> Distinctions between Aryan, Asura Dāsa, disappear. The *Dāsarājña* 'war of the ten tribes' becomes a mystery. Vasiṣṭha's quarrel with Viśvāmitra is alleged as a reason. The close connection between Viśvāmitra and the Pūrus in *jesma Pūruṃ vidathe mṛdhraṇācham* in Rv. vii. 18-13 is passed over.<sup>3</sup> About the quarrel itself, are adumbrated a variety of reasons.<sup>4</sup> The reasons<sup>5</sup> must be serious and the quarrel without quarters<sup>6</sup> to lead to the *Dāsarājña*. Then steps in Oldenberg<sup>7</sup> and proves that the Rgveda bears no trace of any strife between Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha!

Happily, the *Dāsarājña* or 'the war of the ten tribes' itself survives. It brings back the enquiry to its starting point. It is much simpler to follow texts. Excess of ingenuity is always wasted. To presuppose a 'kink' in the Vedic Indian—he knew the sea and did not know it,<sup>8</sup> he fought and no one knows why,<sup>9</sup> etc. gives place to a rational attempt at expansion from their respective bases in the Himalayan Hills and the Indus courses of the Indo-Aryan Tṛtsu-Bharatas and the Asura ten tribes under the Pūrus, the consequent struggle and the Indo-Aryan victory.<sup>10</sup>

The Asura Pūrus<sup>11</sup> had fortified themselves on the main stream of the Indus<sup>12</sup> and on the Sarasvatī. They had

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Roth *Zur Litteratur*, *op. cit.* 90 and Bloomfield, *J.A.O.S.*, 16, 41, 42 on the one side; Geldner, *Ved. Stud.*, 3, 152, etc. on the other.

<sup>3</sup> Geldner, *op. cit.*, 2, 135. Contrast Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, 15, 263 n.

<sup>4</sup> Muir, *op. cit.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 371-5.

<sup>5</sup> Geldner, *op. cit.*, 2, 158.

<sup>6</sup> Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.* 15, 160.

<sup>7</sup> Oldenberg, *Z.D.M.G.*, 42, 204.

<sup>8</sup> Vivien de Saint Martin, *op. cit.*, 62.

<sup>9</sup> Geldner, *op. cit.*, 2, 158.

<sup>10</sup> Rv. iii. 53, 53.

<sup>11</sup> Śat Br. vi. 8. 1. 14.

<sup>12</sup> Rv. i. 89, 8; i. 164, 19; ii. 41, 16, etc.

thrown their advanced guards northwards. The five tribes<sup>1</sup> of the Paktha, Alina, Bhalānas, Viṣāpin and Śiva had already established contact with advancing Aryans near the Suvāstu in the north-west and the mountains Mūjavant and Trīkakud to the north-east.<sup>2</sup> The Aryans pressed them down. That neither party attached final importance to these incidental trials of strength is shown by the scant reference<sup>3</sup> to these tracts. The Sarasvatī<sup>4</sup> was the Asura stronghold. The Aryans toiled on. The five tribes of the north sent their contingents and hastened to help their leaders the Pūrus.<sup>5</sup> The Asuras met the Aryans half-way. The Paruṣṇī<sup>6</sup> witnessed their decisive struggle. The Asura went under. The Battle of Plataeae<sup>7</sup> saw the final collapse of the Persian attack on Greece and decided that the west in future would be Indo-European in culture. The Battle of the Paruṣṇī similarly brought about the discomfiture of the Asuras in India and settled much earlier that the East was to become Indo-Europeanized up to Indo-China and Ceylon mainly, and China and Japan, through religion, partially. The ten tribes lost their hold from the Suvāstu to the Sarasvatī<sup>8</sup> which now rang with the Vedic hymns<sup>9</sup> and paeans of Aryan glory. The Asura was pushed to the East, to Madhyadeśa of the Brāhmaṇas and beyond. The next stage finds them merged in the Arya Bharatas<sup>10</sup> and figuring as an ingredient of the Kuru-Pañchālas.<sup>11</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> Rv. viii. 10, 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*.

<sup>3</sup> *Mūjavant*, only once in Rv. x. 34, 1; *Himavant* only once, Rv. x. 121, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Rv. vii. 96, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Rv. i. 108, 8.

<sup>6</sup> Rv. vii. 18, 8, 9.

<sup>7</sup> Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 585.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the Asura-Pūru's priest Viśvāmitra's curse on the Sarasvatī as recorded in the MBh. 'Our blood on thee.' Sānti. 43, 39.

<sup>9</sup> Rv. x. 65, 11.

<sup>10</sup> Oldenberg, *Buddha*, 410.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 408.

remnants marched to the East and appear as settled inhabitants there in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa xiii. 8, 15—*Ya Asuryah prāchyāḥ*.

The cause of Asura downfall is unknown. The Pūrus had subjugated<sup>1</sup> many Dāsa tribes in course of their conquests. The very name *Trasadasya* (Rv. i. 75, 132, 167, 231; iii. 12, 26, 97, etc.) is significant. And these Dāsas had to fight for their masters. The use and utility of coloured troops provoked mixed discussion during the last great war (1914-18). The coloured contingents under the Pūrus at the Battle of the Paruṣṇī did not prove a success. A confederacy<sup>2</sup> of Ajas, Yaksus and Śigrus, under Bheda against Sudās (Rv. vii. 18, 19) was defeated and slaughtered on the Jumna.<sup>3</sup> Then again the Asuras were a sea-people. The Indo-European Greek of the Homeric age<sup>4</sup> overthrew the sea-born and sea-bred Ægean culture.<sup>5</sup> The Indo-European Aryan of the Vedic age similarly conquered the sea-faring Asuras.<sup>6</sup> Homogeneity of forces as well as land and sea possibilities would seem to have changed sides<sup>7</sup> since the Vedic and Homeric days. An analysis might possibly reveal undetected factors.

Thus the R̥gveda dispossesses<sup>8</sup> the Asura from his base. A word about the base itself. The Pūrus are explicitly<sup>9</sup> stated as settled on the Sarasvatī.<sup>10</sup> The Sarasvatī is honoured as the holy<sup>11</sup> stream, the 'foremost of rivers,' *naḍītama*.<sup>11</sup> It receives

<sup>1</sup> Rv. i. 59, 6; i. 131, 4; i. 174, 2; iv. 21, 10; iv. 38, 1; vi. 20, 10; vii. 5, 3; vii. 19, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Zimmer, *Alt. Leben*, 127.

<sup>3</sup> Rapson, *C. H. I.*, p. 82.

<sup>4</sup> Hall, *op. cit.*, 1924, pp. viii-ix. Hall, *Ægean Archaeology*, p. 256.

<sup>5</sup> "To Crete the earliest Greek tradition looks back as the home of divinely inspired legislation and the first centre of maritime dominion." (Evans, *C.A.H.*, vol. I. p. 188.

<sup>6</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.*, xii. 129.

<sup>7</sup> V. Smith, *Oxford Hist. of India*, 1917, p. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Rv. vi. 83, 3; vii. 83, 1; x. 69, 6; i. 1025; iii. 32, 14; vi. 22, 10; vi. 25, 2, 3; viii. 2, 4, 27; x. 38, 83; x. 3, 1; x. 102, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Rv. vii. 96, 2.

<sup>10</sup> Rv. vii. 96, 9.

<sup>11</sup> *Kātyāyana Śraut. Sūtr.* xii. 3, 20; xxiv. 6, 22.

the five tributaries<sup>1</sup> of the Punjab and flows into the ocean.<sup>2</sup> The present day Sarasvatī<sup>3</sup> losing itself in the sands of Patiala hardly answers to the above description. Scholars have imagined various ways out. Hillebrandt<sup>4</sup> takes it to be Arghandas in Arachosia, if not altogether mythical. Brunnhofer<sup>5</sup> identifies it with the Oxus. Lassen<sup>6</sup> holds it to be the same as the modern Sarasvatī. Max Müller<sup>7</sup> strengthens Lassen's view by suggesting that the Sarasvatī has changed since the Vedic days, when it was a large river reaching the ocean through the desert. From the location of the Pārāvatas (Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa) and the Bharatas in Kurukṣetra, Macdonell<sup>8</sup> holds the Vedic Sarasvatī the same as to-day, only much diminished in size and lost in the desert. With belligerent cautiousness, he also holds the flowing to the sea<sup>9</sup> might have been due to the Vedic poet not having actually followed its course. In any case, Zimmer's<sup>10</sup> attempt to cut the gordian knot by taking the Sarasvatī to be the Sindhu is now generally and rightly discredited. And for two reasons. Firstly, the Vedic poet is as definite about the Sindhu 'the Indus'<sup>11</sup> as the Sarasvatī.<sup>12</sup> Secondly, Raverty<sup>13</sup> has demonstrated marked changes in course, even within historical times, of the Indus, some of the rivers in the Punjab and the old Sarasvatī. Constant fluctuations of the Vedic rivers are largely due to their traversing the northern alluvial plains, unlike the rocky bed of the Deccan rivers. There is nothing against the supposition of the Asura Pūru centre on the Sarasvatī being

<sup>1</sup> Rv. ii. 41, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Rv. vi. 49, 7 ; vii. 9, 5 ; viii. 21, 17 ; x. 17, 7, 10, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Rv. vi. 61, 2, 8 ; vii. 26, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Rv. vi. 49, 7. Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* 1.99 ; 3, 372-8.

<sup>5</sup> Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, 10.261, n.2.

<sup>6</sup> Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde* 1<sup>2</sup>. 118.

<sup>7</sup> Max Müller, *S.B., E.*, 22, 60.

<sup>8</sup> *Ved. Ind.*, vol. II. p. 436.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Zimmer, *Altind. Leben* 124.

<sup>11</sup> Rv. i. 122, 6 ; i. 126, 1 ; iv. 54, 6 ; v. 53, 9 ; vii. 96, 1 ; viii. 12, 3 ; x. 64, 9

<sup>12</sup> Rv. x. 75, 5. Oldham, *J.R.A.S.* 25.49-76.

<sup>13</sup> Raverty, *J.A.S.B.*, 1892.

fed by the Punjab rivers joining it in the present Sind and leading on to the Arabian sea and across.

The above view is supported by geologists on independent grounds. 'There was a time,' says Holdich, 'when the great rivers of India did not follow their courses as they do now. This was most recently the case as regards Indus and the rivers of Central India. In the days when there was no Indus delta and the Indus emptied itself into the great sandy depression of the Bunn of Katch, another great lost river from the north-east the Sarasvati, fed the Indus, and between them the desert area was immensely reduced if it did not altogether disappear'.<sup>1</sup> Compare in this connection the insignificant references to the desert in the R̥gveda i. 389, 90; ii. 135. Holdich is also right in holding that 'conquerors of the lower Indus valley have been obliged to follow up the Indus to the Punjab before striking eastwards for the great cities of the plains'.<sup>2</sup> But earlier, the immigrants would naturally leave important centres in the rear and Mahenjodaro in Sindh is perhaps only one of these. Foot's<sup>3</sup> failure to find prehistoric objects other than flakes and cores of flint led him to accept a cairn-erecting stone-monument building Dravidian people entering India by the western Makran coast gates.<sup>4</sup> Mahenjo-Daro<sup>5</sup> and Harappa<sup>6</sup> supplied the next stage. The R̥gveda traces this second Pūrṇ-Asura<sup>7</sup> expansion up to the Sarasvatī-Dṛśadvatī.<sup>8</sup> The Brāhmaṇa literature, as shown below, carries them further to the East,<sup>9</sup> beyond the Madhyadeśa,<sup>10</sup> in the Prācī. The

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<sup>1</sup> Holdich, *The Gates of India*, p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> Foot, *Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities*, p. 158.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Marshall, *op cit.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Śat. Br. vi. 8, 1, 14.

<sup>8</sup> Rv. iii. 23, 4.

<sup>9</sup> Śat. Br. xiii. 8, 1, 5. *Yā āsuryaḥ prācīyās tvad ye tvad ye tvat parimaṇḍalāni (śmatānāni kurvate).*

<sup>10</sup> Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, i. p. 188.

remnants of the Asuras, both in the north-west<sup>1</sup> and up to the Sarasvati<sup>2</sup> are gradually engulfed in the victors<sup>3</sup> and both emerge as the Kuru-Pañchālas<sup>4</sup> of the Brāhmaṇa literature<sup>5</sup> with a definite status accorded to the Dāsa<sup>6</sup> in this henceforth predominantly Aryan<sup>7</sup> body-politic. Before following the fortunes of the Asuras in the Prāchi,<sup>8</sup> it would be interesting to note their position in the interval—in the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda.

In his *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, under *Lois*, Voltaire caricatures sacerdotal ceremonies, 'Dans notre coin d'Europe, le petit nombre étant composé de bardis ignorants, vainqueurs et armés de pied en cap; et le grand nombre, d'ignorants esclaves désarmés,

**Yajurveda** pres que aucune sachant ni lire ni écrire, pas même Charlemagne, il arriva très-naturellement que l'Eglise, avec sa plume et ses cérémonies, gouverna ceux qui passait leur vie à cheval, la lance en arrêt et le morion en tête \* \* \* ce furent des loups qui se laissèrent enchaîner par des renards. Ils gardèrent leur ferocité, mais elle fut subjuguée par la crédulité et par la crainte que la crédulité produit.' Yajurveda represents the earliest<sup>9</sup> literary phase of Indo-European religious functions.

<sup>1</sup> Zimmer, *Altind. Leben*, 101, 102. *Uttara Kurus*—Kuru suggests Asura amalgamation with the Āryas of the Udichya.

<sup>2</sup> Oldenberg, *Buddha*, 406ff.

<sup>3</sup> Rv. i. 63, 7; i. 130, 7

<sup>4</sup> Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, 406-9.

<sup>5</sup> *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, viii. 14. That the consciousness of having sprung from different races was still alive is borne out by the Vratya stomas in the *Panchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, xvii. 1, 1. Who were the Vratyas? They were certainly not Dāsas as by performing certain sacrifices they could gain admission to the Brāhmaṇic community. (Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, I. 33.) They differed from the Tṛtsu-Bharatas in not being Brāhmaṇical in culture, *Panchaviṃśa Br.*, xvii. 1, 9) and in differing in speech *a-durukta* (*Panchav. Br., op. cit.*) They thus represented the Asura element (*ante*). Macdonell's 'non-Brāhmaṇical Āryans' (*Ved. Ind.* vol. 1. p. 163) is confusing.

<sup>6</sup> *Āit. Br.* vii. 12, 1; *Śat. Br.* i. 1, 4, 12.

<sup>7</sup> *Śat. Br.* iv. 1. 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Śat. Br.* xiii. 3, 1, 5.

<sup>9</sup> Macdonell, *Hist. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 46.

It emphasizes sacrifices<sup>1</sup> and formulæ.<sup>2</sup> It is an intellectual consolidation of Indo-Aryan aspirations.<sup>3</sup> It engulfs the Asura and the Dāsa in times of peace following their subjugation and conquest in the R̥gveda.<sup>4</sup> It extends Aryan supremacy from Sarasvatī-Dṛṣadvatī<sup>5</sup> across the Madhyadeśa<sup>6</sup> to the confines of the Prāchi.<sup>7</sup> India from the Suvāstu to the Ganges<sup>8</sup> saw *Aryanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam*.<sup>9</sup>

The vanquished is lost in the victor. Of set purpose the Aryan in the Yajurveda ignores the Asura. Except as refugees in outer darkness. The nether regions under the sea, thought those who could not follow them across the water :

*Asuryā nāma te lokah andhena tamasāvṛtāḥ* | *Tāṃste pretyāpi-gachchhanti ye ke chātmaḥano janāḥ* || *Śukla Yajur* 40.3. "Asurāṇām svabhūtāḥ asuryāḥ evaṃsaññikāḥ" explains Uvāṭa. "Asurāṇāmīme asuryāḥ, asusu grāṇeṣu ramante" asurāḥ prāṇapoṣaṇaparāḥ" comments Mahīdhara. 'Belonging to the Asuras' in either case. 'The Asura regions abound in dark ignorance : even dying they are reborn (and die again as all things that live must die according to the fruit of their actions—commentators Uvāṭa<sup>10</sup> and Mahīdhara<sup>11</sup>) and are thus guilty of suicide.' Incidentally, 'Asuras are those that delight in life' might be either a reproach for their positivist outlook or a reference to their capacity to cure life's ailments.

How completely the Yajurveda sacrifices suppressed the Asura and brought the Aryan to the fore is evidenced by later

<sup>1</sup> Winternitz, *Geschichte*, op. cit. p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> Schroeder, *Indiens Literatur und Cultur*, p. 90.

<sup>3, 4</sup> Rv. i. 51, 8; i. 103, 3; vi. 20, 10; i. 102, 5; iii. 32, 14; vi. 22, 10; viii. 2, 4, 27.

<sup>5</sup> Rv. iii. 23, 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Madhymā pratiṣṭhā* dis, *Āit. Br.* viii. 14, 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Āit. Br.* viii. 14; *Sat. Br.* i. 7, 3, 8; *Pañc. Br.* xvii. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Rv. x. 75, 3; vi. 45, 31; *Sat. Br.* xiii. 5, 4, 11; *Āit. Br.* viii. 23.

<sup>9</sup> Virg., *Æn.*, i. 281 : *Romanos rerum*, etc.

<sup>10</sup> *ātmanam cha te ghnanti ye svarg mprāptihetūni kurvāpi kurvānti, te hi janitvā mryante mṛtoḥ cha jāyante*. Uvāṭa.

<sup>11</sup> *ātmaḥanaḥ ..... kāmāyākarmaparāḥ*. Mahīdhara.



emendations of this very verse<sup>1</sup> quoted above. The Vājasaneyi samhitopaniṣad<sup>2</sup> turns *asṛyāḥ* into *asūryāḥ*—the sun-less. Later literature misreads the whole meaning. Bhavabhūti in his *Uttaracarita*, Act IV puts in the mouth of Janaka—‘*andhatā-misra hyasūryā nāma te lokāḥ tebhyaḥ pratividhigante ye ātmaghātinaḥ* etc. ‘The sages ordain for those who commit suicide, those regions of blinding darkness and sun-less’—a far cry from Uvāta and Mahidhara.

The sacrifices are Brāhmanical. Who were the sacrificers? The Brāhmaṇa literature<sup>3</sup> shows how the Yajurveda Aryan no longer coincides with the Trtsu-Bharatas.<sup>4</sup> The field is Kuruksetra.<sup>5</sup> The Trtsu-Bharatas merge in the Kurus.<sup>6</sup> The Asura Pūrus merge in the Pañchālas.<sup>7</sup> The two amalgamate in the Kuru-Pañchālas.<sup>8</sup> The Yajurveda caters for both.<sup>9</sup> Thus the Yajurveda refers to the Bhṛgu and the Aṅgiras, cf. *Śukla Yajur.* i. 18; iv. 10; v. 9; xv. 26. The Bhṛgu<sup>10</sup> are ancient even in the R̥gveda. Their historical character is beyond dispute<sup>11</sup> (Rv. vii. 18. 6; viii. 3. 9; viii. 6, 18; viii. 102, 4). Bhṛgu is connected with the Ocean.<sup>12</sup> He is called a son of Varuṇa<sup>13</sup> (Sat. Br. xi. 6,1,1). His patronymic *Varuṇi* (Ait. Br. iii. 34) points to his relation to the Asura-Pūrus.<sup>14</sup> In the *Dāśarajñā*<sup>15</sup>, he sides with the Druhyus<sup>16</sup> allies of the

<sup>1</sup> Śukla Yaj. 40, 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Vāj. Up.* on Yaj. 40, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Sat. Br. xiii. 5, 4; *Apastamba*. xviii. 12, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Rv. iii. 53, 9, 12, 24; 33, 11, 12; vii. 33, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Sat. Br. iv. 1, 5, 13; xi. 5, 1, 4; Ait. Br. vii. 30; *Panch Br.* xxv. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Schroeder, *Indians Literatur und Cultur*, p. 465.

<sup>7</sup> Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, 3, 108, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Vāj. Sam.* (Kāṇva recension) xi. 3, 3: 6, 3.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Rv. iii. 8, 10.

<sup>11</sup> *Kauṣ Br.* xxx. 5.

<sup>12</sup> *Tait Ar.* xix. 1.

<sup>13</sup> *Jaim. Br.* i. 42-4.

<sup>14</sup> Rv. vii. 96, 2; Sat. Br. vi. 8, 1, 14.

<sup>15</sup> Rv. vii. 33, 2, 5; 33, 8; Av. x. 128, 12.

<sup>16</sup> Rv. viii. 3, 9; 5, 18; 102, 4.

Asura-Pūrus as against the Tṛtsu-Bharatas. Thus the Bhṛgu were evidently connected with the Pūru-Asuras. Further corroboration is available in the Śrījāyas.<sup>1</sup> The Śrījāyas and the Tṛtsu-Bharatas were close allies<sup>2</sup> (Rv. vi. 16,5.) Both attacked and overcame the Turvaśas, friends of the Asura-Pūrus (Rv. vi. 27,7; vii. 18; vi. 27,7). The Śrījāyas also attacked the Bhṛgu, were defeated and destroyed (Av. v. 19,1) Later literature<sup>3</sup> wove round this incident a glorification of the Brāhmaṇa Bhṛgu. But the anecdote of Bhargava Paraśurāma<sup>4</sup> reveals an attempted molestation of the so-called Brāhmaṇa Bhṛgu and its dire consequences as some exotic to the epic tradition of unquestioned obedience to a recognized Brāhmaṇa. The Bhṛgu and Āṅgirasas are again closely connected<sup>5</sup>— (Kausika *S.B.E.* xlii. 63,3; 94,2-4; 137,25; 139,6; *Pañc Sū.* i. 5; *Gopātha Br.* i. 1, 39; 2,18; 3,1,2,4), also the Parīśiṣṭas and the Anukramaṇī. And the same exotic<sup>6</sup> character is manifest in the Atharvaveda where the Āṅgiraśa is admittedly non-Aryan<sup>7</sup> in the sense that the Rgveda is Aryan. So much so that the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa<sup>8</sup> and the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa regard it as belonging to the Magas, sought to be explained as the Magi of Persia.<sup>9</sup> The Yayur-veda was advancing the cause of the Arya-Asura unification as the Kuru-Pañchālas in the Madhyadeśa by refusing to insist on the alien character of the Bhṛgu and the Āṅgirasas. But memories were still fresh. It led to a further Asura exodus to the east. The Atharvaveda<sup>10</sup> records the first, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>10</sup> describes the last.

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<sup>1</sup> Rv. vi. 27,7.

<sup>2</sup> Hillebrandt, *op. cit.* 1.104.

<sup>3</sup> Muir, *op. cit.* I<sup>3</sup>, 443ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bāl. kāṇḍ.

<sup>5</sup> Weber, *Ind. Lit.* p. 164.

<sup>6</sup> Renaud, *Memoire sur l'Inde*, p. 394.

<sup>7</sup> *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (Wilson) v. 383.

<sup>8</sup> *J.E.A.S.* 1915, 445.

<sup>9</sup> *Ind. Stud.* 1.292; note. *Gopātha Br.* i. 1,5 and 8

<sup>10</sup> *Śat. Br.* xiii, 8,1,5.

The Atharvaveda is the despair of theorists.<sup>1</sup> The earliest reference<sup>2</sup> knows the Atharvan as of the remotest antiquity.<sup>3</sup> Yet the Veda was regarded as such not before the Sūtra period (Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra. xvi. 2,9). The Atharvan symbolizes death *mṛtyu* to the Vedic Aryan (Vamśa, Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad, ii. 6,3) and is propitiated with gifts.<sup>4</sup> The name has an extra-Indian non-Rgvedic-Aryan touch.<sup>5</sup> In the Puruṣasūkta (Rv. x. 90.9) are mentioned under the generic term *chhandāmsi ṛcāḥ Sāmāni yajuh*; the Atharva is ignored. Under *Brāhmā*, Rv. x. 71,11, are cited the three Vedas, Rk, Sama, Yajuh : not the Atharva. Opportunities to mention occur again in Rv. viii. 19.5 and Rv. x. 90. 9, but are not availed of. On the other hand, the priest *Atharvan* is well known in Zarathustra's question to Ahura Mazda (Yasna, xix. 17).<sup>6</sup> The dignity of a Veda is attributed to itself by the Atharvaveda in Av. x. 7,20 ; xix. 54, 5 ; xix. 22, 1,23, 1. This attempt at co-ordinating the foreign with the Vedic-Aryan is palpable all through the Brāhmaṇa and the Sūtra literature.<sup>7</sup> It survives in popular estimation even today.<sup>8</sup> The alien character of the Atharvaveda is inherent in its (i) designation, (ii) its authorship and (iii) its contents.

(i) Unlike the Rk, Sama and Yajus, this collection is called after particular priests.<sup>9</sup> Such designations are numerous. Four names are important: (a) *atharvāṅgirasah*<sup>10</sup> (Av. x. 7,20), (b) *bhrgvāṅgirasah*<sup>11</sup> (Kausika, 63,3 ; 94,2-4 ; 137,25 ; 189,6 ; Vait. Sū, i. 5, Gopatha Br. (i. 1,39 ; 2,18 ; 3,1,2,4) ;

<sup>1</sup> *S.B.E.* vol. XIII, xvii—lvii.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell, *Vedic Myth.* 141.

<sup>3</sup> Rv. vi. 47, 24.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Burnell, *Vamśa Br.* p. xxi.

<sup>6</sup> Andreas and Wackernagel, *Die Vierte Gāthā.*

<sup>7</sup> Haug, *Brahma und die Brahmanen*, p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Burnell, *op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> *S.B.E.* vol. XLII, p. xxxiii.

<sup>10</sup> *Tait Br.* iii. 12,9,1 ; *Puñcha Br.* xvi. 10, 10 ; *Sat. Br.* xvi. 10,10.

<sup>11</sup> *Av.* v. 19,1,2,

(c) *Kṣatraya-veda*<sup>1</sup> (Śat. Br. xiv. 8.14,1-4; Bṛh. Aranyaka Up. v. 18,1-4; *Uktham* meaning Rk. Śat. Br. x. 5,2,20), *Yajuh*, *Sāma*, *Kṣatram*; (d) *brahma-veda*<sup>2</sup> (Sāṅkh. Gṛh. Sūt. i. 16,3). (a) and (b) really refer to the same priest viz. Bhṛgu. Āṅgiras was probably his family name; Atharvan designating his sacerdotal occupation. Āṅgiras as the name of a family<sup>3</sup> is mentioned in Av. xviii. 4,8; Pañchaviṃśa Br. xx. 11,1; Taitt. Sam. vii. 1,4,1. Atharvan, again, denoting sacrificial rites<sup>4</sup> as opposed to personal appellation, is proved by Śat. Br. xiii. 4,3,7; TB. iii. 12,9,1; Pañch. Br. xvi. 10,10; Av. xix. 23,1; Chānd. Up. vii. 1,2,4; Nṛsiṃhapūrvvatāpāni Up. 11,1; Sāṅkh. Sr. xvi. 2,10; Pār. Gṛh. ii. 1,7; Hir. Gṛh. ii. 19,6; Baudh. Gṛh. iv. 6,1; Rāmāyaṇa, ii. 26,21; M.Bh. iii. 189,14; M.Bh. xii. 342,100; Jaina Siddhānta, Bhagavati 5th Aṅga i. 441; ii. 246,7; Upāṅga, i. 76; x. 3; Sūtrakṛtāṅga-sūtra, ii. 27; Aṭṭhakavagga, 14,13 of Suttanipāta; Teviggasutta, ch. ii. Mahā Silaṃ; Kulavagga, v. 32,3. Thus Atharvan, Bhṛgu and Āṅgiras refer to the same person<sup>5</sup>—cf. Bhṛgu and Atharvan in Rv. x. 92,10, Bhṛgu and Āṅgiras, Rv. viii. 43,13 and their complete identity in Chyavana<sup>6</sup> called either Bhārgava or Āṅgirasa (Śat. Br. iv. 1,5,1) and in Dadhyañch as Atharvana (Tait. S. v. 1,4,4) and as Āṅgirasa (Pañch. Br. xii. 8,6). But if Atharvana stands for a priestly function, there might conceivably be others following the same cult. Why mention Bhṛgu alone? The Cūlikā Upaniṣad<sup>7</sup> supplies the answer—because the Bhṛgu are *atharvano Bhṛgūttamāḥ*, the foremost among the

<sup>1</sup> *Prasna Up.* ii. 6

<sup>2</sup> *Vait. Sū.* i. i; *Gop. Br.* i. 2,16.

<sup>3</sup> Weber *Episches im Vedischen Ritual*, S. K. A. W., 1891, p. 812.

<sup>4</sup> Weber, *Versichness der Sanskrit und Prākṛit Handschriften*, ii. 83.

<sup>5</sup> *S.B.E.* vol. XLII. p. xxvii.

<sup>6</sup> Rv. x. 61,1-3; *Chyavana*, a follower of Bhṛgu (*Jaim. Br.* iii. 121-128) and of Aswins (Pischel), (*Vedische Stud.* i. 71-7) and enemy of Tūrvayāna, an Indra-worshipper (Griffith, *Hymns*, 2,455).

<sup>7</sup> *Chūlikā Up.* 10.

Atharvans.' If the Bhṛgu, Āngiras and Atharvan point to the same source, why not call the system by either? As a matter of fact it is often<sup>1</sup> so called. *Āngirobhayā srāhā* along with *rgbhayā svāhā*, etc. TS. vii. 5,11,2, Kāthaka Āsvamedhagrantha v. 2, Av. Prātiśākhya, the Śaunakiya Chaturādhyāyika; Gopatha Br. i. 1,8; Pāṇini v. 2,37. Āngirasakalpas (R̥gvidhāna, iv. 64; iv. 8,3; Av. Parisiṣṭa, 3,1). Atharvāna (Śat. Br. xiii. 4,3,7) to remove doubts as to their identity, even the joint name is sometimes used in the singular: cf. MBh. iii. 305,20, *atharvāṅgīrasi srutam*; *Kusalam atharvāṅgīrase* Yajur. 1,132; *Kṛtyam atharvāṅgīrasīm*, M.Bh. viii. 40,33. Then the collection for the sake of clearness came to be known as *Atharvāṅgīrāsah* (Av. x. 7,20) or *Bhṛgvaṅgīrāsah* (*Kaushika*, 63,3). Finally simply *Atharvaveda* (Śat. Br. xiii. 4,3,7). That the Bhṛgus supplied the personal element, the Atharva the cult, the Āngiras the family, is further borne out by the fact that whereas Atharva and Āngiras are used separately<sup>3</sup> or together<sup>4</sup> from early times<sup>5</sup> *Bhṛgavaḥ* or *Bhṛguvedaḥ* is omitted. The composers were too well known to need mention and the *Atharva saṃhitā* does not take their name individually but as a family.<sup>6</sup> Note in this connection the titles of scribes<sup>7</sup> of Atharvan texts in *pañchakalpa*, *pañchakalpin*.<sup>8</sup> It was not deemed necessary to record who the Pañcha were. The Saṃhitā, the Brāhmaṇa or the Sūtra of the Atharva does not mention them specifically.<sup>9</sup> But later literature<sup>10</sup> saw the necessity of recording them: MBh. xii. 342,99;

<sup>1</sup> Weber, *Verzeichniss*, ii. 46; *Apast. Sr. Su.* i. 12,3.

<sup>2</sup> Meyer, *R̥gvidhāna*, p. xxxi.

<sup>3</sup> *Sat. Br.* xiii. 4,3,3ff.; *Atth. Paris.* 46,9,10; *Gop. Br.* 1,3,4.

<sup>4</sup> *Tait. Br.* iii. 12,8,2; *Tait. Ar.* ii. 9,10; *Sat. Br.* xi. 5,6,7.

<sup>5</sup> Av. ix. 7,20.

<sup>6</sup> *Tait. Sam.* i. 1,7,2; *Matr Sam.* i. 1,8; *Vaj. Sam.* i. 18.

<sup>7</sup> Weber, *Verzeichniss*, ii. 90.

<sup>8</sup> Bloomfield, *J.A.O.S.* xi. 378.

<sup>9</sup> *Kaushika, Introd.*, p. lvii.

<sup>10</sup> MBh. xii. 342,99; *Mahābhāṣya*

Patañjali; Mahābhāṣya. The title *pañcha-kalpa*<sup>1</sup> raises disquieting reminiscences about *pañchajanya* of the R̥gveda (Rv. iii. 37,9 ; iii. 59,8 ; vi. 14, 4 ; viii. 32,22 ; ix. 65,23, ix. 92,3 ; x. 45,6)—Zimmer's<sup>2</sup> Anus, Druhyus, Yadus, Turvaśas and Pūrus (Rv. i. 108, 8.) The Bhr̥guś, even in the R̥gveda, were the priests of the Druhyus<sup>3</sup> (Rv. viii. 3,9 ; viii. 3,9 ; viii. 6,18 ; viii. 102,4) and the Druhyus were related to the Asura-Pūrus (Sat. Br. vii. 8,4) and fought the Arya-Tṛtsu-Bharatas) Rv. vii. 18 ; vi. 46,8). It inevitably traces the authorship of the Atharvaveda to an Asura source under the Bhr̥guś. The other two designations noted above, the (a) Kṣatraveda and the (b) Brahmaveda strengthen this hypothesis. To subdue your enemies with witchery<sup>4</sup> is an aspiration in the Atharva. It is expedient but not moral. Hence orthodox Vedic Aryan Brāhmaṇic literature has always looked askance at it.<sup>5</sup> The Śrutis<sup>6</sup> and the Smṛtis<sup>7</sup> are quite outspoken. 'The knowledge of women and Śūdras is a supplement of the Atharva.' Apastamba Dharma. ii. 11. 29, 10, 11 'One of the seven varieties of assassins, is a man reciting from the Atharva,' Viṣṇu, v. 191. But things were moving from the MBh. and later 'The note of savage lust and passion which is the charm of the Mahābhārata<sup>8</sup>' felt attracted by the Atharva advice on 'Kingly duties' *raja-karmanī*.<sup>9</sup> These latter bore a family likeness to Machiavelli's Prince. 'Vincasi per fortuna oper inganno, Il vin- cer sempre fu laudabi' cosa'. The Kṣatriya princes of the Mahābhārata deified Sovereignty<sup>10</sup> and canonized the Atharva

<sup>1</sup> Magoun, *The Asuri-Kalpa*, A.J.P., 189.

<sup>2</sup> Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 119-123.

<sup>3</sup> Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.* 16, 26 2n.

<sup>4</sup> *Ath. Paris.* 2, 2-5.

<sup>5</sup> *Gop. Br.* (Rajindra Lal Mitra), *Int'r.* p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Buhler *S.B.E.*, vol. iii. p. xxix.

<sup>7</sup> Av. i. 34 ; iii. 18 : Manu, ix. 290 ; xi. 64 : Viṣṇu, xxv. 7 : Gaut. xv. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Rapson, *C.H.A.* Vol. I. p. 264.

<sup>9</sup> Kauśika, chs. 14-7.

<sup>10</sup> *MBh.* 63, 23, 29 ; *Vāj. Br. Up.* iv. ii ; *Tait. Sam.* (Mysore) iii. 157-8.

(MBh. v. 108,10 ; iii. 203,15 ; xix. 288,9 ; iii. 189,14 ; vi. 67,6 ; xix. 14,15 ; xix. 53,41 ; ii. 11, 32 ; xix. 109,5, etc. 'Princes had followed earlier Asura theories on statecraft' 'Devāsurā vā eṣu lokeṣu samayatanta ..... tamst. to' surā ajayan ..... Devā abruvannarājatayā vai no jayanti rājānam kāravamahā iti tatheti.' Ait Br. I. 14. Now they, i.e. Bharata-Kurus completed them in practice and practices based on the Atharva, promulgated by the Bhṛguṣ (Kauśika 63, 8) well-known allies of the Druhyus (Rv. viii. 39) related to the Asura-Pūrus (Sat. Br. vii. 8, 4). This exaltation of the royal function of a penal policy—*majjettrayā dandānōtau hatāyām sarve dharmāḥ prakṣayeyurvivṛddāḥ Sarve dharmaścaś amānām hatāḥ syuḥ kṣātre tyakte rājadharme Purāṇe*|| MBh. Śā. 63. 28. 29, reminds one of the Brh. Ar. Upaniṣad description of the Atharva—with the same words *trayā* and *kṣatram*. *Rājākarma*<sup>1</sup> forms an important theme of the Atharva (Kauśika, chs. 14-17). The *trayā* in the context of MBh. is noteworthy in view of frequent references to *chatvaro vedaḥ* xix. 109,5 ; v. 108,10 ; iii. 203,5 ; iii. 58,9 ; iii. 64,17, etc.<sup>2</sup> The (ḍ) name *Brahmaveda* (Śāṅkh. Gṛh. i. 16,3) is still more helpful. The word *brāhma* is a comprehensive term. The *Trayā*, viz. Rk, Sāman, Yajus, witnessed along with it much that was not included in it.<sup>3</sup> Much that was against it.<sup>4</sup> At first the latter were mentioned by name, e.g. Atharvāṅgīrasa.<sup>5</sup> After the Asura-Pūru defeat on the Paruṣpi (Rv. vii. 8, 4) came the time for amalgamation of the Tṛtsu-Bharata-Kurus (Rv., and the Asura-Pūru-Pañchālas<sup>6</sup> (Sat. Br. xiii. 5,4,7) in the Madhyadeśa.<sup>7</sup> Religious practices of the latter had to be co-ordinated with those of the former. The

<sup>1</sup> Weber, *Episches im vedischen Ritual*, op. cit. xxxviii. p. 785ff.

<sup>2</sup> Holtzmann, *Das Māhabhārata und seine Theile*, vol. iv. p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Tait. Ar.* ii. 9—10.

<sup>4</sup> Rv. vii. 104, 15, 16 : 'May I die if I be a sorcerer.

<sup>5</sup> *Hiraṅyakeśin* (ii. 19,6)...*itihāsapurāṇa* ; Śāṅkh. (1.24,8)...*vaḥkavākyam iti hāsapurāṇam*.

<sup>6</sup> Geldner, *Vedische Studien* 3,168, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ait. Br.* viii.14, 3.

Brahmaveda must, at its inception, have included current rites, outside the *Trayī* and possibly beside the Atharva. It came to be identified with the Atharva<sup>1</sup> because of the latter's importance as well insistence.<sup>2</sup> Thus Brahma<sup>3</sup> is as much removed from the great Brahma<sup>4</sup> as from a Brāhmaṇa versed in the R̥gveda<sup>5</sup> (Kaus. Br. vi. 11). No non-atharvanic text allows the Atharvan any superiority.<sup>6</sup> A Brahman is made, not born, in the Vedas.<sup>6</sup> He who knows the sarvavidyā (Tait. Br. iii. 10, 11, 4). The Atharvan is the last to claim it himself, cf. the Atharvasaṃhita (xi. 8. 23; xv. 3, 7; xv. 6, 8), the Atharva Upaniṣads, Nṛsimhapūrvaṭāpānī Up. v. 22). At this stage, the term Brāhma meant in the popular slang 'also ran'. This supplementary sense is not uncommon. In the MBh. Śānti. ch. 59, 106 occurs the sentence *pālayiṣyāmyahaṃ bhāumaṃ brahma ityeva chāsakṛt. ityeva chāsakṛt* is in apposition with 'take the oath' etc. in the preceding line. 'I will protect this entire earth' would be a literal translation. To take Brahma as substantive meaning God<sup>7</sup> does not suit the context. To patronize (*pālayiṣyāmi*.) Providence is a later practice. In any case once the Atharva got established as the *kṣataveda* it raised its claims in polemic or apologetic ritualistic writings.<sup>8</sup> The king's *purohita*, if a Brāhmaṇa, must at least know the Atharva.<sup>9</sup> Thus the Atharva became the Brahmaveda<sup>10</sup> and their *purohita* an appenage at royal courts. This *purohita* need not be a Brāhmaṇa. The far-sighted Indo-Aryan adherents of the *Trayī* accepted the Brahmaveda, as the fourth Veda admitted

<sup>1</sup> Av. i. 10, 1, i. 14, 44; *Viṣṇu* (Wilson) vi. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *S.B.E.* XLII. *op. cit.* p. lxxi.

<sup>3</sup> *Gop. Br.* i. 2, 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Brahmavidyā Up.* 5ff.

<sup>5</sup> Āpastamba, *Yajñaparibhāṣā Sū.* 19.

<sup>6</sup> Max Müller, *S.B.E.* xxx. p. 321; *Z.D.M.G.* ix. p. xlvii.

<sup>7</sup> Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Vol. II. p. 45.

<sup>8</sup> *Tait. Sū.* 6.1.

<sup>9</sup> Weber, *Omnia und Portenta*, p. 346ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Gop. Br.* i. 2, 16.



Bhṛgu as one of them<sup>1</sup> and rounded up this racial and cultural amalgamation by designating the Atharva *purohita* a Brahman. The work of assimilation is still going on. Bhṛgu is become a Brāhmaṇa.<sup>2</sup> But his Asura practices<sup>3</sup> and Asura origin<sup>4</sup> live enshrined in popular estrangement.<sup>5</sup>

(ii) Thus the Atharva authorship centres on Bhṛgu of the Angiras family<sup>6</sup> (Pāñ. v. 2, 37) devoted to the Atharva cult<sup>7</sup> (Gop. Br. ii. 2, 14). Vaitāna-Su, 6, 1 and Gop. Br. i. 3, 4 regard the Atharva as the best of Vedas. The Bhṛgus belong to the Pūru-Asura camp.<sup>8</sup> Bhṛspati is one of their noted *purodhas* (Kauś. 136.8) versed in characteristic Asura witchery.<sup>9</sup> The Arya Tṛtsu-Bharata Kurus<sup>10</sup> who succeeded to and absorbed the Asura-Pūru-Pañchālas<sup>11</sup> after the Dāśarājña<sup>12</sup> and in the Madhyadeśa took over the Atharva Asura sciences,<sup>13</sup> 'the gods, the fathers, and the twice-born do not receive the oblation of the king in whose house there is no guru that is skilled in the

<sup>1</sup> Av. v. 19, 1, 2 describes Bhṛgu as a Brāhmaṇa.

<sup>2</sup> Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* 2, 169-173.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. rejuvenation of Bhārgava Chyavana (Rv. x. 39, 4) *Sat. Br.* iv. 1, 5, 1; Bhṛgu's connection with Angirases (*Tait. Sam.* i. 1, 7, 2); Angirases as sorcerers (*Sat. Br.* x. 5, 2, 20).

<sup>4</sup> Bhṛgu as ally of Druhyus (Rev. viii. 3, 9) related to Pūrus (Rv. i. 108, 8) and Pūrus as Asuras (*Sat. Br.* vii. 14.)

<sup>5</sup> Burnell, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> *Gop. Br.* i. 1, 5, 8.

<sup>7</sup> Evidently a pervasive cult. cf. Max Müller, *A.S.L.* p. 486.

<sup>8</sup> Through the Druhyus (Rv. i. 108, 8).

<sup>9</sup> Rv. iv. 50, 1, Sāyana equates Purohita with Bṛhspati, and Purohita must know Atharva magic (*Āit Br.* viii. 25).

<sup>10</sup> The Tṛtsu-Bharatas merged in the Kurus. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, 406—9.

<sup>11</sup> The Pūru-Asuras merged in the Pañchālas. Weber, *Indische Stud.* i. 292 Neither Kuru nor Pañchāla occurs in Rv. Grierson (*J.R.A.S.*, 1908, pp. 602-7, 837-44) holds Kurus as Brāhmaṇical, Pūrus as non-Brāhmaṇical. In the Brāhmaṇa lit. (*Jaim. Un. Br.* iii. 7, 6; 8, 7, 7, 2) the Kuru-Pañchālas are a united-nation, under one king. *Vāj. Sam.* Kāva recension xi. 3, 3, cf. also Kuruśravaṇa trāsadasya descendant of the Pūru king. Trāsadasya.

<sup>12</sup> Rv. vii. 33, 2; 83, 8.

<sup>13</sup> Sāyana. Av. introd.

Atharvan. Kauś. 94, 2, 3. Their own Brāhmaṇa Vasiṣṭha<sup>1</sup> priests are retained but are asked to acquire the Atharva knowledge (Gop. Br. 1. 2, 16). The Aryan Brāhmaṇical literature for a time ignored the Atharva<sup>2</sup>; e.g. Gobhila, Khādīra, Aśvalāyana (iii. 3. 1-3) omit it when occasion arises. Cultural unity brought about a change.<sup>3</sup> Hir. ii. 3, 9; ii. 18, 8; ii. 20, 9; Pār. ii. 10, 7; etc. recognise it in the new Arya-Asura scheme of things, in the Madhyadeśa,<sup>4</sup> called the Atharva the Brahmadeva, Sāṅkh. i. 63, 3, extended its connection with Brahman and Brāhma Ath. Paris. 2. 1 and attempted an equivalence in the status of an Atharva-Asura Purohita and a Ṛgveda-Arya Brāhmaṇa<sup>5</sup> Kauś. 94, 2-9; 126. 2). They even sought to turn the Purohita into a Brāhmaṇa<sup>6</sup> (Ibid.) Above all, they helped cultural assimilation by a marked deference in the Atharva to Asura wisdom<sup>7</sup> (Av. vi. 108.3).

(iii) The Pūru-Bhṛgu Asura-Atharva of the Madhyadeśa<sup>8</sup> describes in detail the peculiar Asura virtues<sup>9</sup> noted in the Ṛgveda, up till their collapse on the Sarasvatī.<sup>10</sup> (a) His was sovereignty (*kṣātra*), (b) and kinship with the sea (Varuṇa) Rv. i. 24, 14; (c) astronomy (Rv. i. 25.8) was his *forte* and (d) *māya* or magic<sup>11</sup> his merit (Rv. i. 160-23); (e) Aśvins<sup>12</sup> and Rudra (Rv. v. 42, 11) were his patrons and (f) *bhṛgāya*, medicine, his *metier*, Rv. ii. 63, 7.

Each of the above is distinctly Atharvan. Thus<sup>13</sup> its seer Bhṛgu (Av. v. 19, 1; T.S. i. 8, 18, 1; T.B. i. 8, 2, 5), a 'son

<sup>1</sup> *Tait. Sam.* iii. 5, 2, 1.

<sup>2</sup> No specific mention by *trayi* diaskewasts. *S.B.E.* vol. xlii. page xxx-xi.

<sup>3</sup> Av. rites mean mastery of the earth and the ocean. (Mārkaṇḍ. Purāṇa).

<sup>4</sup> *Pancha Br.* xvii. 1, 1. Av. xv.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Stud.* x. 34.

<sup>6</sup> *Tait. Sū.* 6, 1.

<sup>7</sup> Lanman's Whitney's Atharva. H.O.S. vol. 7, p. 109.

<sup>8</sup> *Att. Br.* viii. 14.3.

<sup>9</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.* vol. xii. pt. 1, pp. 123-4.

<sup>10</sup> Rv. vii. 18, 13.

<sup>11</sup> Rv. i. 160, 23.

<sup>12</sup> Aśvins cured Chyavana (Rv. x. 39, 4), a Bhṛgu (*Śat. Br.* iv. i. 5, 1), an anti Indra worshipper.

<sup>13</sup> *Attharva Parisiṣṭas.*

of Varuṇa' in the Aitareya Br. iii. 34 is a special protégé of Varuṇa as an Atharvan priest<sup>1</sup> described as a Brāhmaṇa, Av. v. 19, 1; v. 19-10; v. 19, 15.<sup>2</sup> The Atharva is called *Kṣataveda*<sup>3</sup> (Śat. Br. xiv. 8, 14, 1-4), Weber<sup>4</sup> has discoursed on its connection with the *Kṣatriyās*, the ruling caste. The MBh. (v. 37, 58), the Rām. (ii 26, 21), the Purāṇas<sup>5</sup> (Bhāg. i. 4, 19, 20), Prose<sup>6</sup> (Daśakum. ch. iii) and Kāvya<sup>7</sup> (Kīrat. x. 10) literature dealing with the exploits of *Kṣatriyas* all avow it<sup>8</sup>. The mutual relation between the *Kṣatra* in the Rv. i. 25.5; iv. 26, 8; i. 24, 11; i. 136; *Kṣatra* in the Av. iii. 5, 2; v. 18, 4 and its designation *Kṣataveda* (Śat. Br. xiv. 8, 14) and the MBh. *Kṣatra* royal duties in opposition to *trayī* in MBh. 63, 28 29 raises interesting side-issues as regards the unique anomaly in India of an intellectual aristocracy<sup>9</sup> in poverty that prefers to reign and not to rule.<sup>10</sup> Suffice it to say that the Vedic Arya Divodāsa and Sudās's Tṛtsu-Bharata under Vasiṣṭhas Brāhmaṇic<sup>11</sup> leadership, wrenched *Kṣatra*, from the Suvāstu to the Sarasvatī,<sup>12</sup> from the Asura-Pūrus led by a Viśvā-mitra.<sup>13</sup> This superiority remained permanent by ceasing to be personal. It consolidates *kṣatra* by mingling the descendants of either --the Tṛtsu-Bharata-Kurus and the Asura-Puru-Pañchālas in the Madhyadeśa. It turns a *Kṣatavedin* into a *brahmavedin* (Av. viii. 10. 25) and latter into a Brāhmaṇa.<sup>14</sup> (Gop-

<sup>1</sup> *Chūlikā Up.* 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Kaus.* 94, 2-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Brh. Ar. Up.* v. 13, 1-4.

<sup>4</sup> Weber, *Episches im Vedischen ritual*, op. cit. xxxviii. p. 785ff.

<sup>5</sup> Max Müller, *A.S.L.* p. 476.

<sup>6</sup> Weber, *In d. Streifen.* i. 328.

<sup>7</sup> Muir, *O.S.T.*, I. p. 395. Colebrooke, *Mis. Essays* vol. i. p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Sāyaṇa, *Av. Intro.*

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Carlyle's aristocracy of the feudal parchment, of money bags, and of intellect.

<sup>10</sup> MBh. ch. lxxxvi. 26-8.

<sup>11</sup> *At. Br.* vii. 34, 9; viii. 21, 11. Rv. vii. 18.

<sup>12</sup> Rv. vii. 96, 2.

<sup>13</sup> Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, 15, 260.

<sup>14</sup> *At. Parī.* 3, 1.

i. 2. 18). Once the Atharva *purohita* rose to the dignity of a Brahmana (cf. the whole of Av. ch. ix) he was equated with the first upholder of that claim<sup>1</sup> viz. Vasiṣṭha (Tait. S. iii. 5. 2. 1). All distinctions became blurred. But the traditional Asura heritage continued. (c) Astronomy and Astrology are the Atharvan's province—*jyotiṛvido...atharvānah*, Atri Sam.<sup>2</sup> cf. Viṣṇu iii. 75; i. 332, Av. vi. 128; Kauṣ. 50.15 detail astrological practices<sup>3</sup>; of the Nakṣatrakalpa<sup>4</sup>. (d) *Māyā* or magic, *Śāntika-pauṣṭikabhichārādipratipādaka*<sup>5</sup> 'for propitiation, prosperity or perdition' is almost the whole of it.<sup>6</sup> (e) Its connection with Rudra is attested by numerous references, Av. vi. 20.2; vi. 44.3, etc. But the most significant is (f) its occupation of *bhṛṣajā*, medicine. It is a synonym of the Atharva charms in Śāṅkh. Śr. xvi. 2, 9; Aśva Śr. x. 7, 3; Pañch. Br. xii. 9, 10, *rohah*, *samāni*, *yajumsi*, are as categories, co-related with *bhṛṣajāni* in Av. xi. 6, 14. The Ṛgveda knew of the profession; i. 23, 9, 20; ii. 33, 2, 4; etc. and the practice, i. 89, 4; ii. 33, 2 and approved of the healers Aśvins (Rv. i. 116, 16), Varuṇa (Rv. i. 24, 9) and Rudra (Rv. ii. 32, 4, 7). With the Arya-Asura conflict came a dissension in their medical faculties. And as the Aryans had not much of it themselves—*bhṛṣajāṃ vā Atharvanāni* (Pañch. Br. xii. 9, 10), they condemned the science in toto. The Yajurveda<sup>7</sup> (Taitt. Sam vi. 4, 9, 3; Maitr. Sam. iv. 6, 2; Sat. Br. iv. 1, 5, 14) denounces the Aśvins and demands the head of a physician in its Puruṣamedha (Vāj. Sam. xxx. 10; Taitt. Br. iii. 4, 4, 1). Apas. Dh. Sū. i. 6, 18, 20; 19, 15; Gaut. Dh. Sū. xvii. 17; Vasiṣṭha Dh. Sū. xiv. 2, 19; Viṣṇu, li. 90; lxxxii. 9 prescribe it. The apothecary's oration about 'curing a person either with the ortho-

<sup>1</sup> *Ati. Br.* vii. 18; *Sat. Br.* xii. 6, 1, 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Atri Sam.* (Ed. Jivānanda vol. i. p. 45.)

<sup>3</sup> *Gaut.* xi. 15, 17.

<sup>4</sup> Rv. x. 127, 1 and Av. xix. 47, 3 regard the stars as Varuṇa's spies.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Stud. op. cit.* i. 26.

<sup>6</sup> *Sat. Br.* x. 5, 2, 20.

Bloomfield *Atharva*, xxxix. 1.

dox medicine or not all' in Molière<sup>1</sup> is not far-fetched. Only the patients did not listen and the Atharva was allowed. But even the MBh. xii. 36, 28 consider physicians as impure.<sup>2</sup> They have never occupied a respectable position in Indian Society.<sup>3</sup>

From the above the Asura character of the Atharva cannot be doubted. But the Arya-Asura amalgamation has confused later students. Mallinātha<sup>4</sup> associates Vasiṣṭha with the Atharva. Sāyaṇa takes the Atharvan *Purohita* to be a real Brāhmaṇa. Bloomfield<sup>5</sup> relying on either, seeks to differentiate between the contents as 'auspicious' *bhesaja* Atharva (Kāth S. xvi. 3) and sorcery or black magic as *ghoraḥ āṅgirasah* (Kauṣ Br. xxx 6).<sup>6</sup> Bloomfield compares different texts.<sup>7</sup> But comparison is no reason. And Macdonell<sup>8</sup> rightly refuses to be overcome by Bloomfield's array of appearances<sup>9</sup> and regards the Atharva as a homogeneous system.<sup>10</sup> About the Atharva's connection with a Brāhmaṇa and with Vasiṣṭha, the latter is explicitly repudiated by Gop. Br. ii.2-13; the former was a compromise and a symbol. The R̥gveda Asuras were led by Viśvāmitra, their successors, the Atharvan Asuras under a metamorphosed Brāhmaṇa<sup>11</sup> garb still follow Kausika 'the author of the great Atharvan Sūtra'<sup>12</sup> and a descendant of Kuśika, 'identical with Viśvāmitra'.<sup>13</sup>

Direct references<sup>14</sup> to the Asuras in the Atharva reveal a subdued tone of changed fortunes. They are wise Av. vi. 108,3;

<sup>1</sup> Molière, *M. De Pourceaugnac*, Act I. Scene VII.

<sup>2</sup> *Apastamba*, i. 6, 18, 20; 19, 15; *Viṣṇu* li. 10; *Gaut.* xvii. 17; *Var.* xiv.

<sup>3</sup> *Tait. Sam.* vi. 4, 9, 3—*brāhmaṇena bhesajam na karyam*.

<sup>4</sup> Mallinātha on *Kīrāta*, x. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Bloomfield, *S.B.E.* vol. XLII, p. xviii—xxi.

<sup>6</sup> *Aśv. Śr. Sū.* x. 7, 1.

<sup>7</sup> Bloomfield, *op. cit.* p. xx.

<sup>8</sup> Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. I. p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> Contrast Bṛhaspati (Thibaut, *Astronomie, strologie und Mathematik*,

p. 6) as *Āṅgirasa* in Kaus. 135, 9 and MBh. *āṅgirasāṃśreṣṭhah*.

<sup>10</sup> Macdonell and Keith, *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, i. 5.

<sup>12</sup> *S.B.E.* XLII, p. xxvi.

<sup>13</sup> Rv. iii. 33, 5; Nirukta, ii. 25.

<sup>14</sup> Av. ii. 3, 3; i. 10, 1; i. 24, 2; vi. 100, 3; iv. 10, 5; iii. 9, 4; iv. 19, 4; viii

th *upajihā* ant, a daughter of theirs, cures poison, Av. vi. 100,3; and the ant comes from the sea.<sup>1</sup> They dig remedies into the ground, Av. ii. 3-3; vi. 109,3, perhaps to conceal or for safe keeping.<sup>2</sup> They remember that they have been defeated<sup>3</sup> by the Aryas with the help of their Devas, Av. ii. 27, 3, 4; iv. 19, 4; vi. 7, 2; viii. 5, 3; ix. 2, 17, 18; x. 3, 11; xi. 51,7; xii. 1, 15, etc. But they cannot forget their days of greatness and their source: 'This Asura rules over the gods; the commands of Varuṇa the ruler, surely come true.'<sup>4</sup> Av. i. 10.

Thus the Atharva represents the Asuras in the Madhyadesa from the east of the Sarasvatī to the confines of Magadha. They had left the north and the west far behind. But the traditional link is unbroken. The Brāhmanical metamorphosis is too obvious. Av. x. i, 6 describes a descendant of Aṅgiras.<sup>5</sup> Bloomfield<sup>6</sup> translates 'Pratichīna ("Back-burler") the descendant of Aṅgiras, is our overseer and officiator (Purohita); do thou drive back again (pratichih) the spells, and slay yonder fashioners of the spells.' Whitney<sup>6</sup> proposes—'Opposed is the Aṅgirasa, our appointed (the *purohita*) overseer; do thou, having turned the witchcrafts in the opposite direction, slay yonder witchcraft makers'. The translations are hardly intelligible. The Purohita is a descendant of Aṅgiras and he is to counteract enemy witchery. The words *pratichih* and *pratichīna* point out his habitat. They are well-known contra-nyms of *Prāchī* or *Prāchya*, i.e. the east. They mean not Bloomfield's<sup>7</sup> 'back', or

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5, 3; x. 6, 10; 22; vii. 38, 2; iv. 8, 3; xi. 10, 10; 13; ii. 27, 3; xii. 1. 5; xi. 5, 7; ix. 2, 18, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Av. vi. 100, 1-3—"the three Sarasvatīs, of one mind, have given this—poison-destroying remedy,—thou daughter of the Asuras."

<sup>2</sup> Av. v. 13. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Av. xii. 1. 5. "The earth upon which of old, the first men unfolded themselves, upon which the Gods overcame the Asuras, etc."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Av. vi. 46, 3.

*S.B.E.* XLII, p. xxiv.

<sup>6</sup> Lanman's Whitney's *Atharva*, H.O.S. vol. viii., p. 563.

Bloomfield, *S.B.E. op. cit.* p. xxiv.

Whitney's<sup>1</sup> 'opposed' but 'from the west.' *Udāchya*<sup>2</sup>, *Nichya*<sup>3</sup>, and *Prachya*<sup>4</sup> signified respectively the north, the south and the east. *Pratīchī* Av. x. i. 6 is an indication that the Asuras had travelled beyond the Sarasvatī. But they had evidently not yet crossed the Sadānirā,<sup>5</sup> the eastern limit of the Madhyadesa. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa *Prāchya* covered the Kāśis, Kośalas, Videhas and generally Magadha which is not mentioned directly.<sup>6</sup> The Atharva states explicitly<sup>7</sup> that Magadha and Āṅga were still alien and unsympathetic territories, to be treated as hostile: 'To the Gandhāris, the Mūjavants, the Āngas, the Magadhas, like one sending a person a treasure, do we commit the fever'<sup>8</sup> Av. v. 22, 14. How far the present malaria and kalazar of Bengal and Bihar are an ancient legacy is undetermined. In any case the Asuras had already established contact with Magadha. In the north, the Mahāvṛṣas, the Balhikas and the Mūjavants<sup>9</sup> are to the Atharvan, 'other's fields verily [are] these' *Anyakṣetrāṇi*,<sup>10</sup> Av. v. 22. 7.8. The intervening land of Madhyadesa described later in Manu as between the Himālayas and the Vindhyas, east of the Vinasana and west of Prayāga (i.e. the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges—Medhātithi)<sup>11</sup> saw the Atharvan Asura being slowly absorbed in the Aryan body-politic. The Asura Pūru-Bhṛgu<sup>12</sup> group merging in the Pañchālas who in their turn disappear in the Kuru-Pañchālas.<sup>13</sup> And Indo-Aryan genealogy starts a fresh

<sup>1</sup> H.O.S. vol. 8, p. 563.

<sup>2</sup> Śat. Br. xi. 4, 1, 1,

<sup>3</sup> Ait. Br. viii. 14 (as distinguished from the Madhyadesa.)

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Imp. Gaz. Ind. 15, 24; Śat. Br. i. 4, 1, 14; Weber, Ind. Stū, 172-181.

<sup>6</sup> Oldenberg, *Buddha*, 393.

<sup>7</sup> Av. v. 22, 7, 8, and 14.

<sup>8</sup> H.O.S. vol. 7, pp. 260-61.

<sup>9</sup> Kauś. Intro. i. 12; Yāska on Nirukta, ix. 8.

<sup>10</sup> "These territories belong to some one else," H.O.S. vol. 7, p. 260.

<sup>11</sup> On Manu, II. 21.

<sup>12</sup> Weber, Ind. Lit. 90, 114-5, 125, 135-6.

<sup>13</sup> Ait. Br. viii. 14.

page with the Kuru-Pañchāla Pauravas<sup>1</sup> of Hastināpur and the Ikṣvākus (at first on the Indus,<sup>2</sup> then further east<sup>3</sup> and finally in Ayodhyā)<sup>4</sup> known in R̥gvedic days<sup>5</sup> (Rv. x. 60, 4) and the Atharva<sup>6</sup> (xiv. 39, 9) already ancient; Tryarūṇa Traidhātava Aikṣvāka (Pañch. Br. xiii. 3, 12; Bṛhaddevatā v. 14 clearly identical<sup>7</sup> with the R̥gvedic Tryarūṇa Trasadasyu (Rv. v. 27, 3) connected with Purukutsa an Aikṣvāka (Śat. Br. xiii. 5, 4, 5) and belonging to the Pūru group.<sup>8</sup> The Epics popularized the process and Purāṇas handed it down as the sheet-anchor of Indian racial evolution. Geographically Manu's (Ch. II. 21) omission of the western boundary is significant. In the R̥gveda the Asura lost to the Aryan from the Suvāstu to the Sarasvatī.<sup>9</sup> He was driven east.<sup>10</sup> In the Yajur, Sāma<sup>11</sup> and Atharva, the Asura was Aryanized (cf. the Brāhmanic modified adaption of the Asura Atharva) in the Madhyadeśa, right up to the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna<sup>12</sup> with continued Asura infiltration further east, into Magadha.<sup>13</sup> Beyond to the north and the west, lay the unreclaimed land of the Mlechchhas (Manu, II. 23).

### Brahmanas

The next, the Brāhmaṇa, period finds the Asuras settled in the east.<sup>14</sup> The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa Kāṇḍa xiii, *Adhyāya* 8;

<sup>1</sup> Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 1-4, of Rv. viii. 3, 12: Paurava 'descendant of Pūru'.

<sup>2</sup> Zimmer, *Alt. Leb.* 104, 130.

<sup>3</sup> Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* 2, 213.

<sup>4</sup> *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Wilson's Transl. iv. p. 240; Rāmāyaṇa.

<sup>5</sup> As connected with the Pūrus. Rapson, *C.H.I.*, p. 83.

<sup>6</sup> Bloomfield, *Atharva*, 680.

<sup>7</sup> Macdonell, *Bṛhaddevatā*, 2, 170

<sup>8</sup> Rapson, *C.H.I.* p. 83.

<sup>9</sup> Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth. I*, 50, 115.

<sup>10</sup> As Pañchālas to the Madhyadeśa (*Alt. Br.* viii. 14. 3); then further east as Prāchy-*Pañchālas Saṃhitopaniṣad Br.* 2.

<sup>11</sup> The Sāma supplies very little original information.

<sup>12</sup> Manu, II. 21.

<sup>13</sup> *Yajur, Vājas. Saṃ.* xxx. s. 22. *Atharva*, xv. 2, 1-4.

<sup>14</sup> *Śat. Br.* xiii. 8, 1, 5.



*Brāhmaṇa* i, 5 knows them as 'men of the east': *yā āsuryaḥ prāchyas tvad ye tvat parimaṇḍalāni (Śmaśānāni Kurvate)*. The passage is significant for more than one reason. Once for all, it forestalls the later-woven mythical<sup>1</sup> glamour and reveals the Asura as a sober reality. Death kills romance. And the Asura busy with his burial-place appears what he is—human, all too human. In the east he seems to have come to the end of his wanderings, at least for the time being. Weber<sup>2</sup> takes them as 'part of the *prāchya*.' Asura here stands in contrast to the Arya<sup>2</sup> on the one hand and the Śūdra<sup>3</sup> on the other. Admission to the Aryan fold of these Asura Easterners of Magadha (Bengal, Bihar and Assam) was through the Vratya rites<sup>4</sup>. cf. *Brahma-bandhu Māgadhadēśya*<sup>5</sup> with *brahmaveda* as the *Atharvaveda*<sup>6</sup> and the *Pūru-Bhrgu* Asura Atharvan priest called the *Brahman*.<sup>7</sup> But ethnically<sup>8</sup> as well as philologically<sup>9</sup> foreign traces are unmistakeable. Hoernle<sup>10</sup> held the old Māgadhi tongue, i.e. the old Prākṛt of the North-West and the ancestor of Modern Piśācha to be the same or allied language Grierson<sup>11</sup> signals out the Asura speech in Patañjali<sup>12</sup> as the Chūlikāpāiśāchika Prākṛt, also known as Māgadhi Prākṛt as of North-Western origin. Jarāsandha at Rajgir<sup>13</sup>, and Bhagadatta in Prāgyotiṣ (Assam)<sup>14</sup> attest Asura individuality through Epic days and later.

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<sup>1</sup> *Śāmkhyāyana Śr. Sut.* x. 61, 2, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Weber, *Ind. Stud.* I. p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> *Sat Br.* xiii. 8, 1, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* v. 8, 8, 2.

*yāyana Śr. Su.* viii. 6, 28.

<sup>5</sup> *Av.* i. 10, 1; 14, 44; 23, 4.

<sup>6</sup> Sāyaṇa, on *Av.* p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Pargiter, *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, pp. 851-53.

<sup>8</sup> Grierson, *Bulletin School Orient. Stud. Lond.* Indo-Aryan Vernaculars. 1921, pp. 77ff.

<sup>10</sup> Hoernle, *Gd. Grammar*, 280. n. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Grierson, *op. cit.* p. 53.

<sup>12</sup> *Mahabhāṣya*, Ed. Kielhorn, i. 2, 1. 8.

<sup>13</sup> MBh. Sa. xvii. 21. and xvii. 52.

<sup>14</sup> MBh. Dro. xxxi. 1, etc.

Thus spread the Asuras in India, "from across the sea of Salt water"<sup>1</sup> to their base on the Sindhu-Sarasvati,<sup>2</sup> to the confines of Madhyadeśa on the Sadānīrā,<sup>3</sup> to Magadha<sup>4</sup> and the borders of Eastern India.<sup>5</sup> It had traversed a whole continent. It had experienced every variety of ethnic and geographic distribution. It had passed through every *nuance* of cultural assimilation. Yet it impressed its alien source on the land of its last settlement. It came to be known as *Magadha*, i.e. *magān dhārayatī* or *Maga-land*, precisely similar in significance to *Eng-land*, *Deutsch-land*, *Russ-land*. 'The inhabitants of this region still call it Magā', says Rapson,<sup>6</sup> 'a name doubtless derived from Magadha.'<sup>7</sup> It is the other way, the people giving the name to the country. The Magadhas (Patna and Gaya districts) are unknown by this name in the R̥gveda.<sup>8</sup> The Atharvaveda<sup>9</sup> mentions them along with the Aṅgas (Monghyr and Bhagalpur districts) as on the extreme eastern outpost of Aryan civilization. Who were these *Magas*? Their descendants, the *Maghayā Brāhmaṇas* are even to-day lowly representatives of medicine, astrology and magic.<sup>10</sup> Spooner<sup>11</sup> stresses their kinship with the Persian Magi. To the Indian in the extreme north-east such intimate specialization was neither possible nor necessary. Like *frank* in Mediæval India, *Maga* in ancient days was a confused recognition of an alien from beyond the Indus.<sup>12</sup> And the Median Magi himself is Pre-Achæminide Persian and

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<sup>1</sup> The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*.

<sup>2</sup> Rv. vii. 96, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Boundary between Kosala and Videha never fully Brahminized. *Sat. Br.* i. 4, 1, 10ff.

<sup>4</sup> Rapson, *C.H.S.* p. 309.

<sup>5</sup> Rājgir, MBh. V. P. Vol. V, fp. 54.

<sup>6</sup> Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

<sup>7</sup> Grierson, *E.R.E.* vi. 181.

<sup>8</sup> Macdonell and Keith, *Ved. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 116.

<sup>9</sup> Av. v. 22, 14.

<sup>10</sup> J.R.A.S., 1915, pp. 421-22, 429, 435.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 428.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. similar reminiscence in the *Prabodhachandrodaya*.

though as antagonists, affiliated to Assyria.<sup>1</sup> The Asura origin of these Magadhas is finally proved by the Magadhas themselves "whose kings claimed to be Pūrus"<sup>2</sup> and the Pūrus are explicitly recorded as Asuras from the earliest times.<sup>3</sup>

This Asura expansion in the course of ages, from before the R̥gveda to the Sūtras and after, has transformed the whole outlook of India. She has become a symbol of unity in diversity. Aryāvarta, Brahmāvarta, Magadha, are all absorbed in *Hindu-sthan*. Brāhmaṇism, Buddhism, Jainism are all assimilated in *Hindu-ism*. Both Hindu-sthan and *Hindu-ism* are based on *Hindu*. *Hindu* is the Persian form of *Sindhu*. The Greeks changed it to *Indos*. Thus Hind is the land of the Sindhus, later co-extensive with entire India. A Hindu is one who belongs to India. Like an Englishman in England, a Hindu in India may be of any cultural denomination—he may be a Christian, a Jew, a Muhammadan or a Buddhist. The Arya-Asura-Dāsa polity of the land of the Sindhu evolved Hinduism as a unique allegiance to India. To contrast a Hindu with a Christian or a Muhammadan is to misread Indian history. A proper antithesis would be an animist, a Brāhmaṇical or casteman, a Buddhist, etc. The Arya-Asura amalgamation in the past might serve as an object-lesson for the future. Both the Arya and the Asura entered India as aliens : both adopted her as their motherland and made her great.

पृथिवि मातर्मा मा हिंसीर्माहं त्वाम्<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *J.B.O.E.S.*, Vol. XII. Pt. I. p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Rapson, *C. H. I.*, p. 309.

<sup>3</sup> *Sat. Br.* vi. 8,1,14.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid* v. 4,3,20.

## MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS

### I.—Further Notes on the *Burus* and the *Bongas*

By Rev. P. O. Bodding

As is well known to the student of comparative religion, mountains and mountain-gods play a role in the religion of many peoples. Mountains have been personified as gods, or they are associated with godlings, ghosts and spirits as their abode. In this way hills or mountains become sacred. Mountains may be worshipped, mountain spirits are worshipped, or people worship on mountains.

The Santals are not peculiar or different from a great many other peoples in connecting mountains with spirits. But all analogy is against a spirit being called a mountain, as has been asserted with reference to the Santal *burn*; it all points the opposite way.

It is a large subject and cannot here be more than just referred to. So far as I have been able to find out the Santals and their ancestors have not worshipped any mountain. No mountain has to them become a personified godling. But they have undoubtedly worshipped spirits supposed to reside on mountains, and are doing so still.

The traditions related in the previous article telling how the ancestors commenced to worship *bongas*, is significant.

Except in the case of the godlings that have become the national deities of the Santals, and whose worship (although perhaps not without doubt) seems to be possible anywhere, a mountain spirit has to be worshipped within the sphere of this spirit's influence, i.e. not far from the hill in question, preferably within sight of it, but not necessarily or even commonly on the hill itself. This last is rather exceptional in these parts, although sacrifices are performed on a couple of hills supposed to be the abode of certain mighty *bongas*,

As an appendix to the foregoing I may be permitted to relate the following :—

We have in this vicinity (the south-eastern part of the Santal Parganas district) a cone-shaped mountain, visible very far away. It is called *Karakata buru*, the Karakata mountain, and has likely got its name from buffaloes having been sacrificed in its vicinity ; so it is told, and a place is even now shown, where sacrifices were formerly performed, nor far from where the cone rises from the hills. Whether sacrifices are performed here now I have not heard ; if so, they are only occasional.

A fairly powerful spirit is believed to have its abode on this hill. The road from the interior to the railway passes within a couple of miles of this hill. When Santals on their way to foreign parts as, e.g. to tea gardens, pass here they may stop for a night in the vicinity ; that is to say, formerly they frequently did so ; at the present time when coolies are mostly sent to the railway station by motor-lorries they will have to make special arrangements, if they wish to do what is being told here below, and which is taken from some notes I made nearly thirty years ago.

One man of the out-going party, one who has some knowledge of such matters, spends the night in what is called *neo dhorom*, i.e. in religious abstinence ; he sleeps on the ground on a mat or some straw, does not drink and keeps away from women. Next morning he first goes and bathes and brings a lota of water with him. Facing the hills he pours the water on the ground making the following invocation (*bakher*, as it is called in Santali) : *Johar, Karakata Gosae, bapu Thakur tin do ! Men tobekhan ningak' hqr boge bogetele hec' ruqrena menkhan mit'ten bheda dhuri jangatele emama.* Translated : Be greeted, Karakata Lord, my Father God ! Mind then, if so-and-so many people return in good health we shall give thee with dusty feet (i.e. before doing anything else or entering our homes) a ram. Another form of a part of the vow is this : *Ningak' hqrle calak' kana dak' disom bulun disomte, naete napate bare ayur agu sotok' leam*, that is, we are going so many people to the land of water, the land of salt, thou wilt guide and follow us back well

in every respect. This was especially used by those who went to Chittagong and had to go by steamer part of the way. Instead of a ram, a goat or a pig might be vowed.

The vowed sacrifice is performed on their return to the place where the vow was made, or within sight of the hill, before they reach home. It is the man who made the vow that will have to perform the sacrifice, and the other members of the party will rely on his redeeming the pledge, whether they return together or not. If the man who officiated has died, some one else of the same party will be chosen to perform the sacrifice ; when doing so he expressly states in his sacrificial invocation that he offers this sacrifice in fulfilment of the vow of so-and-so.

It is said, that if any one of the party during their sojourn in foreign parts should get into danger they may call on the spirit to whom the vow has been made.

It is always the *Karakata bonga* or the *Karakata bururen bonga*, the *Karakata* spirit, or the spirit of the *Karakata* mountain that is invoked and spoken of, not the hill, the *buru* itself.

In a way similar to what has been described other mountain spirits are invoked and made vows to, thus the spirits having their abode on *Cofo buru*, a dome-shaped hill near Dumka, on *Malq, ea buru*, a hill in the south-western corner of the Santal Parganas district, on *Pañcit buru* and on *Boka pahari*, the two last ones both outside this district.

The spirit residing on the Maloncha hill has been especially famous and much feared. I have heard a number of stories told about some old parganaites who made vows to this spirit when they had got themselves into serious difficulties ; if they gained the victory against their enemies, they vowed to sacrifice rams to this spirit. It has been said, that even "tailless rams" were sacrificed to this spirit, i.e. human beings ; on the whole *bongas* to whom rams and buffaloes are sacrificed might also have human sacrifices offered to them.

It is of some interest to note that the power of a mountain spirit is supposed to go further than that of spirits having a more secluded and confined abode.

## II.—A Note on the Time of the Kara Dynasty.

By Binayak Misra

We learn from Hiuen Tsang's accounts that Kongada country was to the south of Uch, i.e. Orissa. Some copper-plate records discovered in Ganjam and edited by Dr. Kielhorn in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, pp. 133-142, inform us that Daṇḍi Mahādevī who ascended the throne after the death of her mother, wife of Lalitabhār, gave land-grants in Kongada in Dakṣiṇa Kośala (Dakṣiṇa-Kośalāyām Kongada-maṇḍalake) to some Brahmans. From this we can gather that those grants were made when Gupta Kings of Dakṣiṇa Kośala (i.e. Sambalpur) established their supremacy over Kongada in the tenth century A.D. (The time of the Gupta Kings of Orissa has been discussed by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar in his work *Orissa in the Making*, chapter VII). Again, one copper-plate record found probably in Dhenkanal State in Orissa and edited by Pandit Haraprasad Shastri in this journal of 1916, discloses that Tribhubana-Mahādevī, wife of Lalitabhār of Kara Dynasty was the daughter of Malladeva, the ornament of the southern country. This is most probably the same Jagadeka Malla of the tenth century A.D. whom we meet with in the epigraphic records ; in that case the year 180 of the first-mentioned copper-plate may be taken as the Chola Era, for during the latter half of the tenth century A.D. Cholas established a loose sovereignty over Orissa. Now, it is evident that the Kara Dynasty existed in Kongada in the tenth century A.D.

### III.—Some Names in the Ramayana

By Ambika Prasad

In the article published in pages 41 to 53 of Vol. XI, Pt. I of the Journal, entitled "Aboriginal Names in the Rāmāyana," written by Mr. G. Ramdas, B.A., M.R.A.S., while deducing to which language the word LANĀ belongs, the learned author says "Sanskrit dictionaries say that it is a name of the town of Rāvāna; but are silent with regard to its derivation. Why the city was called so is nowhere explained. The name of anything must signify some prominent feature of that object. This Lanā also must have some significance in it which has subsequently been lost sight of." These lines go to suggest that the learned author of the article has consulted all the Sanskrit dictionaries and did not find the derivation of the word Lanā in any of them, nor how the city of Rāvāna derived this name. But it is not so. If the learned author had taken pains to consult Śabdakalpadrūma—the Sanskrit lexicon—he would have found लंका (रमन्तेऽस्यामिति । रम् + वाङ्मुलकात् कः । रस्यलरवं । इत्युज्ज्वलः, रत्नःपुरी ।

This is quite sufficient to satisfy the queries of the learned author. All his queries are answered. The derivation is given there—meaning "white." Thus, as Rāvāna was in possession of vast wealth with precious metals and stones, and his city was abounding in brilliant buildings having gold and silver domes, so it was that his city was given the befitting name of Lanā (उज्ज्वल).

Again, while tracing the word JATAYU to the Śabar language in page 44 the learned author makes a series of investigations and doubts if and how Jatāyu was Rāma's पितृसखा (father's friend). He writes "Sampati came out of a cave in the hill





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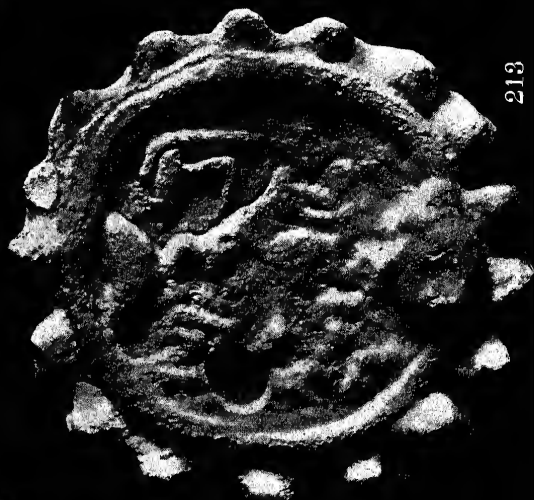
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near by and questioned them (Vānaras) how Jaṭāyu became a friend of Daśaratha (IV, 56-24) तस्यैव च मम भ्रातुः सखा दशरथः कथम् । But the Vānaras without giving any reply to this question again repeated (IV, 57-9 रामस्य तु पितुर्मित्रं जटायुर्नमि शृणुवाद् । ”

In order to get a correct meaning we should look to the full context. On a reference to Kāṇḍa IV. chapter 56 we see that when the Vānaras, who were engaged in tracing out the whereabouts of Sītā, were sitting at the foot of the Vindhya Hills near the abode of Sampati, he, having come out of his cave, spoke out in full mirth as follows :— विधिः किलनरलोके विधानेनानुवर्तते । यथाऽयं विहितो भक्ष्यश्विरान्मह्यमुपागतः ॥ परंपराणां भक्षिष्ये वानराणां मृतं मृतम् । उवाचेदं वचः पक्षी तान्निरोक्ष्य प्लवंगमान् ॥ (Providence is so called as He provides each being with his dues, just as he provided me with my due diet by sending these Vānaras to my cave though after a long time. I will eat them each by killing. Thus spoke the bird Sampati on seeing the Vānaras.) Hearing this plot of Sampati and finding the lives of all the Vānaras in danger, Aṅgada, the leader of the party, addressing Hanumān on the ill consequences of the granting of the boons to Kaikeyī uttered (VI, 56—14) जटायुषो विनाशेन राज्ञो दशरथस्य च । हरणेन च वैदेह्याः संशयं हरयो गताः ॥ (Owing to the deaths of Jaṭāyu and Raja Daśaratha and Sītā having been stolen away the lives of the Vānaras have been endangered.) Sampati, on hearing this discourse of Aṅgada, addressed the Vānaras thus :— तदिच्छेयमहं श्रोतुं विनाशे वानरर्षभाः । भ्रातुर्जटायुषस्तस्य जनस्थाननिवासिनः ॥ २३ ॥ तस्यैव च मम भ्रातुस्सखा दशरथः कथम् । यस्य रामः प्रियः पुत्रो ज्येष्ठो गुरुजनप्रियः ॥ २३ ॥ (अन्वयः— यस्य रामः पुत्रः स मम भ्रातुस्सखा दशरथः कथं लोकान्तरं गतः) (O great of the Vānaras ! I wish to hear how the deaths of my brother Jaṭāyu, who had his abode in Janasthāna, and that of my brother's friend Daśaratha, whose beloved and eldest son is Rāma, the beloved of the elders, happened.)

Thus, from the context, it appears, that Sampati did not ask the Vānaras to relate how Jaṭāyu became friend of Daśaratha but to relate how the death of the two beings, viz. Jaṭāyu and his friend Daśaratha, happened. So, while replying later on, the Vānaras said रामस्य तु पितुर्मित्रं जटायुः नाम गृध्रराट् । ददर्श सीतां वैदेहीं ह्यमाणां विहायसा ॥ (Rama's father's friend Jaṭāyu, the king of the vultures, saw Sītā, the daughter of Videha, being stolen and carried away through the skies.) Now, as Sampati's question did not indicate a query about the circumstances which led to Jaṭāyu's friendship with Daśaratha so the Vānaras did not relate them in reply, rather repeated the same—the friendship—as an undoubted fact supplied by Sampati himself.

Sampati again could not have asked the Vānaras to narrate how Jaṭāyu and Daśaratha became friends as the Vānaras never told him the existence of such a tie between Jaṭāyu and Daśaratha. It is Sampati himself who calls Daśaratha to be his brother Jaṭāyu's friend and as such Sampati had no occasion to ask the cause of it of others. As in his very first utterances Sampati introduces Daśaratha as Jaṭāyu's friend, we have no other alternative than to infer that he knew of their friendship from before ; otherwise he would have introduced it.

There is one very remarkable śloka in Kāṇḍa IV, chapter 56, referred to above. It is (IV, 56—15) रामलक्ष्मणयोर्वीर्यं शरण्ये सह सीतया । राघवस्य च वाणेन बालिनश्च तदा बधः ॥ (Residence of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with Sītā in the forest and death of Bālī with the arrows of Rāma.) This śloka was uttered by Aṅgada just after he spoke जटायुषो विनाशेन.....हरयो गताः । quoted above. Thus we see that the deaths of three personalities, viz. Jaṭāyu, Daśaratha and Bālī are narrated by the Vānaras. Here we should remember that natural emotion arises on hearing of the death of connected persons and the hearer becomes anxious to know how it happened. Applying the same natural law here we find that Sampati grew anxious to hear the causes

of the death of Jātāyu because they were close friends. Of the two remaining personalities, Daśaratha and Bālī, we see Bālī's name is not uttered by Sampati at all. This leads us safely to conclude that Sampati was not anxious to know the cause of Bālī's death—perhaps as Sampati had no sort of connection with Bālī; but becomes anxious to know the same of Daśaratha as he (Sampati) knew Daśaratha to be his brother's (Jātāyu's) friend.

It may again be said that Sampati apprehended that because of his utterances to kill the Vānaras, Aṅgada may not give any reply to his queries and while asking them to narrate the deaths of Jātāyu and Daśaratha he prudently thought of disclosing his own connection with both—that of his brother's with Jātāyu, and brother's friendship with Daśaratha—so that laying aside their offending mood, if any, at the former utterances, the Vānaras may, by knowing the connection, be moved by compassion and give a reply out of pity and sympathy towards him.

Thus the enquiries of the learned writer of the article appear to have been based on some misconception. Besides, the learned author writes that Jātāyu introduced himself to Rāma as his पितृसखा and quotes (III, 14—3) उवाच वत्स मं विद्धि वयस्यं पितुरात्मनः । (Jātāyu said, "Oh my dear, know me as a contemporary of your father.") Here the word पितृसखा does not occur. I think the learned author interprets वयस्यं पितुरात्मनः as पितृसखा, but strictly speaking वयस्यं पितुरात्मनः means "of the same time and age as your father and hence contemporary." That Jātāyu also meant this is quite clear from the next śloka (III, 14—4) स तं पितृसखं बुध्वा पृजया मास राजवः : (Rāghava worshipped Jātāyu taking or accepting him as his father's friend.) Thus it appears that Jātāyu never introduced himself as पितृसखा (father's friend) of Rāma but as a contemporary of Daśaratha and it was Rāma who accepted and respected Jātāyu as his father's friend (पितृसखा)

The learned author has taken great pains in expounding the word *Jatāyu* in two parts and ascribing a meaning to each to suit the Śabar language. As I am not conversant with that language, I cannot say how far he has been successful. But from the reasonings he has given, I infer that while so trying, he has left the real context so far out of sight as to render his interpretation extremely doubtful.



## **IV.—Studies in Folklore**

**By Satindra Narayan Roy, M.A., B.L.**

### **1. Antidote of Still-births**

In these days of child-welfare work, the superstitious practices of the people of Orissa to prevent still-births may be of some interest to readers. Still-births are very painful to the parents. They feel a keen desire to have a child, so they resort to superstitious practices against still-births.

It is widely believed throughout Orissa that a bath in Marich Kunda in Bhubaneswar on the Asokāṣṭamī day in the month of Chaitra ensures a healthy baby to the mother afflicted with still-births. Marich Kunda is a small artificial tank through which the water of the Gauri Kedar spring flows. There are other tanks in the course of the same spring quite near Marich Kunda. But the water of Marich Kunda alone is said to have miraculous powers on a particular day of the year. There is another semi-religious ceremony, quite akin to the bath in Marich Kunda, but it is not confined to any particular day of the year. Women who have given birth to still-born children go to Puri with their husbands and stand by the side of the pillar on which the image of Garuḍa, the carrier of Krishna, is worshipped; water is then poured on Garuḍa which drenches the married couple. They then retire to their house and change their clothes. The priest who accompanies them, performs their marriage ceremony once again with due incantations. This is believed to bring on a change in their married life with the result that they are blessed with healthy children. This practice is prevalent among the Oriyas in the district of Ganjam.

If after repeated still-births a child is born alive he is given a bad name so that he may not attract the notice of Yama,



Quite a number of people in Orissa bear such despicable names, which puzzle an outsider. We give a few of them, Pacha (the rotten one), Nakfuria (one whose nose has been bored), Neassia (one who has no hope of life), Apartia (the precarious one), Bula (a wanderer), Magunia (alms to a beggar), Guhia (the dirty child), Pathania (a mussalman), Bhikari (a beggar), Tincori (a man bought for three cowries), Ekadasi (starving child, Ekadasi the eleventh day of the moon being a day of fast), Ekkaria (a man worth a cowrie), Alakshmini (unlucky girl), Dukkhi (the poor man), Maganta (one who lives by begging) are a few of the numerous bad names given to children by their parents to deceive the all-watchful Yama.

Parents afflicted with still-births take a solemn vow to make their first surviving son a mendicant, and when the boy reaches the age of five he is made the *chela* of a mendicant. It is believed that by making the first living son a mendicant the parents ensure healthy offspring to themselves.

Parents afflicted with still-births dedicate their first living son to Mahadev. When the child reaches the age of five or six he is taken to the temple of Mahadev and a puja is offered according to the means of the parents. His head is shaved clean before the puja begins. The hair cut from the head of the boy up to the date of puja is not thrown away but carefully stored. After the puja is over the shavings of the head as well as the hair stored are offered before Kshetrapal, who is invariably found near the temple of Mahadev. It seems that shaving the head is a sign of humiliation and the puja is a sign of gratitude to the deity who has saved the boy beyond danger. At every crisis of his life in future, the Mahadev to whom he has been dedicated is looked up to to save him from danger.

There is a *vrata* or occasional worship by females which is called Bataosa. It is held in the month of Agrahan, either on the third, seventh or ninth day after the full-moon. Rich cakes are prepared. Sugarcane, coconuts and raddishes are put in a basket nicely dressed. A small cavity is dug in a secluded place in the village common. The offerings are arranged

round the ditch and women sit on all sides to hear the story of the vrata. Flowers are placed on the ditch and resin is burnt. The story of the vrata is then recited by one of the devotees and is heard with rapt attention by the whole group. After it is over, the place of worship is swept with a broom made of the Bajramuli tree. The origin of the worship runs as follows. There was once a Brahmin in Patlipur who was afflicted with still-births. He prayed to Vishnu to give him a healthy son. Vishnu answered his prayers and told him to do Bataosa vrata. The Brahmin after observing the vrata got a son, who became pious, learned and happy in due course. The King of Kosala and his wife Lilabati were very unhappy as they had no child. They longed to see the face of a son. They came to know of vrata and took a vow to do it if they would get a son. A son was born to them in due course. He was named Birasen. He grew up to be a lovely boy. But his parents rolling as they were in luxury forgot their vow about Bataosa. Yama became very angry and awaited his opportunity to take the boy away. One day, it so happened that the boy was coming alone from the village school. Yama caught hold of him and took him to Yamalaya. The boy had a strong longing for his parents and begged Yama's mother to save him. When Yama sat for his meal, the boy sneezed as he was directed by Yama's mother. Yama's mother feigned that her son had sneezed and blessed him in the usual way by saying "Long live my darling." Yama's mother was a goddess and she could not take back the blessing she had conferred unconsciously on the boy. Yama had to let the boy go and he dropped him down near the back-door of his house, after giving a strong warning to his parents to practise Bataosa vrata. The king and the queen were highly delighted to have their son back. They gladly took to Bataosa vrata. People followed their example, the vrata became a current festivity of the realm. Those who practise Bataosa get a brood of healthy children, none of whom dies an untimely death.

## 2. Banshis of Artia and Kagmari hills of Mymensingh

The Banshis are a forest people living in Artia and Kagmari hills of Mymensingh. These hills join the hills of Joydebpur in Dacca, on one side, and the hills of Assam on the other. The Banshis are quite different from the Rajbanshis of the plains. They are clean eaters and live mainly by agriculture. They wear the sacred thread. Widow marriage is not prevalent among them. The upper castes do not take water from their hands. Brahmin priests who officiate in their religious ceremonies lose their social status and become degraded. Most of them are worshippers of Sakti. They are hospitable to a fault, like many other forest people. There are two special products of their agriculture which sell at a very great value on the plains. Two species of fine and fragrant rice called Bankosh and Kalajira are produced on the upland slopes. The Banshis cultivate them and sell them to the people of the plains. In the beginning of the rainy season, they put ridges on all sides of their fields, on the slopes of the hill and allow water to accumulate thereon, then after a few days the Banshis through up the fields and make a thick mud paste a few feet deep by kneading up the earth with water. Rice seedlings of Bankosh and Kalajira are then planted on the fields, and planting is finished within a single day. If the earth is not kneaded up into thick paste, or if the transplantation is not finished within the course of a single day, the rice produced in the field loses its flavour when cooked. I have not been able to find out a reason for this. Botanists may try to find it out. It is a fact that Bankosh and Kalajira rice produced on the hill-slopes by the Banshis in the above process give out an exquisite flavour when cooked. Sonamug, a kind of pulse, is also cultivated by the Banshis on an extensive scale. The Banshis keep cows, but they have a strong prejudice against selling milk.

The Banshis are first class archers. They are so proficient in archery that they can hit the mark, a small dot for instance, from a distance of a hundred yards or so. People of the plains believe that the Banshis are adepts at witchcraft. They are

a truthful people. It is very widely believed that some of them have such supernatural powers that they can kill with their mere look the wrongdoer who oppresses them. The Banshis know the uses of herbs and simples and they can cure many diseases by simple remedies. This may account for the popular belief that the Banshis are very proficient in witchcraft. The whole Banshi community is guided by a few headmen called Matabbars. In all communal matters, the Matabbars sit in council under a spreading tree, and the decision arrived at by them is obeyed by the entire community.

The Banshis believed that their forefathers were Kshatriyas, and that they came to hide themselves in the forests of Mymensingh when the great Parsuram was waging a war of extermination against the Kshatriyas. There is at the present day hardly anything to support the tradition of their Kshatriya descent. But there is a very striking peculiarity of their language which deserves more than a passing notice. They have lost their mother tongue and have adopted the Bengali language. They speak Bengali with an intonation peculiar to them. They have still an alphabet, which they use in writing Bengali among themselves, which resembles the Devanagri script. It must be remembered that the Devanagri alphabet is not in use anywhere in Bengal. The Bengalees, except a few Sanskrit scholars, have completely given it up. Philologists may well enquire into the matter and satisfy themselves from linguistic tests whether there is any trace of a forgotten Upper India dialect in the language spoken by the Banshis.

### 3. Some proper names of North Balasore

One proper name is as good as another. The poet has said "what's there in a name?" The village names have hardly any principle behind them. The villages appear to have been named promiscuously and the import of the names has long been forgotten. But if we scrutinise a little, we shall see that village names have a lot of meaning in them. Topical and historical allusions, philological prefixes and suffixes that have

gone out of use, lost habits and manners of the people, religious creeds that have long ceased to exist, and traces of the past civilisation, live behind the village names in disguise. We shall confine our present enquiry to a few proper names of North Balasore. Let us see what they disclose.

The river Subarnarekha, literally a streak of gold, has now lost its original signification. Formerly people used to collect gold dust from its sand, by washing and lixiviation. The gold dust can still be found, but as labour has become dear, the cost of collecting gold is out of proportion to the output. There is a branch of the Subarnarekha called the Chitra Rekha (the diversified streak or stream). The name poetically fits in with its parent stream and is of Sanskrit origin. There are three small streams in North Balasore with which we shall deal here. The river Jhulka has a meaning behind it. Jhalka in Oriya means a man who has staring eyes without the power of sight. The river is a blind one. After flowing for some distance it stops short, as it were, and forms a blind chanel. Pejagata, the river that is traditionally said to have taken its origin from the throwing away of gruel by Draupadi during the exile of the Pandavas in Matsyadesh. It is a little streamlet in summer and may have been named the gruel stream in disparagement owing to its small volume of water. The river Palpala is a small stream. It has a strange tradition. Once the river was very deep and was infested with crocodiles. A mother with her child had gone to the river. The mother was caught by a crocodile and taken beyond her depth. The crocodile did not kill its victim at once, but held her up and sank her down into the water alternately. The mother when her head was out of the water cried out to her child "Pala, Pala," that is run away. The villagers were impressed with the incident and named the river, Palapala, which came to be pronounced *Palpala*. There is a little village called Sonakania, near the Subarnarekha. Sonakania is a variation of Sonakania, or gold dust. It may be that in old days gold dust was collected from the sands of this

village. The trade in washing gold dust has died out, and people have corrupted Sonakania into Sonakānia, literally a girl with gold in her ears. Philologically, after a word has lost its meaning, it is corrupted into something strange by people who do not know what it means, but all the same, attempt to make sense out of it.

The name Lakhannath is a puzzle to many. It has hardly any meaning on the face of it. Sitanath and Kalinath mean Rama and Mahadeva, respectively, the word Nath being a synonym for lord, or husband. But tradition makes the meaning of this village name quite clear. The tract at one time was covered with dense forest. Lakhannath, a Yogi by caste and belonging to the Natha Sampradaya, went to live in this forest. He founded a god Mahadev, which is to this day known as Lakhanshwar. The Natha Sampradaya was once a powerful religious sect. There are still found a good many adherents of that cult in Orissa. The village Santia might originally derive its name in two ways. Satia means, in old Oriya, a weakling. The word has become obsolete now. It seems that the original founder or proprietor of the village was a weakling. Again the word may be a corruption of Santhia, that is the abode of Santhas or Sadhus. Tradition asserts that there was a Math in this village. It has completely disappeared now.

Gobarghatta is composed of two words Gobar, cowdung, and Ghatta, a streamlet. Very near to this village is the village of Gopa, which means a pasture. These two names put us in mind of the pastoral habits of the people, when lands were abundant and the number of settlers very few. Deforestation and pasture preceded regular cultivation and settlement. There is a persistent tradition that the kingdom of the famous Virat Raja was located in north Balasore and west Midnapur. The Sub-Chief of Kaptipada in Mayurbhanj State claims to be a descendant of Virat. Bakasur is said to have dwelt at Garbetta in west Midnapur district. Prehistoric bones are found in large number in a hill close by. King Virat had a large

number of cattle and there was a fight over them between the Kauravas and the Pandavas as narrated in Virataparva of the Mahabharata.

There are many village names with the suffix "da." They are found everywhere in Orissa. It is a puzzle to many as to what they really mean. The word "da" has a lot of meanings. It is a San-krit word, meaning preservation, gift, pain and cutting. We have it in village names like Barada, giver of boons, and Amarda, the giver of immortality. These village names have been derived from the names of their presiding deities. But there are quite a series of names with the suffix "da" which are thoroughly unintelligible, unless the word "da" is taken as a corruption of the word dām, meaning a sand dune. These names occur near the seacoast, where sand dunes were, or still are, plentiful. The first settler went and built a house on a sand dune, the second followed suit, and so all the dunes in the neighbourhood were colonised. Once we bear in mind that "da" is a corruption of dām, village names like Kamarda (the blacksmith's dune), Belda (the dune with the Bel tree), Nilda, (dune with the wild indigo plants), Agarda (the front dune), Baharda (the outside dune), Mulda (the foundation dune), Dehurda (Dehuri da, the dune with a pacca gate built by the Zamindar when he went to live in the village), Sashida (the dune colonised by the Sashi, the founder of the village), Mirgoda (deer dune) become quite intelligible. The sea has receded a good deal during the lifetime of the present generation and it is no wonder that some of these villages to-day are far away from the sea and their dunes have been smoothed down by the wind and the rain.

On the right bank of the Subarnarekha there is a pargana called Fatiabad. It is really Fata Abad. It derived its name after the conquest of Orissa by the Moguls in Akbar's time. The whole of this pargana was at that time covered with dense forest. The Mogul victory led to the cultivation of this tract, so it was rightly named Fatiabad (Victory Cultivation). Not far off from this place, on the other side of the Subarnarekha,

is the village of Mogulmari in which the Moguls completely routed Daud Khan's army. The Moguls also suffered heavily for the Pathans fought with courage born of despair. But all the same Pathan-mari would have been more appropriate. It must be remembered that the Pathan power in Orissa had for some time a precarious existence after it had received the crushing blow at Mogulmari. There are Pathan settlements near this village. Probably it was a drawn battle, and the Pathan army suffered more from subsequent disorganisation than from the result of the battle. The Pathans who lived in the locality might have coined the name as racial pride stood in the way of their naming it rightly.

There was once a big fort at Raibania in Fatiabad. It was owned by a petty Hindu chieftain. It had two forts called Fulattā and Bardiḥā. Fulattā is a corruption of Fulhātā (compound with flower plants). Bardiḥā is a fort with big homesteads. The chief dwelt in Raibania fort. The remains of his palace can still be seen there. The forts of Fulattā and Bardiḥā, no doubt, served as outer fortifications, but they had also quite another use. During raids by the enemy the civil population of this petty kingdom took shelter inside these outer forts where extensive granaries used to be stored with paddy and rice. The remains of these granaries can still be seen. The chief of Raibania was called a Bhunya. The Raibania chiefs enjoyed a semi-independent existence and was a terror to the locality. The last chief was defeated and killed after British occupation. (G. Toynbee's *History of Midnapur*) The fort of Raibania is bigger in area than Fort William in Calcutta. It had mud and stone walls round it. It was also protected by a deep moat and had a drawbridge leading on to it. It is really a wonder how a petty chief like the Bhunya of Raibania could build so costly a fort with two outer fortifications at Fulattā and Bardiḥā. It may be that the Bhunyas only came to occupy the fort which has been built by a mighty chief long ago, or they might have gained in wealth by their frequent raids on the plains.



Many village names are of sylvan origin. There are good many villages that have derived their names from trees. We give below a few of them. Nimpur (Nim tree), Bansbani (bamboo clump), Kantabard (thornhedge), Salbani (Sal forest), Simulia (big species of silk cotton tree), Begunia, (Begunia, Bengali Nisinda, *Vitex trifolia*), Karanga (Karang tree *Pangamia glabra*) Kendukhunta (village in which poles were made of Kendu trees, *Desopyros glutinosa*), Sahara (Sahara tree, *Strabulus asper*), Sheali (from Sheali, a creeper), Arjuni (Arjun tree, *Terminalia Arjuna*), Salikotha (seems to suggest that people who cultivated Sali, a species of rice there, got rich and built two-storied mud houses), Haldipada (it had at once time extensive fields of haldi or turmeric). It is useless to multiply instances. It is quite natural that the predominance of a particular tree in a locality, in the absence of any other distinguishing mark or designation, should be taken as the basis of its name by the first band of cultivators who reclaimed the site or went to settle on it.

There are some village names directly derived from the names of idols whose temples have been built in these villages. Jhaleswar, Chandeneshwar, Languleshwar Birrespur (from the names of Mahadev Bireswar), Panchangbanta derived from the name of the goddess Panchghanteshwari. She belongs to the Tantric age that came in the wake of Buddhism. Srierampur occurs more than once. It must be mentioned that the worship of Ram is very prevalent in Upper India, but is not so here. The present day Vaishnavas of Orissa are followers of Sree Chaitanya. Some mendicants from Upper India might have brought with them idols of Ram and built small monasteries in these villages. Villages that derived their names from idols can be very easily recognised unless their names have been distorted beyond recognition in common parlance. Soro is said to have been derived, for instance, from Surya, the sun. There can still be seen at this place a very ancient temple dedicated to the sun in ruins. But the word Soro, as a corruption of the word Surya, is highly misleading and strikes one as strange.

The word Nāmpo or Nāpa is puzzling like the word Soro. One does not know exactly what it means. We may hazard a conjecture about its origin. The word may be taken to include two words Nā and Apa which when joined become Nāpa. It would then mean No water. The headman who went to live in the village probably found it dry and excavated three big tanks which exist to this day. But there is one difficulty about this. The word Apa, meaning water, is not used in Oriya. It has gone out of use. Does it live in a solitary village name just as Pani, another word meaning water, though in frequent use in Oriya, lives in some Bengali compound words like Panifal, Panikachu, etc? It may again be that Nāpa means No son, the word "po" in Oriya means a son. The founder of the village was probably without a son, and he excavated these tanks in the hope that he would get one as reward. It is believed that people are blessed with a son on their excavating a tank for the public. It is needless to mention that people who excavate a tank with a religious motive do not reserve the right of fishery to themselves. Paharajpur has an association with the old Hindu method of making gift of land. The donee was asked to make a circuit for a whole prahar or about three hours and the land covered by him became his by kingly fiat. The donee was invariably a Brahmin, versed in the Shastras, and after the gift was complete the title of Praharaj or lord of a Prahar was conferred on him.

There are a few Shasana villages in North Balasore. In Puri there are good many shasans. The ancient Hindu kings of Orissa settled good Brahmins in these villages and conferred lands on them. These shasan villages were the seats of culture and exerted a tremendous influence on the social life of the people, who looked up to Sashani Brahmins for guidance in all social and religious matters. These shasans kept up the light of culture for good many years.

Many big tanks bear the names of Ranipukhari, Bidyadharpukhari, Santrapukhari, along the main road running through the whole length of Orissa. There is a tradition that when the

ancient kings of Orissa went on pilgrimage or pleasure trips they excavated tanks at each halting place. Bidyadhar and Santra were the title of ministers. Tanks, excavated by ministers came to be known as Bidyadhar or Santra tanks. The royal pilgrimage in older days did a lasting good to the people of Orissa.

Pipli, where the English established a trade centre in 1684, is a corruption of Pippali, a kind of embroidered cloth. The English carried on an extensive trade in this place and made large advances to local weavers. The cloth purchased here was sent to Hugli, which was a much bigger English factory, and from there it was exported to Europe. Pippali is a Sanskrit word and it means a kind of fine cotton, just like the muslin of Dacca. Pipli is a small and half-deserted village. Its trade in cloth is altogether gone. The local weavers have given up the profession of clothmaking and those who stick to it are starving for want of patronage. The name Pipli still remains, and it reminds us of the glorious cloth manufacture on the looms of Orissa in the first days of the East India Company.

Chhanua on the sea is a small village. The map of 1871 records it as Port Chhanua. It is no longer a port. A few fishing boats and country craft still ply on the breakers. Salt was at one time prepared on an extensive scale at Chhanua. The process of salt manufacture was quite simple. The sea water was received in shallow tanks one or two inches in depth. It was allowed to evaporate and afterwards the surface mud was scraped. It was then lixiviated with water and refined by putting a certain kind of seamoss into it. The water thus refined was then evaporated in a big earthen pot. The salt manufactured in this process was just like Liverpool salt. What made Chhanua a place preeminently suited for salt manufacture was the existence of vast and almost interminable fields covered with Chana Bena grass, which supplied a cheap fuel for evaporation. The Bena fields have disappeared before the advance of cultivation and afforestation. The cost of fuel has increased, and it is now impossible to manufacture salt in the crude way to make it marketable. The name Chhanua, apa

from its connection with salt manufacture, is a variation of Chaniā, full chan or Benā grass.

The word Rupsā is puzzling at first sight, but it becomes quite clear when we look into its history. Rup Mahanty was the proprietor of the village. People called him Rupsā for his lordly demeanour and named the village after him.

The name Bastā seems to suggest that it was at one time a great emporium of goods. Bastā is a gunny bag. A mart or emporium where one gunny bag is stacked on another is still a common sight. During the lifetime of the present generation Bastā has dwindled into insignificance.

Shabunder has taken its name from its Pir Sha Saheb, whose grave lies in this village. His grave lies at a place up to which the water reached during high tide. Shabunder was once a port or bunder. Now it has lost its trade completely. Some of the proper names mentioned above can only be found in a big map of the district. The reader will kindly see from the above that each proper name, if correctly interpreted, has its own tale to tell. Each particular tale may be quite an insignificant one, but the sum total of these tales has its part to play in the making of history.

#### 4. The worship of Ithu

The word Ithu is the corrupted form of Ritu, seasons, hence the sun. The word was latterly confounded with Ritu, puberty or child-bearing capacity.

The sun is one of the earliest gods of the Aryans. His worship is perhaps older than the Rigveda, but nowadays his worship has gone out of vogue. He is still worshipped as one of the five subsidiary deities on the occasion of every puja. Here is an account of his puja as a principal deity by the ladies of Bengal. Maidens, widows and married women worship the sun-god as Ithu in the month of Agrahan on every Sunday. The worship is invariably held on the last day of the month, whether it happens to fall on a Sunday or not. Each votary sets up two earthen pots which emblematically represent the sun-god. An earthen disc is placed before these pots in which

five principal grains, e.g. rice, mustard seed, maskalai, wheat and oat are germinated, to represent the earth's productive power which is derived from the sun. The votaries do not take fish on the days of worship. After the worship is over on the last day of Agrahan, the pots and the disc are immersed in a tank or river. The priest officiates in the worship and utters mantras in honour of the sun-god. After the puja is over and before the votaries break their fast for the day, they hear a story about the origin of the worship. Once upon a time a certain person had two daughters, called Umno and Jhumno. Umno was a worshipper of Ithu and Jhumno looked down upon the worship. The latter, one day, kicked at the pots of Ithu in mere disparagement and contempt. The girls grew up and were given in marriage at one and the same time. They left for their husbands' homes. A series of auspicious events happened along the way which Umno was going. Marriages and child-births were celebrated along the route. It was all joy in her husband's house when Umno reached there. She proved a good housewife and lived with peace of mind and happiness. She got good children. She continued to worship Ithu as in her maidenhood. But quite the reverse happened to Jhumno. The route to her husband's house was lined with misfortunes. Deaths, accidents and calamities happened along the road and people cried shame upon her and cursed her. She brought untold calamities to her husband's household. Untimely deaths became frequent, cattle died in large numbers. Every one in the household said she was an unlucky person. After a few years she was turned out by her husband's people, and she had to seek shelter in the house of her parents. Her friends attributed her calamities to her disregard of Ithu. One day, she was given the offerings to Ithu, and the moment she ate them, her mind changed for the better and she prayed to be restored to her husband's house. Her prayers were answered. She was called back to her husband's house and everything went on all right with her. She began to worship Ithu regularly. People who worship Ithu have all their desires fulfilled.



J.B.O.R.S. 1928.

LONIAŠA BISI CAVE FAÇADE.

V.H.I.



## V.—The Lomasa Rsi Cave Facade

By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D. (Oxon.)

Jackson, in *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XII Pt. I, 1926, pp. 49-52, has pointed out two important details regarding the Lomasa Rsi cave. (i) The polish is distinctly inferior (*op. cit.* p. 50) and (ii) there is no dedicatory inscription (*op. cit.* p. 50).

Both these deserve careful attention. They might throw some light on the author of the facade and the unfinished roof. Aśoka-Daśaratha cover 3rd-2nd century B.C. (Rapson *C.H.I.*, pp. 503-512 : circa. B.C. 274-184 B.C.) Khāravēla comes in the 2nd-1st century B.C. (c. 169 B.C.—*J.B.O.R.S.*, 1918, p. 454). In between rise the Śūngas (Puṣyamitra c. 184-148 B.C.—Rapson, *op. cit.* p. 518.) Thus the Barābar Hills passed in succession from a Buddhist to a Hindu and thence to a Jain. Why were the roof and inner room left unfinished? Was there an inscription? Some suggest the revival of Hinduism as the root cause. A similar lack of finish to cave No. 24 at Ajanta has been ascribed to the same cause (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XI, Pt. II, 1925, p. 125). The latter is held responsible even for mutilation of sculptures (*Ibid.*). It is hardly plausible. The Hindu is no vandal. As Treitschke says in his *Deutsche Geschichte in XIX Jahrhundert*, noticing the still standing Polish Victory Column in East Prussia of a bygone age, only an inferior civilisation wreaks its wrath on tokens of an alien culture in their midst. The Imperial Hindu Samudra Gupta utilised but did not damage Buddhist Aśoka's Peace Pillar at Allahabad (Fleet, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 7). Nor can it be said that the work was given up because of want of encouragement after the Aśoka-Daśaratha epoch. Lomasa Rsi cave is one of the Aśoka group. His descendant Daśaratha of the Nāgarjūni range (Hultzsch, *C.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. xxviii) might be expected to see to its



completion. That it was excavated by a Buddhist and a Mauryan, is suggested by its design (Fergusson, *Hist. Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Burgess and Spiers, Vol. I, pp. 130ff), and its similarity with the contiguous inscribed Aśokan caves (Codrington, *A.I.*, p. 19) Jaina caves at Khandagiri and elsewhere (Cohn, *Indische Plastik*, Tafel, 8, 77-82) generally follow a different type.

Thus a likely reason for the unfinished work—it was probably more unfinished than without the polish on the side walls of the outer chamber—was the fissure in the living rock of the roof. The inside of the inner chamber as well as its outer wall, dressed but left absolutely in the rough, suggest the same state for the rest of the walls at the time of cessation of work. After the appearance of the flaw in the rock, the work was abandoned. And the occasion for a dedicatory inscription never arose.

Then came Khāravela in the 2nd-1st century B.C. (*J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. IV, Pt. IV, 1918, p. 368) He naturally turned out the Ajivikas, chiselled off their names and put in his Kalingan troops in the Barabar caves. The unfinished Lomaśa Rī he must have found quite handy. Who repaired the fissure in the gneiss rock is not recorded. A recent sojourn in the cave under heavy rains has proved to the writer the effectiveness of the long plaster line on the top. A chemical examination may prove its approximate age. In any case Khāravela seems to have employed post-Mauryan craftsmen to polish up the walls—it is same in kind only inferior in quality to that in the Aśoka-Daśaratha Mauryan caves.

About the essentially Jain character of the *Makara* or crocodile frieze *motif*, the recently published "Ancient India. From the Earliest Times to the Guptas with Notes on the Architecture and Sculpture of the Mediæval Period. By K. D. B. Codrington, London, 1926" supplies some interesting evidence. It reproduces the Jain (*A.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 42) Rail Fragments, Kankālī Tilā, Mathura (*A.I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 43, Fig. 14)—always with the crocodile. From the architectural point of view Codrington assigns the Lomaśa Rī cave to the

3rd century B.C. and the façade to the 1st century B.C. (*A.I., op. cit.*, p. xi.) But it is curious that even with a good photograph (*A.I. op. cit.*, Plate 1B) Codrington repeats Fergusson's mistake about "a frieze of elephants" (*A.I. op. cit.* p. 20) and misses the *makara*<sup>1</sup> and all that it implies.

The presence of a Southerner and a Jain is further hinted at by two other details noted by Jackson (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XII, Pt. I, p. 51) : (i) a *svastika* and (ii) a *trisūla* in line 5. (iii) Jackson also corroborates Caddy's fish below these symbols (*J.B.O.R.S., op. cit.*, p. 51). (i) Of the 55 plates in Hultzsch's *C.I.I.* Vol I (New Edition) Inscriptions of Aśoka, 1925, only one solitary inscription (besides the Kārṇa Chopār) bears the *svastika* mark. And that is the Jaugada Rock (Hultzsch, *op. cit.* p. 116). Jaugada is "a ruined fort in the Berhampur Taluka of the Ganjam district, Madras, about eighteen miles north-west of Ganjam town, on the northern bank of the Rishikulya river;" (*op. cit.* p. xiv). Evidently the *svastika* was a Southern symbol accepted very early by the rest of India.

(ii) The *trisūla* is an ancient Jina association. "In the earliest of Mathurā Jain examples, a *jina* is seated within a square formed by four everted *trisūlas*" (Codrington, *A.I., op. cit.*, p. 45). Like the *svastika*, the *trisūla* also, has travelled far.

(iii) Add to this the fish. And there is an astonishing coincidence in Jain details, viz. crocodile, *svastika* and fish, between the Lomaśa Ṛṣi-Kārṇa Chopār symbols on the one hand and the professedly Jain Rail fragments, Kankali Tilā, Mathurā, on the other (cf. Codrington, *A.I., op. cit.*, p. 43, Fig. 14).

Lastly, by way of mutual verification, these Jain symbols occur only in the Kārṇa Chopār inscription where the work of obliterating the anti-Jain Ājivikas has been more thorough than elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> Contrast the fantastic ornamental device of *Makara* at Amarāvati and Bhārhut, with its natural representation on the Orissa Caves and in Chālukya sculpture.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

VAISHNAVA LYRICS DONE INTO ENGLISH VERSE.—*By Surendranath Kumar, Nandalal Datta, and John Alexander Chapman. 7½ × 5¼. 53pp. London : Oxford University Press, 1923.*

The Vaiṣṇava lyrics represent India's eternal quest for perfection in art through the sex-impulse. The haunting strain of love-longings between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā baffles and reveals the universal ego. They mock the most sacred social institutions and their extremely respectable representatives and yet brood with infinite tenderness over the pathos of human things. They live in the varied pigments of colour and the frozen music of architecture. And above all, they find expression in the inimitably intimate and flexible outpourings of a Vidyapati and a Chāṇḍīdāsa. Like "De Imitatione Christi" they claim that "Love conquers all things." They insist on the antinomy between morals and morality. These God-intoxicated rhapsodists think as Heraclitus : "Men hold some things wrong and some right : God holds all things fair." And by a process of Narcissism, God is man's own image, an object of adoring love, that once more, through the primitive sex-impulse, leads on to the obscure regions of the Freudian Unconscious.

The art-impulse in poetry and philosophy as transformed sex-instinct, has been recognised in European literature only lately. Ferrero opened discussion with "the sexual impulse as the raw-material, so to speak, from which art springs." Möbius held "the art-impulse as a kind of sexual secondary character." Freud and Rank discussed sexual energy as a sublimated life-force of art in life founding poetry, philosophy and religions. And that sexual adolescence is transubstantiated into a spiritual and moral passion in Dante and seeks satisfac-

tion in the "Vita Nuova," akin in spirit and in source to the Vaiṣṇava lyrics.

But this art-life is a discipline, and discipline means pain. An artist must make himself a work of art moulded into beauty by suffering. Mr. Chapman's singularly happy rendering into English verse, from the literal translations by Messrs. Kumar and Dutta, of about forty-eight Vaiṣṇava songs by Vidyāpati, Chāṇḍīdās, Narottamadas and other padakartās in the Padakalpataru, reminds one of Gizycki's remark on Shaftesbury "the key lay not only in his head, but in his heart, for like can only be recognised by like." (Georg von Gizycki, *Die Ethik David Hume's*, page 11). A departure from the norm in customs and manners has only drawn him closer—"a little of love's bread and wine, and betel nuts, and blue saris, and flute playing, and the scent of a body rubbed with camphored sandal paste" (Preface, p. v. 13.) His intimate appeal invests the "clinging scarf of blue" (p. 88) with a Pauline touch of "grace seasoned with salt." An artist is *Homo additus Naturae* said Bacon. Strip off his various and phantastic disguises and Man is everywhere the same, a physiopsychic function one with Nature.

The verse rendering is admirable. Fitzgerald englished and versified Omar. And it was no longer Omar. Arnold paraphrased the Bhagavadgītā. It ceased to be inspiring, even intelligible. The "Vaishnava Lyrics" is neither a transformation nor a so-called translation but offers the songs to non-Bengali readers, as conceived by their authors and understood by their countrymen—alive with their spirit and their flesh. Indian and specially Bengali readers will hardly feel the presence of an interpreter—Mr. Chapman, though a personal artist in style, has, with an instinctive fine breeding and a rare absence of self-consciousness, become one with the lyrists "counting nothing one's own, save only one's harp". He typifies Bergson's dictum "the perfect expression is that which has come so naturally, or rather so necessarily, by virtue of so imperious a predestination, that we do not pause before it, but go

straight on to what it seeks to express, as though it were blended with the idea ; it became invisible by force of being transparent " (*Le Monde Nouveau*, le 15 Decembre 1922).

But the book will offend a class of people whose knowledge of things Indian, and things human, are gained from copy-books, and whose notions of style are based on "models." In short, the species comprehensively categoried under Molière's *les charlataneries savantes*. "What kind of 'verse' is this? Can any respectable person permit himself to entertain lyrics without proper references?" A silkworm, they say, knows not the fineness of her thread. Such "critics" are not silkworms. With the acquired fortitude of Monsieur Jourdain in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, they insist on telling the long-suffering Dame Public that she had been speaking prose for more than forty years without knowing it. They forget that from the creation of Man, from Dante to Carducci, from Rabelais to Proust, from Chaucer to Whitman, humanity has always thought in poetry and sought expression in cadences and rhythms, that are irregular and individual, and not after their copper-plate patterns.

The present reviewer is a Bengali. He recognizes in the interpreter, his original story of immortal joys and sorrows. "There is no soul to take my part ; None knoweth the aching of my heart ; To whom should I then complain?" (page 10). It is with a yearn, a clutch and a wrench he reads "Nay, since thou flutest, flutest, flutest so. The damsel doth but yearn the more, the more." (p. 13). The prophet Jeremiah was "one that hath a pleasant voice and can play well on an instrument." The beauty of voice and instrument matters. The Rgveda and the Sama, the Old Testament and the New, would perhaps have long ceased to be "the Books" but for being "one that hath a pleasant voice and can play well on an instrument." Socrates regarded philosophy as music. So is religion. The divine dance of satyrs and nymphs to the sound of pipes, Orpheus seeking Eurydice and "With his lute making trees : And the mountain tops, that frieze : Bow themselves when he did sing "

— the Beauties of Braja in answering cadence to Kṛṣṇa's flute —  
“ this symbol of life in one form or another has floated before  
human eyes ” from the sculptures of the Indian cave-paintings  
and temple friezes, and in the Greek bas-reliefs, to the glimpse  
of occasional new harmonies in these Vaiṣṇava lyrics. One  
cannot but follow the piper that knows how to play, even to  
one's own destruction. Man may have many defects. But he  
has that engaging trait. When he loses it he will lose his being.  
And the Vaiṣṇava lyrics would become meaningless. Till  
then, with Dante—*Nella sua voluntade é nostra pace.*

A.B-Ś.



## **NOTES OF THE QUARTER**

### **Proceedings of a Quarterly Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held at the Srimati Radhika Sinha Institute on the 9th April 1926.**

1. Mr. V. H. Jackson, Vice-President of the Society, was in the chair; and there was a large attendance of members and visitors, the meeting being thrown open to the public.

2. Mr. P. C. Manuk, Barrister-at-Law, delivered a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, on the subject: "Glimpses into the Story of Pictorial Art in India." The lecture was much appreciated.

3. Mr. G. E. Fawcett moved a vote of thanks to the lecturer. Mr. D. N. Sen supported the motion.

**E. A. HORNE,**

*Honorary General Secretary.*

## Exhibits shown at the last Annual Meeting.

The authorities of the Patna Museum showed the following exhibits :—

A. Coins.—The following gold coins, some of which are extremely rare, were exhibited :—

### I. SULTAN OF DELHI.

- |     |   |        |
|-----|---|--------|
|     |   | [711.] |
| 1.  | Ala U-Din Muhammad II, I.M.C. II No. 191 Dar al-Islam |        |
| 2.  | Ditto Delhi 696 A.H.                                  |        |
| 3.  | Tughlak I I.M.C. 274 Delhi 725.                       |        |
| 4.  | Muhammad b. Tughlak I.M.C. 303 „ 726.                 |        |
| 5.  | Ditto „ 306 „ 727.                                    |        |
| 6.  | Ditto „ 302 Dar al-Islam 727.                         |        |
| 7.  | Ditto „ 303 Delhi 727.                                |        |
| 8.  | Ditto „ 316 „ 744.                                    |        |
| 9.  | Ditto „ 318.  |        |
| 10. | Mahmud b. Muhammad „ 405.                             |        |
| 11. | Sher Shah Square gold.                                |        |
| 12. | Ditto „ „   |        |

### II. MOGHUL EMPEROES.

- |     |  |  |
|-----|--|--|
| 13. | Humayun I.M.C. 13.                     |  |
| 14. | Akbar „ 66 Agra 973.                   |  |
| 15. | Do. „ 82 (type) Fathpur 989.           |  |
| 16. | Do. „ 71 Agra 982.                     |  |
| 17. | Do. „ 66 Delhi 972.                    |  |
| 18. | Do. „ 82 Lahore 988 (square).          |  |
| 19. | Do. Do.                                |  |
| 20. | Do. Do. 977 (round).                   |  |
| 21. | Jahangir (square) ... Lahore 1016 : 2. |  |
| 22. | Shahjahan ... Akbarabad 1041.          |  |



23. Shahjahan	... Ahmadabad 1025 : 9.
24. Ditto	... Shahjahanabad 1050.
25. Ditto	... Surat 1042.
26. Ditto	... Daulatabad 1068.
27. Ditto	... Multan 1061 : 28.
28. Aurangzeb	... Lahore 1116 : 48.
29. Ditto	... Haidarabad 1112 : 45.
30. Ditto	... Akbarabad 1182 : 14.
31. Ditto	... Ahsanabad 1115 : 47.
32. Ditto	... Golconda 1086 : 30.
33. Ditto	... Shahjahanabad 1105 : 37.
34. Ditto	... Dar al-Zafar Bijapur 1107.
35. Ditto	... Ahmadnagar 1116 : 48.
36. Alam J	... Burhanpur 1120.
37. Do.	... Khujista Bunyad 1128 : 5.
38. Jahandar	... Akbarabad 1124 : 1.
39. Ditto	... Ditto 1124 : 1.
40. Ditto	... Burhanpur 1124.
41. Farrukhsiyar	... Khujista Bunyad 1129 : 6.
42. Ditto	... Lahore 1129.
43. Ditto	... Akbarabad 1120 : 7.
44. Muhammad	... Shahjahanabad 1152 : 22.
45. Ditto	... Ahmadabad : 14.
46. Ditto	... Burhanpur ; 13.
47. Ahmad	... Shahjahanabad 1165 : 5.
48. Do.	... Ditto 1164 : 4.
49. Alam II	... Ditto 1202 : 31.
50. Ditto	... Ahmadnagar 1175 : 3.
51. Ditto	... Shahjahanabad 1220 : 48.
52. Ditto	... Akbarabad Yr. 26.

## KUSHAN.

53. Wima Kadphises.	... rev. Siva.
54. Kanishka	... „ Nanashao.
55. Huvishka	... „ Mahasena.
56. Ditto	... „ Mithra (Miuro).
57. Ditto	... „ Ardochsho.

- |                 |                                      |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
| 53. Huvishka    | ... rev. Araeicho.                   |
| 59. Vasudeva    | ... „ Siva (two armed).              |
| 60. Ditto       | ... „ Siva, different ; legend on 1. |
| 61. Ditto       | ... „ Do. (four armed).              |
| 62. Late Kushan | ... „ Kidara.                        |
| 63. Ditto       | ... „ Do. (variant).                 |
| 64. Ditto       | ... Legend—Vasu.                     |

B.—Plaster of Paris cast of Vasudeva. (An original production of Babu Shyamapada Misra, Modeller, Patna Museum).

Vasudeva (in old Indian dress) is running away with the infant Srikrishna from the prison of Kamsa, king of Mathura, who according to a prophecy, knew that he would be killed by Krishna, the eighth son of Vasudeva, if he survived.

Vasudeva is looking back to see if he is being followed by the attendants of Kamsa.

Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan of Patna City exhibited the following interesting water-colour sketches by C. B. B. (circ. 1810) :—

- (1) West Gate, Patna (Paohohhim Darwaza).

Buchanan, in his Report on Patna in 1812, says: "The gates are now in a most deplorable state of decay, and are rather alarming to strangers that enter. In order to prevent accidents they should probably be pulled down, as in the present state of the rampart they can be of no use in defending the place."

- (2) Bankipur near Patna.  
 (3) Maner. (Two sketches.)  
 (4) Fakir's rock, Jehangar. (Sultanganj.)  
 (5) Benares. (Two sketches.)

**Bhatta-Svāmin's Commentary**

on

**KAUTILYA'S ARTHA-ŚĀSTRA**

**Edited by K. P. JAYASWAL**

and

**A. BANERJI-SASTRI**

**भट्टस्वामिनः**

**प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्**

**अर्थशास्त्रटीकायाम्**

**द्वितीयेधिकरणे पञ्चदशाध्यायः ।**

[ Continued from March, 1926 number of this Journal ]

दिदानेन कर्म कर्तनव्यतिरिक्तं कर्तनीयद्रव्यशोधनादिकं कारयितव्याः।  
अथवा, तिथिषु शेषदिवसेषु कार्तिक्यादिषु प्रतिपादनेन गन्धमा'ल्य-  
भक्ष्यादिप्रतिपादनेन कर्मकर्तनमेव सविशेषं कारयितव्ये।

हा से सूत्रहासे प्रमाणन्यूनत्वे वा वेतनहासो द्रव्यसारा-  
धीनसूत्रप्रमाणमूल्यानुरूपः कल्पनीयः।

कारुमिश्चेति। तन्तुवायादिभिः। कृतकर्मप्रमाणकाल-  
वेतनफलनिष्पत्तिभिरिति, परिभाषितकर्मप्रमाणादिभिः  
कर्मवस्त्रवानादिकं कारयेत्। तत्र कर्मवस्त्रादि, प्रमाणं पञ्च-  
हस्तादि, कालः पञ्चरात्रादिभिर्वेतनं वानमूल्यं, फलनिष्पत्तिः  
पटादिसम्पत्तिः, प्रति संसर्गञ्च तैरेकैकेन सहसंख्यं कुर्यात्। त-  
त्करणं तद्धरणोपायपरिज्ञानार्थम्।

क्षौमादीनां सूत्रवानकर्मान्तान् प्रयुज्जानः सूत्राध्याक्षे-  
गन्धमाल्यादिदानैरन्यैश्च माल्यादिभिरौपग्राहिकैरनु-  
वर्तननिमित्तैरा राधयेत् विधेयीकुर्यात्। क्षौमादयः प्रदेशान्तरे  
कृतव्याख्याः। रौद्रव'रंकुमृगरोमजं वस्त्रादि त्रयं प्रतीतं तेषां  
विकल्पान् विविधान् प्रकारानुत्पादयेत्, अपूर्वानपूर्वानुत्पा-  
दयेत्।

कङ्कटकर्मन्तांश्च सूत्रसन्नाहक्रियारम्भास्तज्जातैस्त-  
न्निपुणैः कारुमिः शिल्पिभिश्च कारयेत्।

याश्चानिष्कासिन्येति कुलयोषितः प्रोषितभर्तृकाद्याः चतस्रः  
पोषकाभावादात्मानं स्वयमेव बिभृयुः तात्त्वदासीमिरनुसार्य-  
नुसाध्या सोपग्रहं सप्रश्रयं प्रीतिपूर्वकञ्च कर्म कर्तनादिकं  
कारयेत्।

स्वयमागच्छन्तीनां वा, वा शब्दात्स्वदासीभिरानीतानां

१ "०मू०"—स।

"तज्ज्ञात०"—स।

सूत्रशालामृत्युपसि सान्धकारवेलायां भाण्डवेतनविनि-  
मयं कारयेत्, सूत्रं गृहीत्वा मूल्यं दद्यात् ।

सूत्रपरीक्षामात्रः प्रदीप इति । मात्रचा प्रयोजनान्तरं व्याव-  
र्तयति, तेन सूत्रपरीक्षामात्रोपयोगि दृष्टप्रदीपः कर्तव्यो न निश्शेषशा-  
लावसान इति ।

स्त्रिया मुखसन्दर्शनैरन्यकार्यं सम्भाषायां वाकृते  
गृहं कृत्वा वर्तयसीत्येवमादिकायां पूर्वः साहसदण्डः ।

तेतनकालस्य यथोदितस्यातिपातने मध्यमः ।

अकृतकर्मवेतनप्रदाने च मध्यमपव ।

गृहीत्वा वेतनं कर्माकुर्वन्त्या अंगुष्ठसंदंशं<sup>१</sup> दक्षिण-  
हस्ताङ्गुष्ठं मध्यमाङ्गुल्यग्रञ्च दापयेत् प्रणयेत् भक्ष-  
यित्वापहत्य वा सूत्रादिकं, अवस्कन्दितानां प्रपला-  
यमानानाञ्च पूर्वोक्तपददण्डः ।

वेतनेषु चेति । भक्षितेष्वपहृतेषु वा कर्मकराणां कुवि-  
न्दादीनां, चकारोत्र भिन्नक्रमस्सम्बध्यते । अवस्कन्दिनामपराध  
तोपराधानुरूपो दण्डः कल्पनीयः ।

रज्जुवर्तकैर्गुणादिफलकैश्च पाकैरश्वादिपालैर्वा तदुप-  
जीविभिः वर्मकारैः सूत्रकंकटकर्तृभिः कर्मान्तकारैश्च सीताध्यक्षा-  
दिभिः तदुपयोगिरज्ज्वादिपालनार्थमितरैस्तदनुष्ठानार्थञ्च संसृज्येत् ।

भाण्डानि चोपस्करजातानि वरत्नादीनि वर्तयेत्  
पालयेत् ।

श्लोकमाह, सूत्रं वल्कमयी रज्जूरत्यादि । सूत्रमयी  
वल्कमयी शणादिवल्कमयीश्च रज्जुः कारयेत् चरत्नाख्या  
वेत्रमयीर्वेणुमयीश्च, वेत्रग्रहणेन सर्वेषां वल्लीवर्गगतानां शरणं

१ "०दुपानं" — 'यस'योः ।

२ "०परत्रा०" — सा ।

सन्न ह्य सन्नाहनोपयोगिनी, बन्धनीया बन्धनार्थाः, या न स्य  
रथशकटादेर्युग्य स्या श्वादेः कारयेदिति ।

इति भट्टस्वामिनः प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्

अर्थशास्त्रटीकायामध्यक्षप्रचारिके

द्वितीयेधिकरणे

तयोर्विशोध्यः ।

सूत्राध्यक्षः आदितश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ।



चतुर्विंशोऽध्यायः

सीताध्यायः इति सूत्रम् ।

सीता राजकृषिः तस्यामधिकृतः सीताध्यक्षः इति सूत्रार्थः ।  
सम्बन्धस्तु सीताध्यक्षोपनीतः सस्यवर्गसीतेत्युक्तं तदध्यक्षस्तद्व्या-  
पारवानुक्तः, सोऽभिधीयत इति ।

तदाह सी ता ध्य क्ष इति । कृ षि त न्त्रा[द्यस्तु ?]विज्ञः स्त ज्ञ ज्ञ-  
स खो वा स र्व धा न्या दी न् विज्ञानीयात् । य था का लं स गृ ह्णी-  
या त् । कृ षि त न्त्रं बृद्धपराशरादिप्रणीतं कृषिशस्त्रं, सीराज्ञानं  
दशाशालादि, वृ क्षा यु र्वे दो ग्निवेश्यादिप्रणीतः । स र्व शब्दः प्रत्येकं  
धान्यादयः प्रदेशान्तरे कृतव्याख्याः ।

ब हु फा ल कृ षा या मि ति बहुहललिखितायां स्व भूमौ या  
यस्य ब्रीह्यादेः प्रशस्ता भूमिः तस्या न्दा सा दि मि र्वा प ये दि ति ।  
दा स क र्म क रौ प्रतीतौ, द ण्ड प्र ति क र्ता कर्मणा दण्डस्य  
प्रवेशयिता ।

क र्ष ण य न्त्रैः हलखनमित्यादिभिः उप क र णैः रज्जुकुठार-  
दात्तादिभिः कर्मकरैश्च गोपालादिभिः प वा आशुक्तदासादिकृषीवलाना-  
म सं गं कर्मस्वविघातं क्का र ये त् ।

का र्त्तु मि श्च कर्मकरादिभिरसङ्गं कारयेत् इति ।

तत्र क र्म का <sup>1</sup>रो लोहकारः, कु ट्ट क स्तक्षा, मे द को वधादिकृत्,  
र ज्जु व र्त कः श्वपाकादिः, स र्व <sup>2</sup>ग्रा हः शबरादि रा दि ग्रहणं  
व्याधनापितादिग्रहणार्थं ।

ते षां कारूणां क र्म फ ल वि ना शे <sup>3</sup> त त्फ ल हा न मिति यावती  
तस्य फलस्य हानिः कृता तद्ग्नैः सह निरूप्य तावान् दण्डः कर्तव्यः ।

1 “०कर०”—‘श-य-गा’ नाम् ।

2 “सर्व०”—‘श-स-गा’ नाम् ।

3 ‘विलंबादिकृते कृषिकर्मफलविनाशे’—स ।

प्रमाणमाह षोडशद्रोणमित्यादि कोलागारे वर्षमानमरति-  
मुखं कुण्डं स्थापयेदित्युक्तम्, तस्यायमुपयोगः तेन पर्जन्यजलधारा-  
पूरितेन वर्षोदकद्रोणपरिच्छेदम् जांगलानां मरुप्रायाणां षोडश  
द्रोणप्रमाणं वर्षमिति नीचोदकमिदमेवाद्यर्थं चतुर्विंशतिद्रोणप्रमाण-  
वर्षमिति नीचोदकमिदमेवाद्यर्थं चतुर्विंशतिद्रोणमाक्रपाना जलप्रायाणा-  
मित्येवं जगलान्तवभेदेन वर्षप्रमाणमभिधाय देशभेदेनाह देशावा-  
पानां द्वितीयानां व्यवक्ष्यत इति वाक्यशेषः । अर्ध-  
तयोदशद्रोणमश्मकानाम् महाराष्ट्राणां त्रयोविंश-  
तिद्रोणमवन्तीनामपरात्मा इव तासाममितमसंख्यातम  
परान्तानां कोङ्कणविषयाणां हैमन्यानां हिमवत्प्रदेशानाञ्च  
कुल्यावापानाञ्च सारणिपेयतोयानां कालतस्त्वर्तुतः सस्य-  
निवृत्तिः न वर्षोदकप्रमाणतः ।

पूर्वोक्तवर्षप्रमाणभागेन सुषमारूपमाह वर्षत्रिभाग इत्यादि । यस्य  
देशस्य यावत्पूर्णवर्षं तत्रेधा विभज्य पूर्वपश्चिममासयोः श्रावण-  
कार्तिकयोरेकत्रिभावं वर्षति मध्यमयोः प्रोष्ठपदाश्वयुज्या<sup>१</sup> द्वौ त्रिभा-  
गौ च यदि वर्षति तदा तत्सुषमारूपं शोभनसंवत्सररूपं<sup>२</sup> भवति ।

तस्य सुषमारूपस्योपलब्धिर्भविष्यतः परिज्ञानकर्म वृहस्प-  
तिरथादित्रयात् शुक्रोदयादित्रयात्सूर्यप्रकृतिवैकृताच्च  
तत्रस्थानं मेषादि राशिः, गमनं राशेः राश्यन्तरसङ्क्रान्तिः, तदुभयं  
वृष्यादिप्रसिद्धफलविपाको ज्योतिःशास्त्रादवगन्तव्यः । मार्गशीर्षादि-  
षु षट्सु मासेषु तुषारादिदर्शनं तथा चोक्तम्—

मार्गशिरास्सतुषारः सहिमः पौषसमास्तो माघः ।

साध्रः फाल्गुनमासः सवृषितपतितश्च यदि चैत्रः ॥

१ “अनूपाणाम्”—‘श-स-य-गा’ नाम् ।

२ “०निष्पत्तिः”—स ।

३ “०जयोः”—स ।

४ “०संवत्सररूपं”—स ।



तद्विद्भ्रानिलविद्युज्जलवृषितो भवति यदि च वैशाखः ।

सम्यग्वर्षति मघवान् धारणदिवसेषु वर्षति चेत् ॥<sup>१</sup>

वैशाखबहुलप्रतिपदादयश्चत्वारः शुक्रस्योदयास्तमयाभ्यां पञ्चम्यादिषु चाराच्चाषाढपञ्चम्यादिषु नवसु तिथिषु सूर्यस्य प्रकृतिस्वभावस्तद्वैकृतम्परिवेषोपरागमेघावृतत्वादितश्चेति सुषुमादिरूपेणोपलब्धिरिति ।

एवं सुषुमारूपलिङ्गज्ञानं ग्रहप्रकृतिस्वत्रयमुक्तमत्र विशेषमाह, सूर्या द्वी ज सिद्धिरित्यादि । सूर्यां विपरीतस्वभावाद्द्विकृताद्वा द्वी ज सिद्धिरिति ।

फलनिष्पत्तिः स्यान्नवेति अनुमीयते बृहस्पते स्तिष्ठतः संक्रामतो वा सस्यानां स्तम्भक रित्ता ।

तद्विपर्ययपरिज्ञानं शुक्रादुद्यतोस्तं यतश्चारतश्च वृष्टेः सिद्धिरसिद्धिर्वानुमीयते ।

सुषुमावृष्टिक्रमामाह, अथः सप्ताहिका इति । अथो मेघाः सप्ताहिकाः सप्तराश्रमनवरतवर्षकराः अशीतिः कणशीकराविरलबिन्दुवर्षाः षष्टिरातवमेघानामातपसहितानां तिलानां मेघानामेषावृष्टिः सप्ता अन्यूनाधिका सर्वसस्यानां निष्पातकत्वाद्विज्ञेयत्वात् ।

वाते मातपयोगश्च विमज्य स्थित्वा यत्तद्विशे काले वा वषेति देवलीन्कर्षकानिति त्रिभिर्वर्षैः ज्येष्ठादिवापेषु कर्षकाञ्जनयन् कर्षकैर्वापयन् तत्र सस्यागमः सस्यनिष्पत्तिर्ध्रुवो निश्चितः ।

तत इति । वर्षप्रमाणाद्यवधारणान्महावर्षे देशे काले काले वा प्रभूतोदकं सस्यं वापयेत्, अल्पवर्षे त्वल्पोदकं ज्ञेयं वा ।

तत्र विशेषः शालिव्रीहीत्यादि शाल्यादयः सप्त पूर्ववापाः प्रथमं वपनीयाः ।

मुद्गोदयः खयो मध्यमवापाः ।

१ 'ग'स्य पाठः । मूले तु — 'मघवान्वत्सादिवसाश्च' ।

कु सु भ्मादयोष्टौ पश्चाद्वा पाः त्रयोविचर्गाः प्रतीतास्त्रिष्वपि  
वर्षेष्वपवादमाह तद्व्यतिरिक्तेति ।

यथर्तुवशीनवेति । येषां वा बीजानां यस्मिन्नुतावुसानां  
सम्यङ्निष्पत्तिर्भवति तेषामुक्तानामनुक्तानां बीजानां तदा वापः  
कार्यः ।

बीजग्रहणानुकौपसंहार इति वा पातिरिक्तेति प्रभूतत्वात् ।  
'कृष्टक्षेत्रमशक्यं वस्तु' तदर्थं सोति का अर्धेन भागेन कृषन्तो  
प्राभ्यकुटुम्बिनः कुर्युर्वपेयुः, करोतिग्रहणादकृष्टञ्च कृषेयुः ।

यदा तु बीजवलोवर्दादिकमस्ति न कर्मकरः<sup>४</sup> ताः<sup>५</sup> स्ववीर्योप-  
जीविनः बीजाद्यभावेन कायकृशमात्रोपजीविनश्च तुर्थेन पञ्चमे-  
न वा बीजभक्तादिव्ययविशुद्धेन वपेयुः । यथेष्टमिति । यदा  
अर्धसोतिका स्ववीर्योपजीविनो वा अभ्युपगम्य प्रमादान्न भवन्ति तदा  
यथेष्टं यथाभिप्रेतमनवसितं भागमकृष्टसस्यभागं दद्यु-<sup>६</sup>  
रन्यत्र कृच्छ्रेभ्य इति बलीवर्दादिसादकरेभ्यः ; स्वसेतुभ्य  
इति जानपदाः स्वयं कृततटाकादिभ्यः ।

हस्तप्रावर्तिमं कुम्भासेकनिष्पादितञ्चोदकभाग-  
AS/ p. 117 मुदकनिमित्तभागमप्यञ्चमं ददुः ।

स्कन्धप्रावर्तिमं बलीवर्दप्रवर्तितयन्त्रोदकसेकनिष्पादितम्  
चतुर्थभागं ददुः ।

१ "०म्ब०"—स ॥

२ "वापादतिरिक्तम्"—स । "वापादतिरिक्तम् प्रभूतत्वात्कृष्टं क्षेत्रमशक्यं  
वस्तुम्"—स ।

३ "कृषन्तो"—स ।

४ "०राः" पाठः कल्पनीयः—स ।

५ "तदा" इति शोधनीयम् ।

६ पूर्वाच्छेदोऽत्र—'स-ग'योः ।

७ "०साद०"—स । 'कषणविघातकविपदुपनिपातव्यतिरेके' 'ग'-स्य  
व्याख्या ।

सो तो य न्न प्रा व र्ति मं कुल्यादिसेकनिष्पन्नं तृ ती यं भागं ददुः । उक्तं हि—

“राजा भूमेः पतिर्द्वष्टः शास्त्रज्ञै र्वदकस्य च ।

ताभ्यामन्यत्तु यद् व्यं तत्र साम्यं कुटुम्बिनाम् ॥” इति ।

चतुर्थं नद्यादिभ्यः उ द्भू त नमरघट्टादियन्त्रसंजातं भागं दद्यात् । नद्यादयः प्रतीताः, इह च स्यान्नद्यादीनामप्यारघट्टयन्त्रग्रहणं, ननु पूर्वत्र स्वसेतुभ्योपि स्कन्धप्रावर्तिमे चतुर्भाग एवोदकभागोमिहितः तदयुक्त-मिति चेन्न ते हि तेषां स्वयंकृतत्वात् पुत्रपौत्रादिद्वयभोग्याः नद्यादयस्तु भार्याः इत्यदोषः ।

क र्मो द क प्र मा णे ने ति । सेकार्थोदकानुरूपेण प्रभूते सलिले प्रभूतोदकं निष्पाद्यमन्त्रे त्वत्पोदकं निष्पाद्यं के दा रं वापस्थानं है म नं प्रै ष्मि कं वा वापयेत् ।

शा ल्या दि केदारो ज्ये ष्ठः अल्पप्रयाससाध्यमहोदयत्वादाहारद्रव्यप्राधान्याच्च ।

ष षडः कदलीजीकेः पिण्डारकादि म ध्य मं अल्पव्ययं प्रयास-साध्यलाभत्वात् ।

इ क्षुकेदारः प्र त्य व रोधमः हालादिभ्यः कस्मादित्याह,— इ क्ष र्वाभिर्मेदो व ह्ना वा धा मूषिकभृगालशूकरमनुष्यादिप्रभूतोपद्रवा द्य य प्रा हि ण श्च भिगूकशोधकछेदकपीडकपाचकादिप्रभूतकर्मकर-साध्यत्वात् ।

वापभूमिमाह के ना वा तो व ह्नी फ ला ना मित्यादि । फेना-द्या तः सलिलपर्यन्तो व ह्नी फ ला नां कुष्माण्डकर्कटिकादीनां, प रि वा हा न्तः तटाकाद्युच्छ्वासपर्यन्तः पि प्य ली मृ द्नी के क्षू णां प्रतीतानां, कू प प र्य न्तः तत्समीपप्रदेशः शा क मू ल का दी ना म् । ह रि णी प र्य न्त स्तु तटाकादेः रिक्तीभूतार्द्रप्रदेशो ह रि णी तत्समीपः

१ संदिग्धः पाठः ।

२ ‘श-स-या’नां—“हरणी” । “हरणिः”— ग । “हरिणी—शन ।

हरितकादीनां, हरितावयवादीनां पा ल्यो मूलः शिक्षो! ल वानां  
लूनानां इक्ष्वादीनां वाप इति । गन्धः मांसीग्रन्थीपर्णिकादयः  
भैषज्यं लशुनशतपुष्पादिशेषं यथास्वं मूमिष्विति स्थल्यो  
स्थलभूमिषु, अनुप्याश्चानूपभूमिषु, उक्ताश्चानुक्ताश्चौषधीर्वाप-  
येदिति ।

बीजभावनानामाह, तुषारपायनमित्यादि । तुषार-  
पायनं नीहारभावनं रात्रौ चोष्णशोषणं उष्णभावनमग्नि-  
आसत्तरात्तादिति धान्यबीजानां ब्रीह्यादिधान्यबीजानां  
त्रिरात्रं वा, कोशीधान्यानां मुद्गगाडकीप्रभृतीनां मधुघृत-  
शूकरवसाभिः प्रतीताभिः शकृत्तृणकाभिर्गोमयसहिताभिः  
काण्डबीजानामिक्ष्वादीनां, भेदलेपः भेदप्रदेशस्य लेपनं मधु-  
घृतेन मधुमिश्रेण घृतेन, कन्दानां सूरणादीनां लेपः, अस्थि-  
बीजानां कार्पासादिबीजानां गोमयलेपः, शाखिनां वृक्षाणां वा  
गर्तस्यादाहो गोस्थिभिः गोमयैश्च काले दौह<sup>२</sup>दं वृक्षायु-  
र्वेदोक्तं गर्मादानं कर्तव्यमिति शेषः ।

उपघातप्रतीकारमाह, प्ररुढांश्चेत्यादि । प्ररुढान् अङ्कुरित-  
मात्मान्, चकाराद्विचित्रतुःपत्राश्चायश्च सर्वेषां सामान्यः कृमिकीटो-  
पघातप्रतीकारः । कथमित्याह, अशुष्कानाद्रान्कटुमत्स्यान्  
क्षुद्रमत्स्यान् खुहिकारश्च<sup>३</sup> प्रत्यादीनां कुर्वीतेति ।

कार्पासप्रतीकारमाह, कार्पाससारन्तद्बीजसारं सपे-  
निर्मोकञ्च समाहृत्य एतेन धूमं कुर्यात् पर्वाच्चादन-  
म्भवति ।

१ “लोलवानां”—स । “लपानां”—श । “लवानां”—ग । “पाख्योल-  
पानां”—य ।

२ “दोहदं”—स-श ।

३ संविग्धः पाठः । “स्तुहिज्जीरेण” इति मूले । “समन्तदुग्धाख्यौषधि-  
ज्जीर्युक्तैः”—‘ग’स्य व्याख्या ।

प्रथमवापविधिमाह, सर्व्वे जीजा नमिति । प्रथमवापे वापा-  
रम्भे सुवर्णोदकेन संप्लुतमथमं मुष्टिं  
AS', p. 118 वापयेत् ।

दृतशीर्णं स्वयम्पतितं पुष्पफलं देवकार्यार्थं ब्रीहिय-  
वञ्चाप्रयणार्थं नवशस्येष्ट्यर्थं, श्रोत्रिया वेदाध्यायिनः, तप-  
स्विनः तपस्तपोयुक्ताः, हरेयुः ।

राशिमूलमुञ्छवृत्तय इति क्षेत्रस्थलगतधान्यराशिमूलदेश-  
विसृत्तधान्यकणिशादिकं शिलोञ्छवृत्तयः श्रोत्रियतपस्विन एव  
हरेयुरिति ।

यथाकालमिति । शस्यानां यो यस्य प्रवेशकालः तदा  
जातमात्रमेव प्रवेशयेत् न क्षेत्रे किञ्चित् पलालादिकमपि  
स्थापयेत् [ किमङ्ग पुनरुन्नति ? ] पण्डितार्थसञ्चयविधिः ।  
श्लोकश्चात्र—

यस्य विघ्नान्न कुर्वन्ति शीतमुष्णं रतिर्भयं ।

समृद्धिरसमृद्धिर्वा स वै पण्डित उच्यते ॥ इति ।

तदर्थं पण्डितग्रहणम् ।

प्रकाराणां कुलुमानां स्थाने समुच्छ्रयान्वा महतः  
कुटाकारसन्निवेशान् कुर्याद्वलभीर्वा दीर्घप्रकरी स्तथाविधा स्स-  
मुच्छ्रितानि संहतानि न परस्परं लग्नानि न च तुच्छानि तेषां  
शिरोसि रक्षःपिशाचाद्यपहरप्रतिषेधार्थम् अयःपाषाणाद्यधिष्ठितानि  
कार्याणि । खलस्य प्रकारान् कुलुमान् कुर्यात् । मण्डलान्तेवली-  
वर्दपङ्क्तिभ्रमणभूमिपर्यन्ते समाश्रिता न्समीपस्थान् अनन्निका

1 “०ञ्छि०” मूले ।

2 दुष्टः पाठः ।

3 “०कर” — ग ।

4 ‘प्रकाराः कुलुमाः’ इति व्याख्या — ग ।

ग्निरहिता । सो द काश्चा गन्तुबद्धिप्रतिषेधार्थम् । ख ले स्युः प रि-  
क र्मिणः कुर्यु रिति ।

इति भट्टस्वामिनः प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्

अर्थशास्त्रटीकायामध्यक्षप्रचा-

## रि के द्वि ती ये धि क र णे

चतुर्विंशोऽध्यायः ।

सी ता ध्य क्षः आ दि तः प श्च च त्वा रिं शो ध्या यः ।

पञ्चविंशोऽध्यायः

## सुराधात्र इति सूत्रम्

सुराशब्देन सर्वाः पानविशेषा गृह्यन्ते ।

AS'. p. 119

“गौडी माधवी च पैष्टी च विज्ञेया त्रिविधा सुरा ।”

इति वचनात् । उपलक्षणार्थत्वाच्च सुराशब्दस्य मोदकादीनामपि ग्रहणं, तेषामध्यक्षः तत्सन्धानविक्रयाद्यधिकारी, स इहाभिधीयते इति सूत्रार्थः । सम्बन्धस्तु समाहर्तुकर्मणि दुर्गान्तर्गता सुराप्रदिष्टा तत्प्रभेदस्तदध्यक्षो वा नोक्तः, सोऽभिधीयत इति ।

तमाह सुराध्यक्ष इत्यादि । सुरायाः किं प्वस्य च तत्कारणस्य च व्यवहारं तत्संयोजनविक्रयादिकं दुर्गादिषु त्रिषु तज्जातेत्यादि, तत्कुलकल्याणलैः कारयेत् ।

एकमुखमित्यादि सुबोधम् । प्रामादेर्दुर्गादेरनिर्णयनं बहिर्निःसरणमसंभ्या तच्च गृहाद्गृहान्तरगमनम<sup>1</sup>सकुलदोषञ्च स्थापयेत् ।

कुतः प्रमादादिभयात्कर्मसु निर्दिष्टानामध्यक्षपुरुषाणामार्याणां ब्राह्मणादीनां शूरपुरुषाणाञ्च यथाक्रमं प्रमादादिदोषभयात् प्रमादः कर्मसु शैथिल्यं, मर्यादातिक्रमः स्वधर्मलङ्घनं, उत्साहः कलहः, त एते पानदोषात्सम्भवन्ति, तस्माल्लक्षितं कृताभिज्ञानमल्पं वेत्यल्पस्यापि अवस्थितत्वात् सर्वानि कृष्टं कुडुम्बचतुर्भागं सर्वोत्कृष्टं प्रस्थमिति प्रतिज्ञातशौचादुष्टं निर्हरेयुः निर्गमयेयुः ।

पानागारेषु वा वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणेषु पिबेयुरसञ्चारिणो यावन्मदकालमसंपातिनः ।

निक्षेपेः चोपायनार्थमर्पितमुपनिधिर्न्यासः प्रयोगो बन्धकः

1 “०न चासङ्क०”—स ।

2 “तितीक्ष्णे” इति मूले लिपिकरप्रमादः ।

बन्धकघटितालङ्कारादिर्वा अप ह तं मुषितमा दि ग्रहणं याचित-  
कमवक्रीतकञ्चैवमेषाम नि ष्टो प ग ता नाञ्च साहसाद्यपहतानां  
द्र व्या णो चोरदमरिकादिपुरुषाणाञ्च ज्ञा ना र्थं तत्त्वावबोधार्थं  
स्वामिमद्यपां॑ कु प्यं खड्गखेटकादि हि र ण्यञ्चो प ल भ्य विज्ञाय  
नि क्षे ष्ता र म्पानशौण्डिम न्य त्र पानाहारादित्यन्येषाम् विश्वास-  
प्रतिषेधार्थं मु प दे शे न न वाक्पारुष्यादिव्याजेन ग्राहयोगं रिकादि-  
ना ति व्य थ क र्ता र मल्पायस्महाव्यय म ना य ति व्य यञ्च विनैवायेन  
व्ययकारिणं ग्राहयेत् ।

चा न र्धे ण हीनार्धेण॑ का लि कं॑ वा धारणकेभ्यः सु रां द द्या त्  
विक्रीणीयात् अन्य त्र दु ष्ट सु रा याः पिष्टसुरायाः तद्धारणकेभ्योन्यत्र  
वा नीत्वा विक्रापयेत् । तदसम्भवे दा सा दि भ्यो वा वे त ना र्थं  
द द्या त् । वा ह न प्र ति पा न मुष्ट्रवलीवर्दादिप्रतिपानं॑ सू क र-  
पो ष णं वा तेभ्यो द द्या त् ।

पा ना गा रा णि आपानकगृहाणि अ ने क क क्ष्या णि प्रभूता-  
वस्थानानि वि भ क्त श य ना दिप्रदेशा शौण्डिकादीनां यथासुखाव-  
स्थापनार्थं ग न्ध मा ल्यो द क व न्ति ऋ तु सु खानि सर्वत्र  
भोज्ययुक्तानि कारयेत् ।

त त् त्वाः प्र कृ तो॑ त् प सि कौ नित्यनैमित्तिकौ व्य यौ पातृ णां  
गू ढ पु रु षाः तत्कर्मकरादिव्यञ्जना वि द्युः, आ ग न्तुं श्च देशान्त-  
रादिगतेषां ।

क्रे तृ णां म स्र सु ता नो अ ल ङ्का रा च्छा द नं हि-  
र ण्या नि च तच्छरीरगतानि पच गूढा वि द्युः । त आ शे

AS', p. 120

1 'अस्वामिक'—इति पाठः मातृकायाम् ।

2 पाठो दुष्टः । 'ग्राहयेत् नागरिकादिना' इति कल्पनीयः ।

3 '०र्धेणाकालिकं'—'स'स्य शोधनम् ।

4 "०र्कां" 'श-स-य-गा'नाम् ।

5 "०कृत्योत्०"—'य-ग'-योः ।



मत्तसुप्तानामलङ्कारादिनाशे व णि जः सुराध्यक्षाः तच्च तावच्च  
दण्डं दद्युः ।

व णि जः सुराध्यक्षास्तु-शब्दोधिकारान्तरे संवृतेषु गूढेषु  
कक्ष्या विभागेषु स्वदासीभिरातप्रोष्याभिः<sup>१</sup> पेशलरूपाभिः  
सुन्दराकाराभिः आगन्तूनां देशान्तरादागतानां वास्तव्यानां  
तत्त्वत्यानाञ्चार्थरूपाणामार्थवैषधारिणां मत्तसुप्तानां भाव  
मभिप्रायं विद्युः तेषाञ्चोरडामरिकपाप्मयुक्तादिपरोक्षणार्थम् ।

मेदकेत्यादि । मेदकादीनां वण्णां विधिरभिधीयत इति  
वाक्यशेषः । मेदकस्य तावदाह उदकद्रोणं तण्डुलानामिति  
किंण्वस्य वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणस्य, शेषं सुबोधम् । इत्येवमनया  
कल्पनया मेदकस्य योगो भवति, प्रसन्नाया वक्ष्यते ।

द्वादशाढकं पिष्टस्य किंण्वस्य पञ्च प्रस्थाः पुतकः  
कामरूपेषु वृक्षविशेषः तस्य त्वक्फलं तद्युक्तो जातिसम्मारो  
वक्ष्यमाणः पाठादिप्रयोगः प्रसन्नायोगः इहोदकप्रमाणमनुक्त-  
मपि पूर्वतः तण्डुलार्धाढकस्योदकद्रोणोपदेशात् पिष्टाष्टगुणमुदकमूह्य-  
मिति ।

आसंवस्याह, कपित्थतुलेति । तत्फलसारशतपलं फाणि तं  
पञ्चतौलिकं पञ्चपलशतपरिमाणं प्रस्थो मधुनो माक्षिकस्ये-  
त्ययं मद्यमस्या सवस्य योगः । पादाधिकः पूर्वोक्तकपित्था-  
दिमालाञ्चतुर्भागाधिको ज्येष्ठो भवति । पादहीनस्तु कनिष्ठ  
इति प्रतीतम् । लिविधोयमासवयोग इति ।

अरिष्टमाह चिकित्सकप्रमाणा इति । वैद्योपदेशप्रमाणः  
प्रत्येकशो विकाराणां व्याधिविशेषाणां मरिष्टा अभयारिष्टा  
इयः चिकित्सार्था योगा अवगन्तव्याः ।

<sup>१</sup> '०मिराप्यस्योभिः' मूले लिपिकप्रमादः

<sup>२</sup> "पाठालोप्रेत्यादिनानुपद" इति योजनीयम्-ग ।

मैरेयमाह, मे ष शृङ्गि<sup>१</sup> पिप्पली<sup>२</sup> मूल का था मिष्टु<sup>३</sup>त इति मे ष शृङ्गि त्वक्कापेनन्वा मिष्टु तः कृतप्रतिबन्धानो गुड प्रती वा पो गुडनोपचरितः पिप्पली मरीचि स भ्मा र स्तच्छूर्णावकीर्णः लिफला युक्तो वेति वा शब्दश्चार्थ इति केचित् । सम्भारविकल्प इत्यन्ये । एवमेष मैरेययोगः ।

गुड युक्तानां वा शब्दो गुडरहितानांश्च सर्वेषां द्रव्यान्तर-काथाभिषुतानामपि लिफला<sup>४</sup> सम्भारः कार्यः । मध्वाह मृद्वी का-रस इति परिणतद्राक्षाफलरसो मधु । तस्य मधुनः स्वदेशो व्याख्या नं तदुत्पत्तिभूमिनिमित्तमाख्याद्वयम्भवति । तत्र कपिशो यवन्तिनेषु<sup>५</sup> परिज्ञा नाम नन्दिनगरं तत्रैव हारहरकं तत्प्रभवं कापिशायनं हारहरकमि<sup>६</sup>ति तद्गृहमुत्तमत्तप्रदर्शनार्थं मान्य-निवृत्त्यर्थं, ततश्च कामिराद्यपि मधु भवति द्राक्षाग्रहणं खजूरो-पलक्षणार्थं तद्रसोपि मधु भवति ।

सुरामभिधाय तत्किण्वमाह, माषकलनी<sup>७</sup> त्यादि । माषकलनी माषकलकभावितमुदकमा मं पक्वं सिद्धं वा कथितं लिभागा-धिकं द्रोणं तण्डुलं पिष्टयुक्तं मु<sup>८</sup>रटादीनामुपरि वक्ष्यमाणानां

१ 'शृङ्गि' योः "शृङ्गी" ।

२ 'श-स-य-ने'षु 'पिप्पलीमूलो' न दृश्यते ।

३ "०भिषुत०" 'श-स-य-गा' नाम् ।

४ Either (i) (a) *Terminalia chebula*, T. Bellerica, *Phyllanthus embelica* (*Susruta*) ; or (ii) (a) grape, (b) pomegranate, (c) date (*Nighantuprakāśa*) ; or (iii) (a) nutmeg, (b) areca-nut, (c) cloves ; cf. स.

५ संदिग्धः पाठः ।

६ हुरा-सुरा (Bartholomae *Iranisches Woerterbuch* ; हारहुरा-सारसुरा—सस्य कल्पना ।

७ "०ग्रहण०"—स ।

८ "०मोरट०"—'श-स-य-गा' नाम् ।

षण्णां का र्षि क भा ग यु क्तं कि ण्वा (चित्रा) ब न्धो श्लिङ्गसुबन्धः  
गुडयुक्तानां वा सर्वेषां त्रिफलासम्भार इति ।

सामान्यसम्भारस्योक्तत्वात् प्रत्येकमभिधीयते, वाक्योदितपाठा-  
दयश्च वैदा वेदप्रतीताः तेषु पञ्च क र्षि कः प्रत्येकम्पञ्चकर्षप्रमाणः  
स्मारयो गो मे द क स्य ।<sup>1</sup>

प्र स न्ना या श्च<sup>2</sup> म धू को यष्टिमधुकस्त त्रि यू<sup>3</sup> हे ण कषायेण  
यु क्तः क ट श र्क राः प्र सा द नी तयोरेव मेदकप्रसन्न-  
योगश्चेति । सुरेति ।

प्रसन्नायोगः सम्भाररहितः आसवसम्भारमाह, चो चे त्या दि ।  
चो चा दीनाश्चतुर्णां षट्कार्षिकाः क्र मु कादीनाश्चतुर्णां द्वि का र्षि क-  
श्चा स व स म्भारः । चोच-चित्तकादयो वैद्यकादिषु प्रतीताः ।

द श भा ग श्चै षां चोचादीनाम्बी ज व न्धः आसवकरणद्रव्येषु  
प्रक्षेप्तव्यः प्र स न्ना यो गः श्वे त सु रे ति प्रसन्नायोगः संहाररहितः  
समकिण्वाबन्धश्चायं<sup>4</sup> सुरा भवति ।

तत्प्रसंगाच्चान्यानपि द्रव्यभेदकृतान्मात्राभेदकृतांश्च सुराविशिषा-  
नाह स ह का र सु रे त्या दि । सहकारतैलयुक्ता सुरैव गुडप्रतीता  
पापसुरा रसोत्तरा शोषुसंज्ञा भवति । बी जो त्तरा बीजद्रव्यमात्रा-  
धिका म हा सु रा । बीजोत्तरा रसोत्तरा च स म्भारि की  
सम्भारासिकेव । ता सा मिति सर्वसुराणां प्रसाधनविधिमाह  
मो र टे त्या दि । मो र टा बभ्रु<sup>5</sup>बल्लीविशेषः प<sup>6</sup>त्तूरः पङ्कुरः

1 'स-ग-योः पूर्वाच्छेदोऽत्र न, "प्रसन्नायाश्च" इति पदेन सह पठ्यते ।

2 पूर्वाच्छेदोऽत्र—स-घृत-C-ग'योः ।

3 'स' घृत—"निग्रह" पाठो भ्रान्तः ।

4 "चोप"—श० ।

5 "०श्चेदं" मूले प्रसादः ।

6 "०वज्रवल्ली०"—स ।

7 'वत्तूरः' 'श-स-या' नाम् । पत्तूरः—'श०-ग' योः । वत्कूर—स-घृत-C मूल ।

क्षी र वृ क्षाः न्यग्रोधादयः शेषप्रतीतम् । एतेषां क षा ये ण  
निर्यासेन भा वि तं द ग्ध क ट श र्क रा चूर्णं तथा लो ध्रा दि-  
क ल्का र्थ युक्त म न्त र्न खो मु ष्टि रद्वष्टनखो मुष्टिः कु म्भीञ्चतुः  
षष्टिसहस्र<sup>१</sup> फलां रा ज पे यां राजाङ्गां प्र सा द य ति स्वच्छीकरोति ।  
फा णि तः पञ्च प लि कः पञ्चपलप्रमाणः फाणितश्चा त कु म्भ्यां  
स्वच्छीकृतायां र स वृ द्धि स्तन्निमित्तं दे यः प्रक्षेप्तव्यः

कु टु म्बि न इत्यादि । कु टु म्बि नो जानपदाः कृ त्ये षु विवाहा-  
दिषु श्वे त सु रां मधुपसुराम् पानार्थमरिष्टं<sup>२</sup> वौ ष धा र्थं म ध्यक्षाय  
वा इवस्मेदकादीनामन्यतमं क र्तुं मुपयोक्तुञ्च ल भे र न् ।

उ त्स वे षु वसन्तादिषु स मा जे षु स्थानस्थानस्वजनमेलनेषु  
या त्ना सु च स्वदेवतापूजादिषु चेत्याहुः च तु दै व सि कः सौ रि क-  
स्सुरापानकाले<sup>३</sup> देयः । पृष्टेनाध्यक्षेण समलकलनोयः[?] ते ष्वे व  
विवाह इत्यादिषु अ नु ब्रा ता नां पिवतां दै व सि क म त्य यं स्वयमेव  
परिकल्प्य गृह्णीयात् ।

सु रा कि ण्व वि च य मि ति । विचयशब्दः प्रत्येकं सु रा वि च यं  
श्रवणोत्सेचनादिकं किण्व वि च यं समुत्सेदनशोषणमर्दनादिकं स्त्रि यो  
बा लांश्च तद्रसानभिज्ञाः कुर्युः । अराजपण्यानां राजभाव्यमाह अ रा ज-  
प ण्याः मद्यविक्रयिणः पञ्च कं श तं द द्युः । केषाम्पण्यानामित्याह  
सु रे त्या दि । सुरादीनां तत्कारणानां गुडघातकीकिण्वप्रभृतीनामि-  
ति केचित् । तत्र पलाशला तालनालिकेरादिमद्यम् अम्लशीधु[स्यादि ?]  
सन्धानसम्भवमुदक्षु प्रतीतम् अन्ये तु सुरादीनुत्तरश्रीकेन सह संबध्नुन्ति ।

तच्चाह अ ह्न श्वे त्या दि । दैवसिकं वि क्र यं ज्ञा त्वा तथा वै ध  
र ण ञ्च मानविधाववर्ज्यपण्यच्छेदनञ्च ज्ञात्वा त तो मा न हि र ण्य-  
यो र्व्या जीं कुर्यात्षोडशभागो मानव्याजी पञ्चकं शतं हिरण्यव्याजी तच्च

१ 'स' स्य पाठः । "षष्टिफलां" ।

२ "०कास्तः" कल्पनीयः—स ।

शुल्कव्यतिरेकेणावगन्तव्यम् । उ चि त च्च यथोक्तप्रकारातिरेकेणान्यमपि  
देशप्रसिद्धमाचार म नु व र्त्त ये त् अनुपालयेदिति ।

इ ति भ ट्ट स्वा मि नः प्र ति प द प च्चि का या म्

अ र्थे शा स्त्र टी का या म ध्य क्ष प्र चा-

रि के द्वि ती ये धि क र णे

प च्च विं शो ध्या यः ।

सु रा ध्य क्ष इ ति आ दि तः ष ट् च त्वा रिं शो ध्या यः ।



षड्विंशोऽध्यायः

## सूनाधाद्य इति सूत्रम् ।

सू नां वध्यानां भक्ष्यप्राणिनां वधस्थानं, तस्याध्यक्षो वध्याव-  
AS', p. 122  
ध्यनियमनतदुपादेयाद्यधिकारी, स इहाभिधीयते, इति सूत्रार्थः  
सम्बन्धस्तूत्तममध्यमावरेषु कर्मसु तज्जातिकर्माध्यक्षं स्थापयेदिति ।  
तत्र समाहर्तुं सन्निधात्रादीनुत्तमान्पौतवाध्यक्षादींश्च मध्यमानभि-  
धाय अधमानां सूनाध्यक्षादीनां वक्तव्यत्वेन सूनाध्यक्षोभिधीयत इति ।  
तदाह सू ना ध्व क्ष इत्यादि ।

प्र दि ष्ठा भ या नां निवारितहिंसानां म भ य व न चारि नां  
ब्रह्मसोमारण्यसर्वातिथिमृगवनाभिवासिनाम् च मृगादीनां मृगा  
पण्डकाकुरङ्गादयः प श वो वन्याः खड्गमहिषादयः प क्षि ण स्तित्तिरि-  
मयूरादयः म तस्याः मीनोऽवपत्यमत्स्यान्<sup>1</sup> गृह्णाति ।

‘दा त्यू ह श्चातकः. भृङ्ग रा जः कृष्णो धूमाटकाख्यः, म द न शु-  
क शा रि का स्त ज्ञा त्व न्त र्ग ताः वि हा र प क्षि णः क्रोडार्थाः बाल-  
कुक्कुटादयः मं ग ल्या र्था श्च श्यामाम<sup>2</sup> रद्वाजादयः एवमन्ये प्युक्त-  
व्यतिरेकेण प्रा णि नो द्विपदचतुष्पदसरीसृपभेदाः प क्षि णो मृ गा श्च  
यथादेशप्रसिद्धमवगन्त<sup>3</sup> व्यपदेशा हिं सा वा धे भ्यो र क्ष्याः । तेषाञ्च  
कृते र क्षा ति क मे वधबन्धान्युपेक्षणेध्यक्षस्य पू र्वः सा ह स द ण्डः ।

विक्रयविधिमाह प शू ना मि ति । पशुग्रहणं मृगानांमप्युपेक्षणा-  
र्थम् । अ न स्थि अस्थिरहितम् शुद्धं मां सं वि क्रौ णी र न न

1 अर्थोऽस्फुटः ।

2 “कुटुम्बिनामि”त्यत आरभ्य “प्रमुञ्चे”दिति यावन्मातकांशः टीकामते  
न दृश्यते ।

3 ‘स’-स्य “लामाकु०” पाठो भ्रान्तः ।

4 ‘स’-धृत-“अध्वजादयः” पाठो दुष्टः ।

5 “गत०” पाठः कल्पनीयः ।

नन्वयुक्तमिदमुत्तरत्नानस्थिमांसविक्रयप्रतिषेधात् । तत्राह—अस्थि म तः  
प्र ति पा तं<sup>१</sup> द द्यु रि ति, अ स्थि म तो मांसस्य यावन्मात्रमस्थि ताव-  
च्छुद्धमांसमधिकं दद्यु रिति । तु ला ही ने ही ना ष्ट गु णं दद्यु रिति ।

वर्तिते तत्र भावितपूरणमात्रं केतुरवशिष्टं सूनाध्यक्षस्य व त्सः  
स्तनन्धयः वृ षः सेका स्त्री प्रसवर्मिणी एषाम्पशूनां वध्यानामप्येते  
न वध्याः ।

तत्सन्तानविच्छिद्यर्थं न्न तो वत्सादीन् पञ्चा श त्प णो द ण्डः  
क्लि ष्टं घा तं दुःखमादिकया घा त य त श्च पूर्वं एव दण्डः ।

प रि सू न मि ति । सूनास्थानं वर्जयित्वान्यस्मिन्देशे निहत्या शिरः  
शिरोरहित मेवम पा द म न स्थि च ततमिहार्थं<sup>२</sup> वि ग न्धं  
AS', p. 123 घुटितं स्वयं सृ तञ्च रोगिणां मांसं न वि क्री णी र न् ।  
अ न्य थे ति । परिसूनाशिरःपादादिविक्रये द्वा द श प णो द ण्डः ।  
अयञ्च परिसूनवधदण्डो ग्राम्यपशुविषयः अशिरःपादादिविक्रय-  
दण्डश्चारण्यपशुविषयो द्रष्टव्यः ।

अभयवनचारिणां वधवन्धादि प्रतिषेधापवादमध्यायप्रान्तश्लोकमाह  
दृ ष्टा इत्यादि । दृ ष्टा घातुकाः प श वो महिषादयः । व्या ला-  
व्याघ्रसिंहादयः स त्स्यो श्च कुलीरशिंशुमारादयः, अ भ य चा रि णो-  
ऽभयवनस्थाः । अ न्य त्र गु णि स्था ने भ्यो रक्षास्थानेभ्यः स्वा-  
तिकादिभ्यो ग्राहाद्या च ध व न्ध मा ण्डु युः तेषु त्वन्यतो रक्षणीयाः  
अन्यत्र वध्याश्चेति ।

इ ति भ दृ स्वा मि नः प्र ति प द पञ्चि का या म्

अ र्थं शा ख टी का या म ध्य क्ष प्र चा-

रि के द्वि ती ये धि क र णे

ष ड् विं शो ऽ ध्या यः ।

सू ना ध्य क्ष आ दि तः स त च त्वा रिं शो ऽ ध्या यः ।

१ “०पाकं”—श. ॥

२ “घातः”—‘श-य’—योः ।

३ पाठसंदेहः ।

सप्तविंशोऽध्यायः

## गणिकाध्याय इति सूत्रम् ।

ग णि का वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणाः तासा म ध्य क्षो गणिकाध्यक्षः, तद्व्या-  
पारोभिधीयत इति सूत्रार्थः । सम्बन्धस्तु सुरासूनाध्यक्षवद्व्याख्येयः ।  
अथवा रूपाजीवाः स्नानशुद्धशरीराः परिवर्तितवस्त्रालङ्काराः पश्येदि-  
त्युक्तम् तासामध्यक्षस्तत्प्रचारो वा नोक्तः, सोभिधीयत इति । तदाह  
ग णि का ध्य क्ष इत्यादि ।

स हि ग णि का न्व या म ग णि का न्व यां वा इत्यनेन गणिकात्वे  
रूपाद्य एव निमित्तम् नान्य इति व्याख्यातं भवति तत्र रू प यौ व ने  
प्रतीते, शिल्पं गीतवाद्यादि वक्ष्यमाणं तत्स स्म त्तां स ह स्ते-  
णेति कोशसहस्रं दत्त्वा सहस्रप्राहिणीगणिकेयमिति प्रसिद्धार्थः,  
ग णि कां का र ये त् तत्पत्य<sup>१</sup>माकोपयेत् ।

कु टु म्बा धे<sup>२</sup> न तद्विगुणार्धेन विभज्यता स्म ति ग णि कां<sup>३</sup>  
द्वितीयां स्थापयेत् ।

नि ण्य ति ता प्रे त यो र्देशान्तरगतमार्तयो र्भे गिं नी दु हि ता वा  
कु टु म्बं भ रे त तदीयतन्त्रं रिक्त्यं वाधितिष्ठेत् ।

मा ता वा त स्या इति भगिनीदुहितृभावे तस्या मातैव  
अन्या स्म ति ग णि कां तत्स्थाने स्था प यि त्वा कुटुम्बं भरेत् ।

ता सां भगिन्यादीनां मातु श्चा भा वे रा जा तद्विक्त्यं  
वा ह रे त् । अनेन च गणिकानां पुत्रा अदायादाः इत्याख्यातम्भवति ।

सौ भा ग्या लङ्कारवृद्धे ति करणे सप्तम्यर्थे वा तृतीया ।  
स ह स्ते णे ति । सहस्रं गृहीत्वा वा रं नियोगं क नि ष्ठं मध्यमं

१ [ 'तत्पत्तिमा' ? ]

२ "०र्थे०"—स ।

३ "A substitute" not "a rival." गणिका not "public woman" but  
'king's attendant.'—स ।



यत्न तु सहस्रेण कनिष्ठः तथा द्वाभ्यामध्यमः त्रिभि रत्न म इत्या-  
रोपयेत् दद्यात् । तत्र छत्रभृङ्गा रौ कनिष्ठवारगतानां, तौ च  
व्यजनशिबिके च मध्यमवारगतानाम् च ते च विकोरधौ<sup>१</sup> चोत्त-  
मवारगतानाम् विशेषार्थं सौभाग्यालङ्कारस्थोरतिशयार्थमारोपये-  
दिति ।

सौ भा ग्य भङ्गे वार्धकेन भोग्यत्वापगते मातृकां मातृस्थानी-  
यामेनामन्यस्याः कुर्यात् ।

निष्क्रयमाह निष्क्रयश्चतुर्विंशतिसहस्रो गणिकायाः  
इति गणिकाया राजदास्या निष्क्रयः प्रतिमोक्षणमूल्यं चतुर्विं-  
शतिसहस्रः तावन्तं निष्क्रयन्दत्वा स्वातन्त्र्यं भवति ।

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तत्पुत्रस्य द्वादशसहस्रम् ।

तस्य निष्क्रयाभावेऽष्टवर्षात्प्रभृतिराज्ञः कुशीलवकर्म  
चारणताङ्कुर्यात् ।

गणिकाया दासी भग्नभोगा वृद्धा कोष्ठागारे कुट्टना-  
दिकं महानसे वारं धनादिकर्मकारयेत् ।

अभग्नभोगा तु सैवावरुद्धा नियतैकपुरुषगामिनी स पादप-  
णं मासवेतनं गणिकायै दद्यात् । अपरे तु भग्नभोगैव यदा  
केनचिदपदधृता<sup>२</sup> भवति तदा कर्मनिष्क्रयार्थं गणिकाध्यक्षाय दद्यात् ।

मोग भागीयमपदिष्टसाहस्रादिकं दायं मातृकमागतम् स्थित-  
मायं भागीयव्यतिरिक्तलाभं व्ययं भक्तताम्बूलादि[कं] गणिकाया  
गणिकाध्यक्षो निबन्धयेत् । अतिव्ययकर्म अनुचितव्यय-  
कारणं वारयेत् ।

मातृहस्तात् अन्यत्वाभरणन्यासे समर्पिते स पादच-  
तुष्पणो गणिकायां दण्डः । स्वापतेयमलङ्कारातिरिक्तं विक्रया-  
धानं नयन्त्याः स पादपञ्चाशत्पणो दण्डः ।

१ "वीरिकायै" पाठः कल्पनीयः ।

२ "द्वारुद्धा" पाठोऽनुमीयते ।

च तु विंशतिपणो वा क्पा रुष्ये दुस्तदोषे ।

द्विगुणोष्टचत्वारिंशत्पणो दण्डः, दण्डपा रुष्ये पादताडनादौ ।

स पादपञ्चाशत्पणो राज्ञः पणार्धमर्धपणश्च, गणिकाध्यक्षस्य कर्णच्छेदने दण्डो देयः ।

गणिकादण्डमभिधाय पुरुषस्याह—अकामाया इति अनिच्छन्त्याः कुमार्या गणिकादुहितुः साहसे बलात्करणे उत्तमः साहसदण्डः सकामायास्तु पूर्वस्ताहसदण्डः पञ्चधर्मविषयापवादो दण्डः केचिदिह साहसं प्रकरणमाचक्षते तच्चासत् तदण्डस्याभिहितत्वात्, उक्तं हि, गणिकादुहितं प्रकुर्वतश्चतुष्पञ्चाशत्पणो दण्डः ।

शुल्कं मातुर्वलाद्वारयतः निष्पातयतो विनाशयतो प्राणविदारणेन वा नखदशनादिक्षतेन रूपमुपग्नतो विनाशयतः सहस्रदण्डः । स्थानविशेषेणेति उत्तमादिवारप्राधान्येन दण्डवृद्धिः कल्पनीया । कुत इत्याह आनिष्कयद्विगुणादिति, निष्कयः चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रः तद्द्विगुणोष्टचत्वारिंशत्साहस्रः ।

प्राप्ताधिकारां लब्धच्छत्रादिनियोगां गणिकां घातयतो निष्कयद्विगुणो दण्डः ।

मातृकाकुट्टनीदुहितृकातस्याप्यकुमारिका रूपदासी गन्धमाल्यादिकर्मकरी तासामेकां घातयत उत्तमस्ताहसदण्डः ।

सर्वत्रेति यो यस्मिन्नपराधे दण्डोभिहितः स प्रथमेपराधे कर्तव्यः द्वितीये द्विगुणः । तृतीये त्रिगुणः । चतुर्गुणसर्वस्ववधादियोजनीयः साहस्रगौरवादिति ।

राजाज्ञया राजादेशेन पुरुषमगच्छन्ती गणिका शिखा (फा) सहस्रं कशाप्रहारसहस्रं दण्डं लभेत ।

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भोगं गृहीत्वा भोगदं पुरुषं द्विषन्त्या स्तमनिच्छन्त्याः  
दण्डः ।

वसति भोगापहारे वसत्यां भोगरात्रौ वासगृहे वा भोगा-  
पहारेऽनुपचारणे कथादिव्याजेन कालातिगमने वा भोगमष्टगुणं  
दद्यात् अन्यत्र व्याधिपुरुषदोषेभ्य इति व्याधिभ्यः कुष्ठ-  
प्रमेहादिभ्यः पुरुषदोषेभ्यः चारागत्वा 'सह्य' दन्तनखरप्रहारादिभ्यश्च ।

पुरुषवधे गणिकाया शिचिताप्रताप इति । तेनैव सह  
दहनमप्युनिमज्जनं वा महाशिलां गले बद्ध्वाधोनयनम् ।

गणिकाभरणमलङ्कारमर्थं तद्व्यतिरिक्तं वस्तु हिरण्यादिकं  
भोगं वसतिवितनं वा पहरतः, कामुकस्याष्टगुणं दण्डं कुर्यात् ।

गणिकाभोगं पुरुषश्चेति वसत्यां भोगं भोगनिमित्ता-  
मायति पुरुषं वसन्तं च पुरुषं गणिकाध्यक्षस्य निवेदयेत्  
रक्षाविधानार्थम् ।

एतेनेति गणिकाकल्पेन यथोक्ते नटादीनां स्त्रियो गूढा-  
जीवाच्छत्रबन्धकयो यथायोगं व्याख्याताः । तासामपि भातृहस्ता-  
दन्यत्राभरणन्यासे सपादचतुष्पणो दण्ड इत्यादयो यथासम्भवं  
योज्याः । तत्र नटनर्तकाः प्रतीताः वाग्जीवना कथकचार-  
णादयः कुशीलवाः नर्तकीप्रधानाः प्लवकाः पश्चत्तारोहकाः  
सौमिका इन्द्रजालिकाः छायाप्राहका इत्यपरे चारणा विद्धदूत-  
धूर्तादयः, स्त्रीव्यवहारिणो बन्धकीपोषकाः ।

तेषां तूर्यं नगादिपेटकमागन्तुकमन्यदेशागतं प्रेक्षामूल्यं  
पञ्चपणं दद्यात् ।

रूपाजीवास्सर्वा वेश्याः भोगद्वयं दिवसद्वयं लाभमाप्तस्य  
दद्युः ।

गीतवाद्येत्यादि तत्र गीतवाद्ये प्रतीते । पाठ्यमाख्यायि-

१ '०त्वाद०' पाठोऽनुमेयः ।

२ "व०"—स ।

कादि नृत्तं न तं की प्रयोज्यम् अक्षराणि लिपयश्च त्वमालेख्यं, वीणा वेणू प्रतीतौ, तथोश्च वाद्यग्रहणेन गृहीतत्वात् प्राधान्यज्ञापनार्थं पुनरुपादानम् । परचित्तज्ञानमिङ्गिताकारवेदनं गन्धसंयूहनं गन्धयुक्तिः माल्ययूहनं माल्यग्रथं संवाहनमङ्गमर्दनं संवादं प्रियवचनरचनाचातुर्यं वैशिकं दत्तकादिकामतन्त्रज्ञानमित्येकमेव पठन्तो बाह्यान्तरचतुःषष्टिकलापरिज्ञानमाचक्षते, ज्ञानशब्दः प्रत्येकं, गणिका व्याख्याताः दासीः शेषवेश्याः रंगोपजीविनः नट्यादिस्त्रियश्च, चरसमुच्चये, ग्राहयतस्तत्तदाचार्यस्य राजमण्डलादाजीवं वृत्तिं कारयेत् । गणिकापुत्रान् रङ्गोपजीविनो नटादयस्तेषां मुख्या त्रायकपात्राणि नाट्याचार्या निष्पादयेयुः सर्वतालापचाराः श्वेति ।<sup>१</sup>

वक्ष्यमाणेन श्लोकेन सह संबन्धः, राज्ञः सङ्केतविशेषविदः भाषान्तरज्ञाः भाषाविशेषज्ञाः स्त्रियस्तेषां नटादीनां संबन्धिन्य अनात्मस्वजितेन्द्रियेषु चारघातार्थं तदुपलब्धपरप्रयुक्तगूढपुरुषमप्रयोज्याः प्रयोक्तव्याः बन्धुबान्धवाः अर्थादिनोपगृहीततदात्मबन्धवर्गवशीकृता इति ।

इति भट्टस्वामिनः प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्

अर्थशास्त्रटीकायामध्यक्षप्रचार-

रिके द्वितीये धिकरणे

सप्तविंशो ध्यायः ।

गणिकाध्यक्ष आदितोऽष्टाचत्वारिंशो ध्यायः ।

१ “०पा०” ‘श-स-य-गा’—नाम् ।

२ “०चाराणां”—ग । “०चाराणां”—‘श-स-या’नाम् ।

३ पूर्वाच्छेदोऽयं “निष्पादयेयुः” इत्यतः परं कल्पनीयः । —स ।

अष्टाविंशोऽध्यायः

## नावधातु इति सूत्रम् ।

ना वो यानपात्राणि तेषामादेयभागकादि प्रतिजागरणाधिकारी  
नावध्यक्ष इति सूत्रार्थः । सम्बन्धस्तु समाहर्तृकर्मणि राष्ट्रा-  
AS/ p. 126 न्तर्गतम् नदीपालास्तारा नावो वा इत्यात्मरक्षिके चानाप्त-  
नाविकाधिष्ठातामन्येन प्रतिबन्धामिति नाव उक्ताः तदध्यक्षस्तु नोक्त-  
स्सोभिधीयत इति ।

तमाह ना वा ध्यक्ष इत्यादि । समुद्र सं या ना दि त र-  
प्र चा रा न् स्था नी या दि ष्वे वे क्षे त प्रतिजागृयात् । तत्र समुद्र-  
यानं कूलसमीपेन गमनं समुद्रवर्जन्यायात् ग्राह्यं न दी मुखं नदी-  
समुद्रसङ्गमः तेषां ती र प्र चा रा न् तरणमार्गान् दे व स रः सदा  
विशोष्यं महासरो वि स रः तद्विपरीतं न दी त रांश्च मुखव्यति-  
रेकेण सर्वनदीनां, चः समुच्चये स्था नी या दि षु स्थानीयद्रोणमुख-  
खार्वाटिकसंग्रहग्रामे ष्वे वे क्षे त ।

त द्वे ला कू ल ग्रा मा इति समुद्रादि तीरनिवासग्रामाः कृ स  
मिति किञ्चिदुचितपरिकल्पितं द द्यु नान्यजानपदं सामान्यं तेषां  
नौव्यापारेण सदोपयोगात् ।

म त्स्य व न्धा धीवराः नौ वि भा ग कं राजनावमकयं ष ड्-  
भा गं ब न्धमत्स्यानां द द्युः ।

प त्त ना नु वृ त्त मिति । पत्न्यपत्तनं प्रसिद्धम् शु ल्क भा ग मि ति  
शुल्कनिमित्तं भागं पण्यमूल्यात् पञ्चमं षष्ठं वा यथाप्रतिष्ठं व णि जः  
पण्यविक्रिणो द द्युः ।

नन्वयं शुल्काध्यक्षव्यापार इति चेत्सत्यन्तदधिकप्रार्थना नावाध्यक्षेण  
निवारणीयेति तदर्थमिह वचनं या त्रा वे त न श्चे ति । लुप्तनिर्दिष्ट

च-कारां द्रष्टव्यः गत्यास्समभागं च राजनौभिः संपतन्तः  
पत्तनानुवृत्तमेव दद्युः ।

शङ्खमुक्ताग्राहिणः नौविभागं मत्स्यबन्धकवत् भागं  
दद्युरिति केचित् । देयभागस्यानिर्देशात् पूर्ववद्यथाप्रसिद्धं स्वपरि-  
कल्पितं वा दद्युरित्यपरे । खनौभिर्वा तरेयुरमो शङ्खमुक्ताग्राहिणः  
मत्स्यबन्धकास्तु राजनौभिरेव ।

अध्यक्षश्चैषां शङ्खादीनां खन्यध्यक्षेण व्याख्यात इति ।  
यथा खन्यध्यक्षः शङ्खादिकर्मणान्तान्कारयति तथा नावाध्यक्षोऽपि तत्तद्भा-  
गकाद्यधिगतानां शङ्खादीनां तान् कर्मान्तापण्यव्यवहारांश्च कारयेत् ।

पत्तनाध्यक्षनिबन्धं तेन प्रतिष्ठानीतं पण्यपत्तनचारित्र्यं  
तदाचारं नावाध्यक्षः पालयेत् ।

मूढवाताहतामिति । मूढां दृढमोहादपयातां वाताहता-  
मनिष्टवातेनानभिप्रेतद्रोपमायातां नावम्पितवानुगृहीयात् ।

अन्येषामप्यनुरागार्थं उदकप्राप्तं समुद्रोदकमिति दूषितपण्य  
मशुल्कम् शुल्करहितमर्थं शुल्कं वा दद्युः । चरित्रे  
परे प्रसिद्धार्थानां शुल्कं वा कुर्यात् तिमितपण्यश्चेदुपेक्षया विकल्पः ।  
यथा निर्दिष्टाश्चैता इति उच्छुल्का अर्धशुल्काः चैता नावः  
पण्यपत्तनयात्राकालेषु यो यस्य पत्तनस्य यात्राकालस्तस्मिन्  
विस्तेजेत् न विघातयेत् ।

संयाति<sup>१</sup> रतिकान्ति<sup>२</sup> र्वा नावः क्षेत्रानुगताः स्वतोर शुल्क-  
गोचरप्राप्ताः शुल्कं याचेत शुल्कग्रहणमधिकनिवृत्त्यर्थम् । हिंस्त्रिका-

१ “०ष्टापितं” पाठोऽनुमेयः ।

२ “०च०”—स ।

३ “०हतानां०”—‘स’-घृत-‘C’-मूले तथा ‘ये’ ।

४ “तथा”—श ।

५ “०यान्ती०”—ग । “०याती०”—‘श-स-य’ नाम् ।

६ पाठदोषः प्रतिभाति ।

स्तंस्करनावा नि र्धा त ये त् प्रतिनौभिदृच्छित्वात् । अ मि त्र-  
वि ष या ति गाः शत्रुविषयाभिगामिनः प ण्य प त्त न चा रि त्रो प-  
धा ति का इच्च निर्धातयेदिति वर्तते ।

शा स को निधाता नि याः म कः सर्वमार्गाभिन्नः दा तृः ग्रा ह को,  
दशग्राहको रश्मिग्राहकः कर्णधार उ त्से च न को विप्रविष्टज-  
पापनायोत्येवमेतैर धि ष्ठि ता म हा ना वो हे मं त प्रो ष्म ता र्या सु  
तरिमन्नपिकाले नाव्यप्रहारासु महानदाषु सिन्धुसरस्वादिषु प्र यो-  
ज ये त् अपायपरिहारार्थम् । क्षु द्रि कासु लघुनदीषु व र्षा स्त्रा वि-  
णी षु श्रावणभाद्रपदतार्द्यासु क्षु द्रि काः लघुनावः । क्षु द्रिकाग्रहणञ्च  
कोटिमकतरण्डकाद्युपलक्षणार्थम् ।

ब द्ध ती र्थाः सारतोर्थाः चै ता नदीः का र येत् । कस्मादि-  
त्याह रा ज द्वि ष्ट कारिणां परप्रयुक्ततीक्ष्णरसदादीना स्त र ण-  
भ या त् ।

अ कां ले र्थे रात्रादौ अ ती र्थे च प्रसिद्धमार्गादन्यत्र त र तः  
पूर्वः सा ह स द ण्डः । का ले दिवा ती र्थे प्रसिद्धेऽप्य नि सृ ष्ट ता-  
रि णो जुज्ञातस्य गच्छतः पा दो न स स विं श ति प ण स्त रा त्य-

य स्तरणन्निमित्तो दण्डः । कै व र्ते का नाञ्च ती र्थे कांलेपि  
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स्वव्यापारा<sup>१</sup> तरतामन्त्ययः । स म्मा व्या नु पा ति-  
नान्तस्करापहतान्वेषणायानुपातिनाम् दू ता नु पा ति नां कार्बशेषेण  
राजदूतमनुप्रेषितानां से ना भा ण्ड [ प्र चा र प्र ] यो गा णा इच्च  
राजप्रहितचारपुरुषाणां स्व त र णैः अलाबुधृतिगरिडकादिभि-  
स्त र तां तरात्यय इति वर्तते । बी जं क्षेत्रावापार्थं भ क्तं कृषिपशु-  
पालाद्यशनं द्र व्या णि पुष्पफलशाकगोरसादीनि, उ प स्कर<sup>२</sup>  
मा णां स्वतरै स्ता र य तां स्वयं च तरतामन्त्ययः ।

१ “०र्यामकः”—‘स’वृत्त-०-मूले ।

२ “०त्र०” मातृकायास् ।

३ “उपस्करः वेद्यवारः तांश्च, आनपत्रा०” इति योजनीयं—ग।

ब्राह्मणादयः प्रतीताः ते नावाध्यक्षे मुद्राभिर्गृहीत-  
तदीयमुद्राभिस्तरेयुः न वेतनं दद्युः ।

कृतप्रवेशाः प्रविष्टपूर्वाः अनुमतप्रवेशाः पारविषयिकाः  
परविषयादागताः सार्थ<sup>१</sup> प्रमाणाः अकृतप्रवेशा अपि कृतप्रवेश-  
सार्था विदितविशेषत्वात् विजिगीषुदेशं प्र<sup>२</sup>विशेयुः ।

परस्य भार्यादीनपहरन्तं वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणैर्लिङ्गैः ज्ञात्वा  
ग्राहयेत् । तान्याह शङ्कितमित्यादि । शङ्कितं स्वदोष-  
चकितमाविग्नमुत्तरकं<sup>३</sup> उद्गाहणीकृतं उद्गाहितभाण्डभारविसं-  
स्थूलं अभाण्डेन पलालभारादिभारेण वा दुबुद्धपोट्टलादिना मूर्ध्नि  
शिरसि निवातेन प्रत्यभिज्ञायमानं वा च्छादयन्तं सद्यस्तदानी-  
मेव गृहीतलिङ्गं कृतप्रव्रजितरूपमलिङ्गिनमप्रव्रजितलिङ्गं वा परि-  
त्यक्तलिगप्रव्रजितं परिव्राजकादीनामन्यतमम् अलक्ष्यव्याधि कृत-  
रोगिव्यपदेशमलक्षितलिङ्गं भयविकारिणं शुक्लश्यावरक्तादि-  
भयलिङ्गसहितं, गूढेत्यादि सारभाण्डं रत्नसुवर्णादिशास्त्रनं  
लेखं शस्त्रं क्षुरिकाद्यन्त्रियोगो निष्प्रतिकाराग्नियोगद्रव्याणि  
गूढशब्दः प्रत्येकं विषहस्त गृहीतवत्सनाभादिविषं दीर्घपथिकं  
दूराध्वगमनखिन्नममुद्रमगृहीता तपालमुद्रं चकारात् कृतकूट-  
मुद्रञ्चोपग्राहयेत् बध्नीयात् ।

तरवेतनावेवाहक्षुद्रपशुरित्यादि । क्षुद्रपशुरजैडकादिः,  
मनुष्यः च सभारो गृहीतालम्बपोट्टलकादिः माषकं दद्यात् ।

शिरोभारः, पोष्टलिकपात्रा कायभारः स्कन्धभर्याः गवा-  
श्वं च द्वौ द्वौ माषकौ ।

उष्ट्रमहिषञ्चतुरः ।

१ “०र्थ०”—स ।

२ “विशेयुः”—‘श-ग’योः ।

३ पालदोषः । संभ्रान्तं—‘ग’स्य व्याख्या ।

४ [ दुर्बुद्ध !० ]



पंच माषकान् लघु या नं लघुगन्त्रि ।

षण्माषकान् गोलिङ्गं मध्यमगन्त्री ।

सप्त माषकान् शकटम् महागन्तु ।

पण्यहारो विंशतितुलाः पादं पणचतुर्भागं दद्यात् ।

तेन भाण्डभारो महिषोष्ट्रादियानं व्याख्यातं यावन्तो  
भारास्तावतः पादान् दद्युरिति ।

द्विगुण इत्ययमेव यथोदितो महानदीषु गङ्गायमुनादिकासु  
द्विगुणो यः अतश्च वचनात् पूर्वं लघुनदीषु विज्ञेयम् ।

कलसमिति पूर्वत्र राजभाष्यमिदन्तु नावाध्यक्षस्य भक्तवेतनं  
दद्युरिति केचित् पूर्वत्रापि शेषेणामिहितस्य विशेषणार्थमिद-  
मित्यपरे ।

प्रत्यन्तेष्विति, विषयान्तेषु, तारयन्तीति तरा  
नावध्यक्षपुरुषाः शुल्कं यथोक्तमात्रं वाहिकं सार्थादिति  
वाहिकं निमित्तं वर्तनी मन्तःपालादेयश्च चकारादत्यभान्यं च  
गृहीयुः ।

निर्गच्छतश्चेति, उत्तीर्णस्य मुद्रारहितस्य चकाराग्निर्गच्छतश्च  
भाण्डं हरेयुः सर्वापहारं कुर्युः ।

अतिभारेणेति, द्विबाह्यमेकस्य बहवः अवेलायाम-  
सम्पाते समयेऽतीर्थेन प्रसिद्धादन्येन तरतश्च भाण्डं  
हरेयुरिति वर्तते । पुरुषाः शासकनियामकादयः उपकरणानि दातृ-  
रस्मिपटरञ्जवादीनि तद्धीनायामसंस्कृतायां कृतसीवनादि-  
संस्कारायां नावि विपन्नायां नष्टं सर्वथा प्रतीतं विनष्ट-  
मुदकविधृतं नावाध्यक्षोभ्या भवेत् दद्यात्तद्दोषेण तस्य विनाशात् ।

तरवेतनकालमाह सप्ताहवृत्तामाषाटीमित्यादि, आषाढ-  
बहुलसप्तमीं कार्तिकबहुलसप्तमीं चान्तरा तयोर्मध्ये तरस्तरवेतनं  
वर्षास्त्राविणीषु नदीषु ग्राह्यम् इति वाक्यशेषः । ग्रीष्मकार्यासु महानदीषु

नित्यं ग्राह्यं तदुभयमपि का मि क प्र त्य थं तत्कर्म तद्विदितं  
दद्यान्नावाध्यक्षं प्रवेशयेत् वर्षास्त्रावणेषु तु जलवृद्धिक्षयानियमा-  
दा हि कं तरदिवसान्विगणय्य तरवेतनमा ल भे त् दद्यादिति ।

इ ति भ द्द स्वा मि नः प्र ति प द पं चि का या म्

अ र्थ शा स्त्र टी का या म ध्य क्ष प्र चा-

रि के द्वि ती ये ऽ धि क रणे-

ष्टा विं शो ध्या यः ।

नावध्यक्ष आदित एकोनपञ्चाशोऽध्यायः ।



एकोनविंशोऽध्यायः

## गोऽध्याय इति सूत्रम् ।

गावः प्रतीताः तद्ग्रहणं महिषाजावीनां ग्रहणार्थं तासामध्यक्ष-  
स्तत्प्रजीवगणनाद्यधिकारी गोऽध्यक्ष इति सूत्रार्थः । सम्बन्धस्तु  
व्ययशरीरे गोमण्डलमुक्तं न तत्स्वरूपमतस्ततिपाद्यत इति । अथवा  
कृषिपाशुपाल्ये वणिज्या च वार्ता तथा स्वपक्षं परपक्षं वशोकरोति  
कोशदण्डाभ्यामिति वार्तापदिष्टा तन्न सीताध्यक्षपर्णाध्यक्षयोः कृषि-  
वाणिज्यप्रतिपादिते पाशुपाल्यं वक्तव्यं तदभिधीयते ।

तदाह गोऽध्यक्ष इत्यादि । स वे त नो प ग्रा हि का दीनष्टौ  
पदार्थानु प ल मे त जानीयात्तांश्च स्वयमेव व्याचष्टे ।

गो पा ल के त्यादि । स च प्रतीतः, पि ण्डा र को महिषीपालः,<sup>1</sup>  
दोहकमन्थकौ प्रतीतौ, लु ष्ठ को व्याघ्रादिव्यालं प्रति विधीयते  
श तं श तं धे नू नां स्वान्दिनां हि र ण्य<sup>2</sup> ह ता हिरण्यवेतनाः  
पा ल ये युः । कस्मान्न क्षी र भृ ता हि हेतौ, व त्सा न् स्तनन्धया-  
नु प ह न्युः क्षीरलोभादतिदोहेन कृशीकुर्युः इत्येत द्वे त न प दा नो प-  
ग्रा हि क मि त्यन्येयं वेतनोपग्राहनिमित्तादन्वर्थसंज्ञा । एवमुत्तरेषा-  
मपि संज्ञानामन्वर्थता यथासम्भवं योजनीया ।

करप्रतिकरमाह, ज र दि त्या दि, ज र द्द ग वी धे नु ग र्मि णी  
प्रतीते प्रष्टौ ही वृषाभिलाषिणी व त्स त री परित्यक्तस्तनपाना  
स म वि भा गं विंशतिः विंशतिमेकैकस्य भेदस्यैव जरद्गुधेन्वादि  
रूप श त मेकैको गोपालकः पिण्डारको वा पा ल ये त् । तथा ते  
पालकाः घृ त स्याष्टौ वा र का न् चतुरशीतिक्कुटुम्बप्रमाणान् प णि कं

1 “लकः”—स ।

2 पाण्डोषः ।

3 “भृता”—‘श-स-य-गा’ नाम् ।

पुच्छ म्यशतेपणतः मृतस्याङ्गं च मे राजाङ्गोपलक्षितं चर्म चकारात्  
स्नायुश्चङ्गाणि वर्षे देयं दद्युः इत्येतस्य करप्रतिकर इति ।

संज्ञामग्नोत्सृष्टमाह व्याधितेत्यादि, व्याधिता न्यङ्गा च  
प्रतीतान न्यदो ही एकेनैव दोह्या नान्येन दुह्यते, दुर्दो ही दुःखेन  
बन्धनादिना दुह्यते, पुत्रग्री प्रियमाणविजायिनीत्येतासामपि पूर्व-  
वत्समविभागं रूपशतं पालयतः तज्जातिकं तदनु रूपभा-  
गमिति घृतादिराजभाव्यं<sup>२</sup> दद्युरिति, एतद्भग्नोत्सृष्टसंज्ञं  
भवति ।

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भागानुप्रविष्टमाह, परचक्राटवीत्यादि, परबलविलोप-  
भयादादविकलुण्ठनभयाद्वा नुप्रविष्टानां राजव्रजं प्रवेशि-  
तानां गोमहिष्यादीनाम् पालनधर्मेण रक्षास्वभावेन विना चेतनं  
रक्षान भवतीति दशभागं धनिनो गोध्यक्षाय दद्युरिति, एतद्  
भागानुप्रविष्टसंज्ञं भवति ।

व्रजपर्यग्रमाह वत्सा इत्यादि । वत्सा स्तनधयाः, वत्सतरा  
अतीतवत्सभावा, दम्याः दमनार्हाः, वहिनो वोढारः, वृषाः  
सेत्कारः, उक्षाणो जरदुग्वाः, इत्येवमेतेषाम्प्रकारः । पुङ्गवाः  
करभाः<sup>३</sup> द्वितीयवर्षजाता, वृषभाः सेत्कारः, सूनामांसेकोपयोगिनः,  
महिषाः पृष्ठस्कन्धवाहिनः इत्येवमेते चतुष्प्रकाराः । स्त्रीपशु-  
प्रकारानाह वत्सिकेत्यादि । तल्लप्रजाता गोकुमारी, वन्ध्या  
वृषसम्प्रयोगेऽप्यप्रसविनी, शेषाः प्रतीताः, इत्येवं सप्त स्त्रीपशुप्रकाराः ।  
गावो महिष्यश्च मासद्विमासजाता वत्सा वत्सिकाश्च  
तासाम्महिषीणां उपजसंज्ञा भवन्ति, वत्सवत्सिकाग्रहणं तदुभेदेन  
लेख्यनिबन्धनार्थम् । मासद्विमासजातानं कथेत् लक्षयेत् ।

१ पाठदोषः । 'पुच्छः तमेकैकपशोरेकैकपणात्मकम्' इति 'ग'स्य व्याख्या ।

२ '०भागं' पाठो गरीयान् । ग ।

३ 'स'-धृतः "कदथाः" पाठो निरर्थको आन्तरश्च ।

४ "अप्रजाता" मातृकायाम् ।

ननुपजामंकयेदिति कर्तव्ये मासद्विमासजातग्रहणं भागानुप्रविष्टाद्युप-  
लक्षणम् ।

मा स द्वि मा स प र्थु षि त म ङ्क ये दि ति । प्रणष्टस्वामिकविषयं  
वेदितव्यं तच्च लक्षणं चतुर्विधं को ष्ट<sup>१</sup> अ ङ्कं स्वस्तिकादि, चि ह्न म्  
श्वेतपुच्छकालादि, व र्णं श्वेतरक्तादि, शृ ङ्गं खण्डमुण्डविशंकटादि,  
अ न्त र शब्दो विशेषवाची प्रत्येक एवमनेकल क्ष णा मु प जां  
नि ब न्ध ये त् लेख इ त्येतत् सप्तदशप्रकारं ब्र ज प र्थं प्रं नाम ।

नष्टमाह, चो र ह त मि त्यादि । चो र ह त म न्य यू थ प्र वि-  
ष्टञ्च प्रलीनम व लो नं स्वयूथात्परिभ्रष्टमित्येवमेतत् त्रिप्रकारं  
न ष्ट सं शं भवति ।

विनष्टमाह प ङ्के त्यादि, पङ्कादिभिः षड्भि र व स न्नं निश्चेष्टी-  
भूतं वृ क्षा दि मिश्रचतुर्भिं हं तं विकलीकृत मी शा ना दिभिः  
पञ्चभिर्निमित्तै र्वि प न्न मेवं पञ्चदशप्रकारं वि न ष्टं भवति । तत्र  
पङ्कभ्रतीतं वि ष मं गतादि, व्या धि र्विलयजादिः, दा वो वनवह्नि-  
रित्येवं एतै र्वि प न्नं वि न ष्टं भवति प्र मा दा न्म घ<sup>२</sup> दि प्रसङ्गा-  
द्विनष्टं वा भ्या भ वे युः गोपालादयो दद्युरिति ।

ए व मुक्तेन प्रकारेण गोध्यक्षो रू पा न्नं चतुष्पदप्रमाणं  
वि द्या त् ।

स्व यं ह न्ता पशूनां व्यापादयिता घा त यि ता प्रयोजको  
ह र्ता हार यि ता वा व ध्नो हन्तव्यः ।

प शू नां रा जां के न तदङ्ककरणेन प रि व र्ते यि ता रू प-  
स्यै के कस्य पूर्वं सा ह स दण्डं द द्या त् ।

स्व देशी या ना मि त्या दि सु बोधं ।

बा ल वृ ङ्ग व्या धि ता ना म्प्र ति कु र्युं रि ति तेषां तात्पर्यार्थ-  
मकालक्षेपणार्थञ्च वचनमिति ।

१ [ ? ]

२ [ ष्ठा० ? ]

AS. p. 130 लुब्धकादिभिरपास्तः अपनीतं स्तेनादि  
भयं यत्तद्वद्विभक्तं तत्तत्कालोचितभक्षणोदक-  
सञ्चारमरण्यं सञ्चारयेयुः ।

सर्पाः प्रतीताः व्यालाः व्याघ्रसिंहादयः तेषां त्रासनाथं  
गोचरानुपातज्ञानार्थं मस्मिन्न देशे गावश्चरन्तीति, अदर्शनेपि  
शब्देनानुमानार्थं वस्नूनां नृसनशीलानां नित्यशब्दपरिचयार्थं  
वस्नुग्रहणं सस्यभक्षिकाप्रपलायिनीनामप्युपलक्षणार्थं घण्टातूर्ण-  
मिति लोहकाष्ठमयमनेकं वधोयुः ।

सममविषमं व्यूढं विस्तीर्णं, तीर्थं यस्य महतो यूथस्य  
तुल्यकालमवतरणार्थं मकदं ममं कुरग्राहि अग्राह्यमकरादिर-  
हितमुदकमवतारयेयुश्चकारोवतारणान्तोत्तार्य गोचरगम-  
नार्थम् ।

स्तेनादिगृहोतं व्याधिजराभ्यामवसन्नं निश्चेष्टीभूतञ्चा-  
वेदयेयुः कथयेयुः अन्त्यथानावेदनाद्रूप्यमूल्यं भजेरनोपा-  
लकादास्यः ।

कारणमुत्तस्य व्याध्यादीनां नामाङ्गचर्मचतदुप-  
लक्षितं चर्म गोमहिषस्य कर्णलक्षणं तच्चिह्नमजादीनां  
पुच्छमङ्गचर्मं चाश्वखरो ग्नाणां वालादीनि च कुप्यार्थं मतु<sup>१</sup>-  
र्मनश्शुद्धार्थं<sup>२</sup> स्य यमुपहरेयुः ।

मांसमामपक्वमाद्रुं शुष्कं वा महिषादीनां विक्री-  
णीरन् ।

उदशित्तक्रश्ववराहेभ्यः पोषणार्थं दद्युः । रुचिकां  
शुष्कघनीकृततक्रमविकारं सौभक्तार्थं हरेयुः ।

किलाटो रुचिरोदकं घाणपिण्याकवलेदनार्थः किञ्चि-  
त्सावशेषं तैलपिण्याको घातपिण्याकः ।

१ [“मतु०” ?]

२ “०चिको०”—स ।

पशु विक्रेता जानपदं पादिकं रूपमिति, प्रतिरूपं  
वर्णचतुर्भागे गोध्यक्षस्य दद्यात् ।

वर्षाशरद्धेमन्तान् षण्मासानुभयतः कालं सायं प्रातश्च  
धेनूदुग्धुः ।

शिशिरवसन्तग्रीष्मानेककालं रात्रावेव ।

तदा द्वितीयदोहे दोग्धुः कराङ्गु, छच्छेदोदण्ड इत्थं च कालनियमो  
देशव्यवस्थया द्रष्टव्यः ।

कचिद्देशे ग्रीष्मेऽपि त्रिकालदोहदर्शनात् दोहकालं यथोक्त-  
मतिक्रामतस्तत्फलहानं तद्विवसवेतनहानमतिक्रमणहीनतुल्यं  
वा दण्डः ।

तेन दोहकालातिपातनेन सस्यादिकाला व्याख्याता तेषामपि  
तत्फलहानदण्डः, तत्र न स्य नासिकावदनं दम्यं दमनीयदमः  
अङ्गुलि<sup>१</sup> न दान्तेन सहादन्तस्य संयोजनं वर्तनं मेघनिबन्धन-  
भ्रमणं<sup>२</sup> प्रातःप्रचारणमित्यपरे ।

घृतपरिमाणमाह, क्षीरद्रोणे इति गवां क्षीरद्रोणे घृत-  
प्रस्थो भवति, पञ्चभागाधिक (रा)कुड्मप्रस्थो  
महिषीणां क्षीरद्रोणे इति । द्विभागाधिकः सार्धं  
प्रस्थोऽजावीनां क्षीरद्रोणे भवतीति । प्रायिकञ्चैतन्निश्चयस्तु मन्था-  
देवावगन्तव्यः । तदाह, मन्यो वा सर्वेषां प्रमाणमिति । कुत,  
इत्याह भूमितृणोदकविशेषादिति, भूम्यादिविशेषेण क्षीरस्य  
घृतस्य वृद्धिर्भवति क्षीरवृद्धिः घृतादीनां क्षीरस्य च घृतवृद्धिरपरे ।

यूथवृषं सेकारमन्येन वृषेण सह पातयतो योधयतः  
पूर्वस्साहसदण्डः घातयतो विकलीयतो विकलीकारयतो  
वोत्तमः ।

१ 'वेधनं' पाठः कल्पनीयः । "च्छेदनम्"—स ।

२ "वि०" 'य-श' योः ।

३ "बन्धनबन्धनम्"—स ।

वर्णावरोधेन वर्णानियमेन दशतीनां पशुदशवर्गाणां  
रक्षणं करण्यं तद्यथाशक्ये यूथे दश धवलः, दश लोहिताः, दश  
शबला इत्यादि ।

पूर्वस्यां दिशि गोचरो भवति । पूर्वद्वार एवोपनिवेशः कर्तव्यः,  
तथा तद्वलावलतो गवां यदि गावो दूराद्गन्तुं न शक्नुवन्ति तदा  
गोप्रचारसमीपे उपनिवेशः कार्यः, रक्षासामर्थ्याच्च यदि  
दक्षिणस्यां दिशि चोरादिभयं भवति तदोत्तरस्यां दिशि गोचरः  
उपनिवेशो वा कार्य इति ।

अजादीनां षाण्मासिकीमूर्णां ग्राहयेद्जादीनामपि  
कचिद्देशे रोमवृद्धिः भवतीति प्रसिद्धिः ।

तेनेति । प्रागुक्तगवादिविधानेनाश्वस्वरोध्वचराहमजा  
व्याख्याताः । तेषामपि वेतनोपग्राहीकादिकं संवेतः सर्वं योजनी-  
यमिति ।

बलीवर्दादीनामिति निर्धारणे वर्षि<sup>१</sup> न स्यात्स्वाविद्धनासा  
अश्वाकारा रथादिवाहिनस्तदन्तर्भावात्तेषामयं वक्ष्यमाणो विधिरिति  
केचित् । अपरे तु बलीवर्दानां न स्यात्स्वभद्रगतिवाहिनां  
नासाव्यसनसमन्तरकालमेवाश्वैः सह भद्रा<sup>२</sup> गतिं वहन्तीति वाहिनो  
रथवहनसमर्थान् वक्ष्यति कुर्यात् गवांश्च व्यायोगं रथेष्वल्पभयो  
न वा इति । तेषामशनं यवसस्यार्धभारः । घानपिण्याक-  
तुला, दशाढकं कणकुट्टस्येति, प्रदेशान्तरे व्याख्यातम् ।  
दशपलं तावत्प्रमाणममृतलवणम्भवति भक्षार्थं लवणम् । तैलकु-  
ट्टस्यो न स्यं नासिकापुटे देयम् । तैलप्रस्थश्च पानं, मांसं तु ला-  
पलशतं, दध्नाश्चाढकं, यवद्रोणं माषाणां वा द्रोणं वा  
पुलाकोर्धसिद्धः । क्षीरद्रोणमर्धाढकं सुरायाः द्वौनेहार्ध-  
प्रस्थः तैलस्य घृतस्य वा । क्षीरस्य गुडस्य दशपलं, शुण्ठीपल-

१ [ तेषां १ ]

२ “०द्वा०” पाठो युज्यते ।—स ।



ञ्चैतच्चतुष्टयं स'योजितं' प्रतिपानमापराह्निकमेषाञ्च यवादीनां किञ्चि-  
 त्रित्यं नैमित्तिकं वैकल्पिकञ्च । पा दो न मि ति, तदेव भद्रगतिबली-  
 वर्धयवसादिविधानम श्व त र गो ख रा णां वेसराणां इतरपुङ्गवानां  
 गर्दमानाञ्च । द्वि गु णं तदेव यवसहारादि म हि षो ष्ठा णां  
 क र्म क र ब ली व र्दा नां अवघट्टहलशकटादिउपयोगिना स्था य-  
 ना र्था नां च<sup>१</sup> रात्रौ महानसि वा धे नू नां क र्म का ल तः फ ल-  
 त श्च यथासङ्गं यावत्कर्मकालं बलीवर्दानां यवदोहं क्षीरबाहुल्यतो  
 वा धेनूनां वि धा दा न म् । स र्वे षां पशूनां तृ णो द कं प्र का म्यं  
 तत्प्रत्यलाभः परं वृष्टिकरं तत्पशूना मिति गो म ण्ड लं व्या ख्या-  
 त म् । बेतनोपग्राहिकादिद्विविधानां तं स र्वं विस्तरेण प्रतिपादित-  
 मिति ।

अध्यायप्रान्ते श्लोकमाह, प ञ्च र्ष भ मि त्या दि, ऋ ष भो वर्षश्च  
 सेक्ता, श क्यं' गतप्रमाणं शेषं सुबोधम् ।

इ ति भ दृ स्वा मि नः प्र ति प द प ञ्चि का या म्

अ र्थ शा ख टी का या म ध्य क्ष प्र चा-

रि के द्वि तो ये ऽ धि क र णे

ए को न त्रिं शो ध्या यः ।

गो ध्य क्ष आ दि तः पं चा शो ध्या यः ।

१ अत्र 'श-य'योः पूर्वाच्छेदोऽनर्थकः ।

२ "०त्यं०" 'स-०-स-य-गा' नाम् । स एव पाठः अथान् ।

**ABBREVIATIONS IN THE FOOTNOTES TO  
BHATTASVAMIN'S COMMENTARY.**

- ॡ—Shama Sastri, R.—Arthasastra of Kautilya. Mysore, 1909.
- ॢ—Sorabji, I. J.—Some Notes on the Adhyaksha-Pracāra Book II of the Kautiliyam-Arthasāstram.—Allahabad, 1914.
- ॣ—Jolly, J.—Arthasāstra of Kautilya.—Lahore. Vol. I, 1923, Vol. II, 1924.
- ।—Gaṇapati Śāstrī, Mahamahopādhyāya. The Arthasastra of Kautilya.—Trivandrum, 1924.



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### LEADING ARTICLES

#### I.—Le Margne's "Life of Nadir Shah"

By Laurence Lockhart, Teheran

Le Margne's "Life of Nādir Shāh," or "Vida de Thamas Kouli-Kan," as it is entitled in Spanish, was published in Madrid in 1741, probably towards the close of the year. It is a rare and almost unknown book.

Like a number of other "Lives" of Nādir Shāh that appeared in various European countries between the years 1740 and 1742, Le Margne's "Life" is necessarily an incomplete one, because Nādir lived until 1747. However, as it closes with Nādir's triumphant return from his famous Indian and Transoxianan campaigns, it may be said to cover the period during which he performed all his most striking achievements and to leave off at the culminating point of his career. Relatively speaking, Nādir accomplished but little afterwards; his cruel blinding of his son, Rīzā Qulī Mirzā, because of the latter's supposed complicity in the abortive attempt to assassinate him in Mazāndarān in 1741, seemed to cause his hitherto almost unvarying good fortune to desert him and to make him gloomy and morose. He degenerated into a cruel and bloodthirsty tyrant, suspicious of all around him; it was this change in his character that ultimately led to his assassination in 1747.

Very little is known of Le Margne himself, and that little is what can be gleaned from his other writings. In 1734 two books of his were published at Madrid entitled:—

- (i) *Colección de bula de ora con notas, pragmática sanción y ceremonias de la elección y coronación de Emperadores.*
- (ii) *Sistema político de la Europa dialogado entre un francés y un alemán sobre las disposiciones ..... en la presente guerra.*

Le Margne also collaborated in the translation of the following work:—

*Estado Politico de la Europa traducido del idioma francés al castellano por Mr. Le Margno y el Dr. D. Antonio Herrero.*

This work, which is in fifteen volumes, was published at Madrid in 1740. All these books, together with a copy of the "Vida de Thamas Kouli-Kan," are in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid; the only copy of the "Vida" that can be traced in this country is in the possession of Sir Arnold Wilson.<sup>1</sup>

Unless he produced some other work or works on the East of which all trace has been lost, Le Margne's "Life of Nadir Shah" is his first and only venture into the field of Oriental history. The Spanish translation of the French work on the political state of Europe which he made in collaboration with Dr. Herrero, must have taken a considerable time to complete, and it is therefore possible that he did not turn his attention to the East until after the completion of this work in 1740. About that time Nadir Shah's sensational conquest of India was becoming widely known in Europe, and that, together with his previous exploits and his swift rise from obscurity to world fame, made him a romantic figure. Fresh lustre was added to Nadir's name when, early in 1741, the results of the Transoxianar expedition become known.

Le Margne's name obviously denotes that he was of French nationality or origin, and it would appear from the second and

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<sup>1</sup> Since presented by him to the British Museum.

third of the works mentioned above and also from the fact that he is referred to on the title page as "*Mr. Le Margne*", that he was a Frenchman. He must, however, have been resident in Spain for a number of years because (as has been noted above) he published two of his works in Spanish at Madrid in 1734, seven years before the appearance of his "*Vida de Thamas Kouli-Kan*."

In his brief introductory remarks, *Le Mergne* offers his readers "a correct and exact account of the life of a hero..... In it you will find not only all his conquests, but also an extensive account of all the rebellions which disturbed Persia before he had firmly established himself on the throne; and, in addition to this, there is an exact geographical description of all the countries which have been the scene of his glorious deeds." The author then proceeds to accuse a Dutch biographer of *Nadir Shāh* of being inaccurate.

After saying that, by reading his own work, "you will acquire knowledge of the succession of the Persian Kings and Moguls, and of the customs, religion, government and situation of a great number of most remote peoples which will not fail to delight you", *Le Margne* appears, despite his previous confidence, to be seized with some doubts as to the exactitude of some, at any rate, of his information, for he concludes his introduction as follows:—

"All these accounts have been drawn from modern histories and from the most famous travellers; as to those relating to *Qulī Khān*, I can assure you that they are, if not the most certain, at any rate the most probable that up to the present have been given to the public.....if you find anything in this history which does not entirely satisfy your desire to learn, I ask you to excuse this lack of exactitude, in view of the fact that from countries so distant one cannot obtain information with all the precision that might be desired."

As will be seen, *Le Margne* was wise in asking for some indulgence from his readers.

The "Life" itself consists of 230 pages of smallish type, and, except for the introduction, is not divided into chapters or sections; it falls naturally, however, into the following divisions :—

- I. A description of Persia and the Persians (pp. 1-20).
- II. An account of the Afghan mission, the deposition of Shah Husain, the reigns of Mahmūd and Ashraf and the wars between the Afghans, Persians and Turks previous to the rise to power of Nādir Quli (pp. 21-74).
- III. The early history of Nādir, his successful career as a robber leader and, later, as a general; his campaigns against the Afghans and Turks, his accession to the throne of Persia in 1736 and further Turkish and Afghan campaigns (pp. 74-115).
- IV. Reasons for the war with India and an account of that country and of the Mogul Emperors (pp. 115-137).
- V. The Indian campaign (pp. 137-209).
- VI. The Transoxianan campaign (pp. 209-230).

The first 74 pages—or rather more than one-third of the book—contain nothing more than introductory matter which could with advantage have been considerably compressed. Before expressing any opinion as to the value of the book as a whole, it may be as well to give a résumé of its contents, divided into the sections mentioned above.

### 1.—The Description of Persia

Le Margne's description of Persia is very inaccurate, and the spelling of the geographical and personal names (as in the rest of the work) is such that many of them can only be identified with the greatest difficulty, while some baffle all attempts at decipherment.

Much of Le Margne's geographical description of Persia, it may be interesting to note, is drawn almost *verbatim* from the introduction by the English translator (who is only known by his initials J. M.) of the work of the Dutch author to which some-

what scathing reference is made in Le Margne's introduction.<sup>1</sup> The English translation of this work is entitled "A Genuine History of Nadir-Cha," and was published in London in 1741. Reference to this latter work and to its introduction is made by the English translator of another "Life" of Nādir Shāh; the title page of this further "Life" states that it was "written in French and rendered into English with improvements" in 1742, under the title of "The Compleat History of Thamas Kouli Kan." As his remarks apply in some measure though, of course, only indirectly, to Le Margne's work, it does not seem out of place to quote some of them here. Referring to the "Genuine History" in relation to the work of his French author, the translator of the "Compleat History" says:—

"The same Brick and Stone, without Cement, without Workmanship. I own the Editor, to make us some amends, has been very bountiful in his Introduction. Thanks to him for so much delectable entertainment, which might be equally found in any Atlas!" After extolling the excellent descriptions of his own author, he goes on to say:—

"If these (descriptions) are preferred to very jejune, imperfect Narrations, intermixed with unintelligible strains of Asiatic Eloquence (pretty equal portions of which enter into the composition of the Genuine History) I make no question but that the Work now published will be preferred to a bare Collection of *some* of the Memoirs upon which it is founded."

The above remarks, though justified to a considerable extent, would have carried more weight had this translator and his French author been more accurate themselves.

In this first section and also in the remainder of his work, Le Margne gives the names of but few of his authorities. When describing Persia and her people, he mentions as his authorities only the following:—Chardin, Kaempfer (both of whose names he spells wrongly) and Tournefort. If he had

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<sup>1</sup> It should be noted incidentally that Le Margne does not scruple to draw some of his material from the work itself despite his unfavourable opinion of it.

relied more on these writers than on those like the translator of the "Genuine History" this portion of his book would have had some value ; as it is, it has none whatever.

## II.—The Afghan invasion of Persia, deposition of Shah Husain, etc.

Le Margne gives but a sketchy account of this period, the earlier portion of which can be studied to far better advantage in the excellent "Memoirs" of Krusinski and in the *Tār'ikh-i-Aḥwal-i-Shaikh 'Alī Ḥazīn*, while for the later portion Hanway is a much more dependable authority. In fairness to Le Margne, it should, however, be noted that neither Hanway's account nor that of Shaikh 'Alī Ḥazīn was available when he wrote.

## III.—The early history of Nadir Quli and his rise to prominence

Le Margne commences with a bad blunder by saying that Nādir was born "at Afc heir in the province of Charazam," presumably taking "Afc heir" or rather Afshar (or Aushar), the name of Nādir's tribe, to be a place. "Charazam" might be read as "Khawārazm," but it is, I think, really a corruption of *Khurāsān*,<sup>1</sup> in which province Nādir was born.

After describing Nādir's humble origin and his early career as a robber chief, Le Margne mentions his offer of aid to Prince Tahmāsp, the son of the deposed "Sophi" Husain, against the Afghans, the overthrow of the latter at Mihmān Dūst (which name Le Margne renders as "Serbab-Mig-Mnadaste"), and the final defeat of their leader Ashraf. Le Margne states that Ashraf was captured in Georgia and that Prince Tahmāsp gave orders for him to be "flayed alive with curry-combs (*almohazas*) and then beheaded." According to Shaikh Ḥazīn and other authorities, Ashraf was killed in Balūchistān when wandering as a fugitive there.

Some pages are then devoted to the campaigns against the Turks, Prince Tahmāsp's defeat at their hands and the inglorious treaty of peace which he concluded. Le Margne rightly observes that "the terms of this settlement were a cause of much shame to the Persian generals," and then proceeds to

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<sup>1</sup> Sometimes spelt "Chorazān," and even "Coracone" by old writers.



describe the deposition of Tahmāsp, the accession of the infant Abbās III with Nādir as regent, and, later, Nādir's elevation to the throne. Le Margne is inclined to present his hero's conduct on these occasions in rather too favourable a light, though he admits that other stories were current to the effect that Nādir's success was due "only to his cunning and the affection of his soldiers."

Le Margne's account of the assembly at the Chul-i-Mughān or "Plain of the Magians" in February 1736, and of the conditions under which Nādir agreed to accept the crown is very incorrect; for example, he states that Nādir stipulated that he would only become Shāh on condition that the youthful Abbās would succeed him. As a matter of fact, Abbās had died some little time before, and Nādir arranged at the Chul-i-Mughān that his own son Rizā Qulī Mīrzā should succeed him. An interesting and, what is more, a really authentic account of what took place at this assembly is given by the Catholicos Abraham of Crete,<sup>1</sup> who was actually present and was a personal friend of Nādir's.

After giving some details of the satisfactory conclusion of the war with Turkey, the rebellion at Qandahār and Nādir's siege and capture of the place, Le Margne prefaces his history of the Indian campaign with an account of the Mogul Emperors and a description of India.

#### IV.—The Mogul Emperors and Description of India

Like certain other writers, Le Margne regards Timūr as the first Mogul Emperor, but Lane-Poole is more correct in saying "the historical founder of the empire was Akbar; but the first of his line to assert imperial power in India was his grandfather Babar (Bābur); unless indeed the precedence belongs to his ancestor Timūr, in virtue of his earlier raids in Hindustan."<sup>2</sup>

Le Margne's account of the Mogul Emperors is extremely inaccurate, and his geographical description of India is as full

<sup>1</sup> See Chapters XXII to XXXVIII of the Catholicos Abraham's "*Mon Histoire et Celle de Nadir, Chah de Perse*" (translated from Armenian into French by M. F. Brosset and published in the latter's "*Collection d'Historiens Arméniens*" at St. Petersburg in 1876).

<sup>2</sup> See p. vii of "*The Mogul Emperors of Hindustan and their Coins*."

of errors as is the corresponding part of his book regarding Persia. Being quite valueless from the historical point of view, this portion of the book does not require further mention here.

#### V.—The Indian Campaign

Le Margne gives with a fair degree of accuracy the reasons which prompted Nādir to invade India, but the same cannot be said of his history of the early part of the Indian campaign proper. He states that when the Persian forces crossed the Indus, Muḥammad Shāh was "accompanying his army at a distance of some leagues from this river," and that "losing his pride and his haughty threats, he entirely lost heart, in such manner that he secretly left that very day, in the company of some rajahs..... with the intention of retreating to the centre of his empire." Le Margne adds that the Emperor was, however, intercepted by two of his 'Homros' (*Umarā* or nobles), and induced to return. In point of fact, Muḥammad Shāh was at Delhi at the time, and only joined his army near Karnāl a little more than a fortnight before the decisive battle was fought there.

The fighting at Yaminābād (given as "Emembad"), the defence of Kacha Mīrzā (which is not mentioned by name) by Qalandar Khān, and the attempt by Zakariyā Khān, the Governor of Lahore, to save his city, are mentioned in their correct order.

We now come to the preliminary skirmishing at Karnāl on the 7th—18th February<sup>1</sup> and the main engagement there on the 18th—24th of the same month. Here Le Margne falls into a series of errors: (i) he grossly exaggerates the strength of Indian forces, but here he is only copying the figures given in the "*Verdadeira e Exacta Noticia*" of de Voulton,<sup>2</sup> (ii) he

<sup>1</sup> In order to avoid the possibility of confusion, both old style and new style dates are given here and in certain other cases where precision is necessary.

<sup>2</sup> De Voulton was a French deserter from Pondichery who, by curing the Great Mogul of some ailment, became his physician and adviser. The '*Noticia*' is an account of Nādir Shāh's Indian expedition from the time just after the battle of Karnāl until his departure from Delhi nearly three months later. It is an interesting and (except in the case of these figures and in one or two other instances) an accurate work. It is said to have been originally written in Persian, but only Portuguese and Spanish translations of it can be traced at the present time.

confuses the preliminary skirmishing with the main engagement, stating that the former fighting began with the sacking of Sa'adat Khān's camp, that Sa'adat Khān was killed (N.B. Sa'adat Khān did not reach the Mogul camp till midnight on the 12th—23rd February), and that Qamaru'd-Dīn Khān died of wounds, (iii) finally, he states that peace negotiations were initiated after the first fighting and that, on their breaking down, the main battle supervened. Le Margne derives much of his information regarding the negotiations between the Nizāmu'l-Mulk and Nādir Shāh from de Voulton's "Noticia," where they are described at some length.

Le Margne ascribes the cause of the Indian rising at Delhi on the 10th—21st March to Nādir Shāh's imposition of a head tax on the inhabitants and his seizure of the property of "Homros" and others who had lost their lives in the recent fighting. As a result of these measures, certain of the "Homros" whom Nādir Shāh had spared conspired, according to Le Margne, to take his life, but Nādir, having received warning of the conspiracy, was able to take refuge in a mosque, whence he issued orders for the "Homros" to be attacked and slain, and the city given up to massacre and pillage. Le Margne here repeats de Voulton's account of how the Nizāmu'l-Mulk, on going to the mosque to intercede for the unfortunate populace, found Nādir "eating some sweetmeats, and placidly looking upon the sad tragedy which his troops were enacting for him."

Opinion is somewhat divided as to the real cause of the Indian rising, but, as Professor Sarkar says,<sup>1</sup> Hanway is probably right in ascribing it to the seizure of the granaries by Persian *nasaqchi*, who, by fixing the price of corn at a high rate, caused a mob to assemble. The mob, led perhaps by the four drunken "Homros" whom de Voulton mentions as being the first aggressors, then attacked the Persians. In the midst of the tumult, a rumour was spread abroad that Nādir had been assassinated, and the rising then assumed serious proportions, more than 3,000 Persian troops being killed.

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<sup>1</sup> See page 63 of Professor Sarkar's "Nādir Shāh in India" (Patna University, 1925.)

Le Margne quotes, but in a very corrupt and attenuated form, the remarkable document which Muḥammad Shāh, doubtless at Nādir's dictation, addressed to him (on the 2nd—13th April) in which he ceded to the latter all his territory on the western side of the Indus.

After stating that Nādir left Delhi at the end of May (he left on the 5th—16th of that month), Le Margne says that he was accompanied by Muḥammad Shāh as far as Agra, and then gives a description of that city.

Nādir Shāh struck north, however, on leaving Delhi, and Muḥammad Shāh did not accompany him beyond the gardens of Shalimar (or Shā'lahmāh) on the outskirts of the city.

Le Margne is correct in saying that Nādir proceeded to Kābul and Qandahār, but passes over in silence the disaster at the crossing of the Chenāb, where 2,000 men were drowned, the sufferings of the troops during the march across the Punjab in summer, the troubles with the Jats and Sikhs and, later, with the Yusufzais. Moreover, he says nothing in regard to the campaign against Khudāyār Khān of Sind. Finally, instead of recording Nādir's march to Herat and the review of his troops there in June 1740, previous to his setting out on the Transoxianan campaign, Le Margne says that Nādir reached Iṣfahān on the 25th June 1740, where he was "received with great manifestations of joy."

#### VI.—The Transoxianan Campaign

After explaining how the Uzbegs had used every means in their power to stir up trouble in Persia while Nādir Shāh was in Afghanistan and India, Le Margne says that Nādir's eldest son, Rīzā Qulī Mirzā, who was vice-Shāh of Persia in his father's absence, had "contented himself with having ridiculed their designs, realising the impossibility of their being carried out." Rīzā Qulī did, however, undertake an expedition against the Uzbegs in 1738, defeated 'Alī Mardan Khān of Andhoi, and captured Balkh. The united forces of Abu'l-Faiz, the Khān of Bukhārā and Ilbars Khān, the warlike and treacherous ruler of Khwārazm (Khiva), barred the way to the

Persians at Karshi, and Rizā Qulī was defeated. In order to avoid further disaster, Nādir Shāh sent orders to recall his son, and informed the Central Asian princes and Uzbek chiefs that the campaign had been undertaken without his consent.

However, on meeting Rizā Qulī at Herat and learning of the depredations by the Uzbeks, Nādir determined on revenge and marched on Bukhārā. Le Margne does not bring out this point, but gives instead a somewhat fanciful description of "Great Bukhārā" and "Karasmia" (Khwārazm), and of the cities of Samarqand, Bukhārā and Balkh.

After saying, as has been seen, that Rizā Qulī Mirzā fought no battles against the Uzbeks, Le Margne falls into the further error of stating that the latter disputed Nādir's passage of the Oxus, and that the Uzbeks, though heavily defeated, were reformed by Abu'l-Faiz some leagues from the city of Bukhārā. Here, according to Le Margne, they were again defeated by the Persians who thereupon took Bukhārā by assault and sacked the city for three days.

Before leaving India, Nādir had, however, bribed Rahim Beg Atalik and other Uzbek chiefs, with the result that he was able to cross the Oxus without striking a blow and, on approaching Bukhārā itself, was received with honour by the weak and time-serving Abu'l-Faiz himself.

Le Margne omits all mention of the siege and capture of Khwārazm and the execution of Ilbars. It is possible that he may refer to these events in the following sentence: "After having rested for some days the Persian army again set out (from Bukhārā) in order to complete the subjugation of Great Bukhārā." A few pages back, Le Margne appears to distinguish between the territories of Abu'l-Faiz ("Great Bukhārā") and those of Ilbars ("Karasmia").

He concludes the account of the campaign by saying that its object "was accomplished with such speed that on the 29th December it was already on its way back to Mashhad..... On the 1st January (*sic*) of this year 1741 this famous conqueror, Nādir Shāh, arrived at Isfahān, into which city he

made a triumphant entry." It is perhaps needless to state that Nādir Shāh did not go to Iṣfahān in 1741, though he stayed for a while at his favourite fortress of Qal'at-i-Nādirī and at Mashhad. After that, Nādir started on his campaign to revenge himself upon the Lazgi who had murdered his brother Ibrāhīm some two years before.

### Conclusion

Le Margne concludes his work with the following words in regard to Nādir: "This hero.....appears not to have finished the happy course of his conquests, since, if one can credit the rumours that are abroad as to the conduct of the Turks towards him, it is believable that he will not fail to turn his arms against them, and that, as they are so accustomed to conquer (? to wage war) it is likely that they will bring him many triumphs.....and the time will be short during which he will leave inactive the pens of those who have begun the story of his heroic exploits."

On the information before him, Le Margne was quite justified in expecting a further series of triumphs for Nādir's arms. Neither he nor anyone else could at that time foresee the plot against Nādir's life and the attempt to assassinate him which were followed by the blinding of the unfortunate Prince Rīzā Qulī and the subsequent change in Nādir's character.

Even a cursory perusal of Le Margne's *Life of Nādir Shāh* shows that it is too full of inaccuracies to possess any real historical value. It is, however, little or no worse than books like the "Genuine History of Nadir Cha" and the "Compleat History", whose authors and translators had perhaps great facilities at their disposal for obtaining correct information and, therefore, less excuse for making blunders.

It is clear from the nature of many of Le Margne's mistakes that he had never visited Persia or India and that he knew no Oriental language. Consequently, he had to rely entirely on the accounts of others, often in translations that were by no means accurate. Secondly, the then existing maps, such as those by de Pisle, were every imperfect (as Hanway remarks

more than once). These maps give the wrong position of numerous places, mis-spell their names, and omit altogether many others, while (perhaps with a view to compensation) they insert some, such as Salem and Tubarem, which are entirely fabulous or imaginary.

Though more often than not Le Margne's data differ from those given by Hanway (who in such cases is generally right), there are a number of instances in which Le Margne and Hanway seem to have drawn their information from a common source. Le Margne also quotes from and mentions by name one authority to whose work neither Hanway nor any other writer, so far as I am aware, has drawn attention, namely, the French adventurer de Voulton. For this reason, if for no other, Le Margne's book is of some interest.

Le Margne must not be judged too harshly for his faults; as I have endeavoured to show, he had comparatively few sources from which to derive his information, and these were for the most part scanty and inaccurate. Finally, his somewhat naïve plea for indulgence at the end of his introduction must not be forgotten.

## II—Asura Expansion by Sea

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Discovery, that brilliant disturber of settled opinions, has been, of late, active in the Indus valley. At the beginning of 1926, Codrington<sup>1</sup> in summing up up-to-date data deplored their meagreness: "it does not seem likely that further evidence will ever be arrived at to fill in the details of the early history of India. So far archæology has brought forward little to add to or even to substantiate the 'literary traditions'".<sup>2</sup> In March 1926, Marshall<sup>3</sup> reported from Mahenjo-Daro in Sind "a most important phase of Indian civilisation, which shows close affinities with the contemporary Sumerian civilisation of Mesopotamia \* \* \* this great civilisation which is now being revealed was no mere provincial offshoot of Mesopotamian culture, but was developed for countless generations on the banks of the Indus itself and its tributaries".<sup>4</sup> The excavations establish a pre-Aryan people in India "whose culture was largely destroyed in the second or third millennium B.C. by the invading Aryans from the north".<sup>5</sup> Mahenjo-Daro has upset much of the so-called history of India.

The new finds find India practically unprepared for a re-adjustment of view-points. Works of Schliemann,<sup>6</sup> Halbherr<sup>7</sup> and Evans<sup>8</sup> in excavating Pre-historic Greece<sup>9</sup> followed and

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<sup>1</sup> Codrington, *Ancient India*, 1926, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Marshall, *Illustrated London News*, September 1924.

<sup>4</sup> Marshall, *The Times of India Illustrated Weekly*, March 1926, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations* (1893).

<sup>7</sup> Hagia Triada—Halbherr, Pernier, and others.

<sup>8</sup> Evans, *The Palace of Minos*.

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Emil Forrer, in a recent lecture at the Berlin University, promises to make public Winckler's famous finds, proving "the predecessors of the heroes of Homer in contact with the Hittite Kings in the 13th century B.C."



justified literary expectations. A critical study of ancient records reveals clues which are tested by archæology. Even at the present moment the Palestine Expedition of the University Museum, Philadelphia, is bringing to light important cylindrical out-objects and shrine-houses in the archaic Ishtar temple at Assur, 2700 B.C.<sup>1</sup> and representations of Ishtar or Ashtoreth under Rameses II, Seti, and the Tel-el-Amarna epoch.<sup>2</sup> Even to the north-west of India, the face of Assur is casting aside its age-old veil of haziness. Belck and Lehmann-Haupt led the German expedition to Van in 1898. Lehmann's scheme of Vannic inscriptions appeared in 1900 as the *Corpus Inscriptionum Chaldicarum*, containing about 200 inscriptions. About 80 inscriptions from Trans-Caucasia had been discovered and published by Nicolsky and Ivanovsky in 1896. Lastly, was published in 1922 a detailed account<sup>3</sup> by Marr and Orbéli of the Russian Archæological Society's Expedition to Van in 1916. It contains important inscriptions of Sardur II. "Vannic", "Chaldean" and "Urartean" designate the ancient kingdom known to the Assyrians as Urartu ('Alaródioi of Herodotus).<sup>4</sup> The Chaldean kingdom situated round the Lake of Van undertook expeditions (a) to the West, to Kumukh (Commagène), (b) to the North in Trans-Caucasia, (c) to the South-East round about the Lake Ourmia and (d) to the South, against the Assyrians. In the 14th—13th century B.C. the Assyrians fought a coalition of the peoples Naïri occupying the Vannic region. In the 9th century B.C. the Chaldeans of Van under Aram opposed Salmanasar III. Sardur I employed the Assyrian language. Van reached its zenith of greatness under Sardur II. The latter undertook twenty-seven different campaigns. Van was destroyed by the Assyrians about 743 B.C.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Report on the Philadelphia University Expedition to Palestine, 1925-26.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Arkheologicheskaya Ekspeditsiya*, 1916 goda v Van.

<sup>4</sup> *J.A.*, cccvii, 1915, pp. 339.345.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

But the Asura in India had lost his entity in a confusion between the Arya and Dāsa. Kautsa<sup>1</sup> in the 6th century B.C. despairs of this tangled skein. The Arya-Asura synthesis in the Gangetic Valley<sup>2</sup> so completely obliterated the remaining reminiscences, that erstwhile friends and foes forgot their cultural and racial separation, and Vedic and Asura warriors and priests became the common patrimony of every Indo-Aryan. Once more, in a crisis, the Indus Valley has yielded her secret—of isolated glory that led on to the subsequent synthesis. Thereby hangs a tale. And perhaps a moral. It necessitates a re-reading of the Hindu Pantheon of gods and manes. It can be best done by tracing the Asura of the Indian records in his course through India. The preceding chapter<sup>3</sup> followed his fortunes from the Indus valley to the Gangetic plains up to East of India. The present will seek them in the South and by and beyond the seas.

In this connection, the old controversy<sup>4</sup> about the familiarity with the sea of Vedic Indians—(Arya  
**Varuna** Dāsa-Asura)<sup>5</sup>—may be closed for good.

The sea was the Asura element.<sup>6</sup> Commenting on the anthropomorphic traits in primitive godhead of ancient Greece, Mahaffy<sup>7</sup> imagines a bovine divinity with yard-long horns. Would a people unacquainted with the sea exalt the Lord of Ocean as their chief deity? By Varuna's<sup>8</sup> occult power "the rivers swiftly pouring into the ocean do not fill it with power"<sup>9</sup> and still he is sought to be identified with the Greek *Ouranos*<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Yaska's Nirukta, Ch. I, §5.

<sup>2</sup> J.B.O.R.S., Pt. xii. p. 285.

<sup>3</sup> J.B.O.R.S., Pt. xii. pp. 283-85.

<sup>4</sup> Macdonell and Keith, *Ved. Ind.*, Vol. II. pp. 431-2.

<sup>5</sup> J.B.O.R.S., Pt. xi. p. 124.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* 25-7.

<sup>7</sup> Mahaffy, *Greek Antiquities*.

<sup>8</sup> Macdonell, *H.S.L.*, p. 73.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Max Muller, *H.S.L.*

in the face of admitted<sup>1</sup> phonetic difficulties.<sup>2</sup> Hardly a dozen<sup>3</sup> hymns survive in the professedly Aryan version and even these attest Varuṇa's moral superiority to all others including Indra and Agni with more than ten scores each<sup>4</sup> to their credit. And Varuṇa is an *Asura par excellence*.<sup>5</sup> As an Asura, he is an earlier heritage.<sup>6</sup> The sea and the Asura have continued company in post-Vedic times.

The Asura in his greatness and decline has been traced above<sup>7</sup> from the Indus valley<sup>8</sup> to the East of India<sup>9</sup>—from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. He came from “across the sea of salt water”<sup>10</sup> and gradually carried his headquarters “on the Ganges and Jumna”.<sup>11</sup> Three stages are clearly traceable. (i) The Asura was the power that claimed and received homage even from Vedic Aryans : *yathā devā Asureṣu śradhā-mugreṣu cakrire* (Rv. x. 151.8). (ii) Then he lost his military prestige, industrial skill, and the Aryan “scattered the strongholds of Asura the tactician who had extended his power” : *dṛṣṭāṇi piprorasurasya māyina Indro vṛṣyat* (Rv. x. 1. 38.3). “The sons of Asura were killed by hundreds and thousands, so that they never raise their head again” : *Śatāṃ varchināḥ sahasraṃ cā sākaṃ katha āpratyasurasya vīrān* (vii. 99.5). (iii) Those among the Asuras who refused to be absorbed in the neo-Aryan body politic<sup>12</sup> were classed along with the despicable Rākṣasas and Yātudhānas. And the erstwhile superior of the Aryan heroes *devāḥ śhite asuryāya pūrv'enu kṣattrāya mamire sahāṃsi* (Rv. vii. 21.7), then their equal *samāvadvīryāḥ* (Ait.

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell, *op. cit.* p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Gk. *Ouvānos*, Ved. *Varuṇas*.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonell, *Ved. Reader*, p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> Indra—250, Agni—200, Soma—100—p.113.

<sup>5</sup> Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p.—H.S.L.

<sup>6</sup> Macdonell, *H.S.L.*, p. 75.

<sup>7</sup> J.B.O.R.S., Pt. XII. pp. 243-85.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Bhāṣiṣya Purāṇa*.

<sup>11</sup> J. R.A.S., 1915, p.

<sup>12</sup> J.B.O.R.S., Pt. XII. p. 285.

Br.) and curiously enough "protectors of sacrifices" with their Gāthās (later disparaged anṛtaṁ nārāsamśiḥ *yo gāthā nārā-samśiḥ, āṁ sanoti tasya na gṛhyam...na gāthābhik prakurvāta*<sup>1</sup>) against Aryan backsliders *ye devā jajñahanah, ye devā jajñamuśah*, etc.<sup>2</sup> sinks to the level of a Pisācha,<sup>3</sup> and a Śūdra.<sup>4</sup>

The Asura, however, preserved his sea-senso. Varuṇa has ever been his guiding star. Mitra and Varuṇa, better still Mitṛa-Varuṇa<sup>5</sup> is for the Asura; *yā dhārayanta devāḥ sudakṣā dakṣapitarā | asuryāya pramahasā*.<sup>6</sup> *Tā mātā visvavedasāsuryāya pramahasā | mahi jajñāditiṛtāvarī*.<sup>7</sup> Varuṇa is the womb of Asura: *tanūnapādūchyate garbha Āsuro narāsamso bhavati yadvijāyate*.<sup>8</sup> *Āsura* means "of Asura," cf. Pāṇini "*tasye-dam*" Pāṇ. iv. 3. 120. The power and sovereignty of Varuṇa is Asura's by right; *tā hi kṣattramavikṛtaṁ samragasurzam-āsate*.<sup>9</sup> *Asuryam* is derived by Pāṇini as *Asurasya svam*, Pāṇ. iv. 4.123, and *svam* is explained as *svamajñātidhanākhyāyām*, Pāṇ. i. 1.35. Rajwade<sup>10</sup> unnecessarily confuses the two senses, viz. *Āsura*—"of Asura descent" and *Asuryam*—"of Asura possession." But he is right in insisting on the "prior or foremost claim of Varuṇa to the epithet of Asura".<sup>11</sup> His exceptions only emphasize this claim. Varuṇa's gift of empire to Asura is sung in *tvam visveśāṁ Vdrupāsi rājā ye cha devā Asurā ye cha maritgāḥ*.<sup>12</sup> *Mitravaruṇa* "the Friendly Varuṇa" (or an allied name) spreads Asura laws far and wide; *dharmaṇā*

<sup>1</sup> *Kāṭhaka Sam.* 14-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Maitrāyaṇi Sam.* 1.4.3.

<sup>3</sup> *Taittirīya Sam.* 2. 4. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Taittirīya Br.* 1. 2. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Schroeder, *Indiens Literatur und Cultur*, p. 78.

<sup>6</sup> Rv. vii. 66.2.

<sup>7</sup> Rv. viii. 26.3.

<sup>8</sup> Rv. iii. 29-11.

<sup>9</sup> Rv. v. 66.2.

<sup>10</sup> *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, 1922, Vol. II, p. 11.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 6.

<sup>12</sup> Rv. II. 27.10.

*Mitrāvaruṇā vipaśchitā vrata rakṣethe asurasya māyayā.*<sup>1</sup> Bhojas and Angirases are of the Asura breed and Viśvāmitra their priest; *ime Bhojā Angiraso virūpā divasputrāso Asurasya virāh* [ *Viśvāmitrāya dadato maghāni sahasrasāve pratiranta āyuh.*<sup>2</sup> And Mitrāvaruṇa cause rains through Asura skill; *Mitrāvaruṇā dyām varṣayatho Asurasya māyayā.*<sup>3</sup> The rains swell Sarasvatī on which stands the Asura-Pūru stronghold.<sup>4</sup> *Sarasvatī Asuryā nadānām.*<sup>5</sup> The Vedic Varuṇa passed through four stages of evolution. (i) Night<sup>6</sup> or Darkness full of unknown traps.<sup>7</sup> (ii) Ocean<sup>8</sup> or Firmament.<sup>9</sup> (iii) Lord of waters.<sup>10</sup> (iv) Sailors' God.<sup>11</sup> Yāska<sup>12</sup> explains the origin of the first sense though not found in the R̥gveda; *ūrm ā*, i.e. having waves, as of a sea. He gives (ii) *vyoma*<sup>13</sup> as an equivalent of "water." Both (i) and (ii) seek to paraphrase the Ocean—a dark expanse with limitless risks, defying light into its mysteries. Just the conception of a sailor on his frail plank, with the eternal blue above and the eternal blue below. With the Marutas<sup>14</sup> raging around, came the vivid realisation of (iii) the Lord of waters, (iv) the Sailors' Friend, ready with his meshes,<sup>15</sup> at every oar-stroke that deviates from the path of Truth.<sup>16</sup> Thus the different names of Varuṇa, the protecting deity of the Asuras, sailing on extensive tracts of water are in

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<sup>1</sup> Rv. v. 63.3.

<sup>2</sup> Rv. iii. 53.7.

<sup>3</sup> Rv. v. 63.3.

<sup>4</sup> Hill brandt, *Ved. Myth.* i. 50, 115; 3, 374.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Bātrī*; Yāska's *Nighaṇṭu*.

<sup>7</sup> Rv. i. 25.21.

<sup>8</sup> Rv. v. 63.3.

<sup>9</sup> *Vyoma*; Yāska's *Nighaṇṭu*.

<sup>10</sup> Macdonell, *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> Macdonell, *Ved. Reader*, p. 134.

<sup>12</sup> Rv. i. 25.7.

<sup>13</sup> Yāska, *op. cit.*

<sup>14</sup> Rv. i. 85.5.

<sup>15</sup> *Pāsās* Macdonell, *Vedic Myth.*

<sup>16</sup> Rv. vii. 86.6.

reality—what Max Müller<sup>1</sup> says about Aditi—“nāmes invented to express the infinite ; not the infinite as the result of a long process of abstract reasoning, but the visible infinite, visible by the naked eye—the endless expanse, beyond the earth, beyond the clouds, beyond the sky.” The sailor’s palpable helplessness to conceal<sup>2</sup> his acts from the ever-vigilant waves, Varuṇa’s spies,<sup>3</sup> led to the latter’s spiritual godhead : “those waters in the midst of which King Varuṇa goes, beholding the truth and falsehood of men”.<sup>4</sup>

Varuṇa’s friendliness to Asura<sup>5</sup> is further brought out by the designation Mitrāvaruṇa.<sup>6</sup> Pāṇini<sup>7</sup> regards them as two deities : cf. *devatādvandve cha*, Pāṇ. [vi. 2.141, vi. 3.26, vii. 3.21. But he insists on their identical nature *yugapat-prakṛtyā* and well-known affinity *prasiddh-asākhacharya*. Patañjali<sup>8</sup> indirectly emphasizes the same unity by excluding *vāyu* formed with Agni, etc. and falling back on the earliest association from Vedic days : *lokavedagor-dvandvah*, Pat. on Pāṇ. vi. 3. 26. Yaska<sup>9</sup> places under the same category Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa and Agni. He evidently relies on the Brāhmanas<sup>10</sup> that contrast Mitras as day with Varuṇa as night, perhaps the varied face of the watery expanse seen in light and in darkness. The Atharvaveda<sup>11</sup> supports this unity in duality in comparing Mitra at sunrise with Varuṇa at sunset. The R̥gveda<sup>12</sup> practically attests the same deity in his two aspects : “ the association of Mitra and Varuṇa

<sup>1</sup> Max Müller, *Rv.* i. 2-30.

<sup>2</sup> *Rv.* i. 25.18.

<sup>3</sup> *Rv.* i. 25.13.

<sup>4</sup> *Rv.* viii. 49.31.

<sup>5</sup> *Rv.* ii. 27.10.

<sup>6</sup> Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 78.

<sup>7</sup> cf. also Pāṇini. vii. 3.23.

<sup>8</sup> Kielhorn’s edition, Vol. III. pp. 148-9.

<sup>9</sup> *Indram Mitram Varuṇam Agnimāhuh*, Yaska, ch. ii.

<sup>10</sup> *Pravṛtanti*, Yaska, ch. ii.

<sup>11</sup> Macdonell, *Ved. Reader*, p. 79.

<sup>12</sup> Schroeder, *op. cit.*

is so intimate," says Maedonell<sup>1</sup> "that he is addressed alone in one hymn only" (Rv. iii. 59). The term *mitra* added on to Varuṇa refers to the latter's well-known friendliness to sailors.<sup>2</sup> In the sense of a "friend" *mitra* is quite common to Vedic literature<sup>3</sup> (Rv. i. 58.1; Sat. Br. iv. 1. 4. 8). *Mitra-bhūti*,<sup>4</sup> *Mitra-varchas*,<sup>5</sup> *Mitra-vinda*,<sup>6</sup> *Mitrātithi*,<sup>7</sup> *Mitrakruvāḥ*,<sup>8</sup> *Mitrāyuvāḥ*<sup>9</sup> show the complimentary prefixing of *Mitra* as fairly frequent. More significant still is the use of *mitrāḥ*<sup>10</sup> used separately in the same sense in the plural: *mitrāuta mitrā sātā mitra sātā*<sup>11</sup> (Rv. i. 86). Aufrecht reads *Mitrātithimuta Medhā*<sup>12</sup> Similarly *mitrā Varuṇāḥ*<sup>13</sup> might originally have meant "Friendly Waters." Then analogy with *Indrā-Varuṇā* or *Indravaruṇau*, *Indra-Vāyu*,<sup>14</sup> etc. all associated deities, may have produced *Mitrā-Varuṇau* as two deities in one. Thus in the beginning Varuṇa as well as *Mitrā-Varuṇa* referred to one and the same god—the Lord of Waters, the god of Asuras.<sup>15</sup> And both in Vedic and post-Vedic India, either as *Mitra-Varuṇa* or as Varuṇa, he watches over the fortunes of Asura.<sup>16</sup>

The activities and destiny of Yadus are instructive in appraising the help of Varuṇa. It has been shown above<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Maedonell, *Vedic Reader*, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Rv. i. 25. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, Vol. VI. p. 120

<sup>4</sup> *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Br.* iii. 42. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Weber, *Indische Studien*, 4. 372.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Rv.* x. 38. 7.

<sup>8</sup> *Rv.* x. 89.

<sup>9</sup> *Rv.* i. 173.

<sup>10</sup> Ludwig, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>11</sup> *Rv.* i. 86. 17.

<sup>12</sup> Ludwig, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>13</sup> Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Rv.* ii. 27. 10.

<sup>16</sup> *Rv.* v. 163. 7, cf. also Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Litt.*, Vol. I. pp. 185ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Supra.*

that the Yadus were related to the Pūru Asuras. <sup>1</sup> They had explicitly come from across the sea: "When, **Yadus** O hero, you crossed the sea, *Samudra*, you brought Turvaśa and Yadu over the sea" (Rv. vi. 20.21). Again Turvaśa and Yadu were brought "from afar". (Rv. vi. 45.1). Those Yadus and Turvaśas were allied to the Kaṇvas and Viśvāmitras,<sup>2</sup> just as the Tṛtsu-Bharatas were to the Vasiṣṭhas. In the Rg-Veda the latter group of Vedic Aryans is *svītyam* and *śukla*,<sup>3</sup> "white" (Rv. vii. 33. 1), while the former first *hīranya*<sup>4</sup> "brown," then *svāva* or *kṛṣṇa* "dark" (Rv. x. 31. 11). Post-vedic literature bears the same reminiscences in Patañjali's—*gaurāḥ pīṅgalāḥ kapilakesaḥ* (Pat. on Pāṇ v. 1. 115)<sup>5</sup> and about the former in an accentuated form in Kṛṣṇa the Yadu chief as the virtual hero of the Mahābhārata. After the amalgamation of the Pūru Asuras in the Pañchālas<sup>6</sup> and the Tṛtsu-Bharatas in the Kurus,<sup>7</sup> in the final fusion of the Kuru-Pañchālas in the Madhyadeśa,<sup>8</sup> the Yadus play an important part.<sup>9</sup> All the Yadus from the west sided with the Pañchālas and the Pāṇḍus against the Kurus.<sup>9</sup> Pargiter<sup>10</sup> who analyses the forces at Kurukṣetra in *The Nations at the Battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas* has shown that nations on either side were not of the same stock. This accounts for some of the allies of the Kurus, e.g. the King of Prāgjyotiṣa,<sup>11</sup> the Chīnas,<sup>12</sup> the Kīrātas<sup>13</sup> (N-E); the Kambojas,<sup>14</sup> the Yavanas<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sat. Br.* vi. 8.1.14.

<sup>2</sup> Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.*

<sup>3</sup> *Gopatha Br.* i. 1. 223.

<sup>4</sup> *Rv.* i. 35.10.

<sup>5</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XII. Pt. II.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Rapson, *C.H.I.*, pp. 274-5.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *J.E.A.S.*, 1908, p. 334.

<sup>11</sup> *M.Bh. Bhīṣma* 27.16; 55.32.

<sup>12</sup> *M.Bh. Bhīṣma* 9.66; *Saṁhā.* 78.55.

<sup>13</sup> *M.Bh. Bhīṣma* 9.51.

<sup>14</sup> *M.Bh. Bhīṣma* 9.55; *Saṁhā.* 28.45.

<sup>15</sup> *M.Bh. Bhīṣma* 9.65.



Śakas,<sup>1</sup> Madras,<sup>2</sup> Kaikeyas,<sup>3</sup> Sindhus,<sup>4</sup> Sauvīras<sup>5</sup> (N-W); Bhojas<sup>6</sup> (W); the King of Dakṣiṇāpatha (S); Andhras<sup>7</sup> (S-E); the Kings of Māhiṣmatī<sup>8</sup> and Avanti<sup>9</sup> in Madhyadeśa. A scrutiny of this territorial distribution is highly suggestive. It has been already<sup>10</sup> pointed out that the Vedic period saw the displacement of the Asura from the Indus Valley and his infiltration into the Madhyadeśa.<sup>11</sup> The Bhārata war witnessed his last struggle for a separate existence. The Yadus from Guzerat round about Mathura held out a helping hand and sought to infuse into their beleaguered Pañchāla consins [what modern political intrigues would exalt as "a spirit of the mother country in one's country of adoption"]. As Pargiter<sup>12</sup> puts it, "the division of the contending parties may be broadly said to be south Madhyadeśa and Pañchāla against the rest of India." It was the last race conflict of ancient India. The descendants of the Yadus connected with the Vedic Pūru-Asuras had learnt to temper valour with discretion, the Asura might with Aryan diplomacy. Kṛṣṇa, their spokesman, combines in himself both Clausewitz and Bismarck. The Bhagavadgītā forestalls Clausewitz by twenty-five centuries: "that war is an unalterable fact in the scheme of things, with which fact the statesman has to reckon: it is part and parcel of politics, the execution and fulfilment of a given policy by force."<sup>13</sup> With Kṛṣṇa all acts are justified. The underlying ethics of disabling Bhīṣma<sup>14</sup> the old grandfather, killing with a lie

<sup>1</sup> MBh. Bhīṣma. 78.99. Sabhā, 9.84.

<sup>2</sup> MBh. Bhīṣma. 9.42.

<sup>3</sup> MBh. Bhīṣma. 9.48.

<sup>4</sup> MBh. Bhīṣma. 9.53.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> MBh. Bhīṣma. 9.40.

<sup>7</sup> Pargiter, A.I.H.T.

<sup>8</sup> MBh. Sabhā. 32.23.

<sup>9</sup> MBh. Sabhā. 32.11.

<sup>10</sup> J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XII. Pt. II. p. 262.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. p. 265.

<sup>12</sup> Rapson, C.H.I., p. 275.

<sup>13</sup> Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege*.

<sup>14</sup> MBh. Bhīṣma.

Drona<sup>1</sup> the Brāhmaṇa preceptor, hitting Duryodhana<sup>2</sup> below the belt reminds one of Treitschke on "Cavour": "The statesman has not the right to warm his hands by the smoking ruins of his country with the comfortable self-praise: I have never told a lie: that is a monk's virtue."<sup>3</sup> The result of the conflict was beyond Bismarck's<sup>4</sup> dream. It wielded the diverse nations of the Indian sub-continent into one epic whole. Beginning with an ostensible victory for the Pañchālas and Pāṇḍus,<sup>5</sup> the epic records the progress of this ideal of unity, through its different recensions, from 8,800 ślokaś<sup>6</sup> to 100,000.<sup>7</sup> A common pantheon, a common body-politic and a common outlook as to their new-found land. To foreign eyes uninitiated into the inner peculiarities of present-day Indian life, strangely reminiscent of olden days,—“There is no cogent evidence to show that a difference of religious belief had anything to do with the war, or that any racial antagonism lies behind the division of parties, certainly not of parties opposed as primarily Pañchālas and Kurus.”<sup>8</sup> No greater tribute could be paid to the amalgam of Dāsa, Asura and Arya in India. Israël's debt to Egypt-Babylon-Assyria is not more than classical India's to Dāsa-Asura-Arya.

To come back to the Yadus,<sup>9</sup> connection with the sea. The *samudra* mentioned in Rv. vi. 20.21 may be tested in the light of Paurāṇic geography. Harivaṃśa chs. 30 and 94 deal with the ancestry and habitat of the Yadus. The Harivaṃśa legends are older than Pāṇini. *ṛṣyandhakavṛṣṇikurvāṇaḥ senantāṇnyah*, Pāṇ.

<sup>1</sup> MBh. Droṇa.

<sup>2</sup> MBh. Śalya.

<sup>3</sup> Treitschke, *Historische und Politische Aufsätze*.

<sup>4</sup> Bismarck, *Gedanken und Erinnerungen*, Stuttgart, 1898, Viertes Kapitel, pp. 78-91.

<sup>5</sup> Rapson, *C.H.I.*, p. 275.

<sup>6</sup> Macdonell, *H.S.L.*, p. 284.

<sup>7</sup> Ludwig, *Ueber den Anfang des Mahābhārata*, *Adiparva I-CVIII* Sitzungsber. d. k. boehm. Ges. d. Wiss. 1899, pp. 1ff.

<sup>8</sup> Rapson, *op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> *C.A.H.* Vol. III, pp. 416ff.

iv. 1.115, is amplified by Patañjali<sup>1</sup>: *ugraseno nāmāndhakah, vṛṣṇyaṇo'vakāśah, Vāsudevah Bāladevah, viṣvakṣeno nāma vṛṣṇi*, etc.<sup>2</sup> Harivaṁśa is the supplement<sup>3</sup> of the Mahābhārata and the latter is mentioned in Aśvalāyana's Gṛhyasūtra.<sup>4</sup> The traditional data about the Yadus would thus go back to the later Vedic days. This evidence is all the more important as the early Budhistic<sup>5</sup> and later Vedic<sup>6</sup> times make no mention of the Yadus either in the Punjab or in the Gangetic valley. Obviously from their R̥gvedic locality<sup>7</sup> in the north-west, they had been driven southward. The Harivaṁśa remembers this migration from another tract higher up. But as they are described as sons of Ikṣvāku of the solar line, Ayodhyā<sup>8</sup> is regarded as the original home. The conjectural nature of this statement is evident from another description<sup>9</sup> making them out as sons of Yayāti of the lunar dynasty. It simply points to a departure from their Vedic home. To the south-west of the Madhyadesa as suggested by the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa viii. 14. The Harivaṁśa<sup>10</sup> gives their exact situation—Yadu's father Haryaśva married to the daughter of Asura Madhu called Madhumatī, founded a new kingdom called Anarta and Saurāstra, and also known as Anūpa on the beautiful sea-beach. Andbaka a descendant of Yadu become ruler of Mathura. Thus the Yadus must have crossed over the sea to their west. And without doubt it is the Arabian Sea.<sup>11</sup> But where did they come from? *Ashur* (Assyria) reached the Erythraean sea leading on to the Indus mouth not later than the 15th century B.C.<sup>12</sup> She might have reached the Arabian even

<sup>1</sup> Patañjali on Pāṇ. iv. 1.114.

<sup>2</sup> Kielhorn's Ed., Vol. II. p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonell, *H.S.L.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Hopkins, *J.O.A.S.*, 15, 258ff.

<sup>6</sup> Weber, *Episches im vedischen Ritual*, 37.

<sup>7</sup> Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.*, p. 261.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 260.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 258-9.

<sup>10</sup> *Hv.* 94, 5164.

<sup>11</sup> *J.B.A.S.*, 1915, pp. 426, 447, n2.

<sup>12</sup> *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, Vol. I. No. 1. Rv. 55-6.

earlier through Chaldea<sup>1</sup> and the Persian Gulf. In any case the Yadus had from somewhere in south-western Asia crossed over the Arabian Sea to the western coast of India and all the evidence so far including their connection with the Pūru-Asuras<sup>2</sup> tends to trace them to Assyria.

Two hypotheses offer themselves about Vedic India's connections abroad. (i) Passage through Iran or (ii) from Assyria through Babylon, Chaldea, across the Arabian Sea. The first view advocated by Ludwig<sup>3</sup> and explained by Weber<sup>4</sup> has been justly given up of late. Neither Pārthava nor Parśu refers to Parthian or Persian respectively.<sup>5</sup> Parśu and Tirindira are names of Yadu princes<sup>6</sup> and have nothing to do with Persians.<sup>7</sup> The retention of Vedic *s* or Avestic *h*, etc.<sup>8</sup> is another objection. Both philologically and mythologically India's connection with Iran is post-Rgvedic.<sup>9</sup>

Rgvedic India's association with Babylon and Assyria is almost proved. Apart from expressions like *Bekandāta*,<sup>10</sup> *Bṛ̥ḅu*,<sup>11</sup> *manā*<sup>12</sup> and *paraśu*,<sup>13</sup> there is the Babylonian seal<sup>14</sup> in the Central Museum at Nagpur. "The scene engraved on the seal represents a goddess standing with hands raised in adoration before the weather god Adad, or his West-Semitic equivalent Amurru \* \* \* The inscription gives the owner's name and reads 'Liburbeli, the servant of (.....)'. The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Indian and Chaldean astronomy in Bhandarkar, Commem. vol., 1918, by Tilak.

<sup>2</sup> *Sat. Br.* vi. 8.1.14.

<sup>3</sup> Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, Vol. III. pp. 196ff.

<sup>4</sup> Weber, *Episches im vedischen Ritual*, pp. 36ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ludwig, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Rapson, C.H.I. p. 87.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XII. Pt. I. p. 110.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ev.* viii. 6. 10. Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, 17, 44. Contrast Hillebrandt. *Ved. Myth.* 3, 268, n. 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Ev.* vi. 45.31.33. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* 17, 198.

<sup>12</sup> *Ev.* viii. 78.4. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, 276. *Z.D.M.G.*, 50. 43.

<sup>13</sup> *Ev.* i. 127.3; vii. 104.21; x. 28.8; 58, 9.

<sup>14</sup> *J.B.A.S.*, 1914, p. 462.

seal dates from about 2000 B.C., the period of the first dynasty of Babylon."<sup>1</sup>

Astronomy and Astrology of India bear unmistakeable affinities to those of Chaldea.<sup>2</sup> Tilak<sup>3</sup> and Thibaut<sup>4</sup> have discussed them in detail. Ragozin<sup>5</sup> has shown remarkable similarity between the cosmogonic conceptions of Chaldea<sup>6</sup> and Vedic India.<sup>7</sup> Oldenberg's<sup>8</sup> claim that the Adityas and their abstract nature are related to a Semitic civilisation cannot be slightly passed over. No convincing argument has yet been advanced against the Nakṣatras<sup>9</sup> or lunar mansions being closely allied to Semitic sources except a more or less gratuitous assumption of their lateness amongst the Ṛgvedic collections.<sup>10</sup>

The Asura in India was marked throughout by the Ashur's aptitude in medicine and astrology.<sup>11</sup> The Asura origin of the Yadus is clear from MBh. Adi. 63.7 ; Bha° ix. 23 ; Matsya 43 ; Viṣṇu 4.11 ; Hari. 1.33 ; Vāyu 94. Apart from the explicit statement in the Ṛgveda<sup>12</sup> how they fought Sudās as allies of the Pūru-Asura, the MBh. gives their other Asura connections. Yayāti (Rv. i.31.17 ; x. 63.1) was the descendant of Nahuṣa "apparently a king."<sup>13</sup> According to the MBh. he married Devayānī, daughter of Śukra, the preceptor of Asuras, and also Śarmiṣṭhā a princess. Devayānī had two sons, Yadu and Turvasu ; and Śarmiṣṭhā three, Druhyu, Anu and Pūru. Thus the five Vedic anti-Aryan anti-Tṛtsu-Bharata clans (of whom Pūru is stated to be Asura even

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ragozin, *Chaldea* and Tilak, *Bhandarkar Commem. Vol.*, 1918.

<sup>3</sup> Tilak, *The Orion* ; Jacobi, *Ueber das Alter des Rigveda*.

<sup>4</sup> Thibaut, *Astronomie* (in "*Grundriss*" iii. 9) S. 17, 20, 28.

<sup>5</sup> Ragozin, *Chaldea*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Ragozin, *Vedic India*.

<sup>8</sup> Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 193.

<sup>9</sup> *Z.D.M.G.*, pp. 43ff.

<sup>10</sup> Weber, *Nakṣatra* i. 317, 318 ; Thibaut, *op. cit.* 14, 15 ; Rapson, *C.H.A.*, p. 88.

<sup>11</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XII. Pt. I. pp. 116, 123-4.

<sup>12</sup> Rv. vii. 18.6.

<sup>13</sup> Macdonell and Keith, *Ved. Index*, p. 187.

by the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1</sup>) are found together as Asura cousins. By analogy with expressions like *yāḍva jana* (Rv. vii. 19.8), *bhārata jana*, these five most probably formed the *pañcha janāḥ*<sup>2</sup> mentioned so often in the R̥gveda. Macdonell<sup>3</sup> has missed this implied connection<sup>4</sup> between these two Asura branches, the Yadus and the Pūrus, and from two solitary and incidental references to Yayāti (Rv. i. 31.17; x. 63.1) has denied his connection with Pūru.<sup>5</sup> The Bhārata tradition need not be set aside so hastily. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa<sup>6</sup> foresaw such scepticism and to a certain extent forestalled it: "He who has heard of the races of the Sun and Moon, of Ikṣvāku, Jahnu, Mandhātṛ, Sagara and Raghu, who have all perished; of Yayāti, Nahuṣa and their posterity, who are no more; of Kings of great might, resistless valour and unbounded wealth, who have been overcome by still more powerful Time, and are now only a tale: he will learn wisdom, and forbear to call \* \* \* "the tradition<sup>7</sup> of which must be deemed to be inaccurate."<sup>8</sup>

The tradition about Asura<sup>10</sup> Yadus having come over to India<sup>11</sup> from beyond the seas<sup>12</sup> points to their connection with Assyria and across the Arabian Sea.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sat. Br.*, vi. 8.1.14.

<sup>2</sup> *Re. i.* 103.8; vii. 18.122.

<sup>3</sup> *Vedic Index*, op. cit., Vol. II. p. 187.

<sup>4</sup> Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 119-123. Zimmer, however, mistakes them for Aryans.

<sup>5</sup> *Ved. Ind.*, op. cit. Vol. II. p. 187; cf. Pargiter, *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, pp. 26ff.

<sup>6</sup> cf. Sāyana's Introduction:

*yo vidyāchchaturō Vedānsāṅgopaniṣado dvijaḥ |*  
*nā chetpurāṇaṁ samvidyānnaiva sa syādvichakṣaṇaḥ ||*  
*ITI HĀSA PURĀNĀBHYĀM VEDAM samuparīkṣayet |*  
*bībhetyalpaśrutād Vedo māmayaṁ prahariṣyati ||*

<sup>7</sup> *Viṣṇu P.* Translation by Wilson iv. p. 240.

<sup>8</sup> Pargiter rightly translates *śruti* in Sāyana, op. cit. as "tradition".

<sup>9</sup> Macdonell and Keith, *Ved. Index*, Vol. II. p. 187.

<sup>10</sup> *Re.* 55, 2061; 94, 5143, 5157, 5168.

<sup>11</sup> *Re.* vi. 45.1.

<sup>12</sup> *Re.* vi. 20.12.

<sup>13</sup> "from across the sea of salt water" (*Purāṇas*); *Samudra Rv.* vi. 20.12.

An interesting development of this admitted connection with Mesopotamia,<sup>1</sup> has been the supposition of an Aryan-speaking people in Upper Mesopotamia in the 15th century B.C.<sup>2</sup> The German discoveries at Boghaz Keui<sup>3</sup> published in 1907 belong to about the 14th century B.C. The cuneiform syllabary contains the names of Mitra, Varuna, Indra and Nāsatyas, in a treaty between the Mitanni King Mattiuaza and the Hittite King Subbiluliuma. These names as well as numerals and certain other words are of Indian origin. The forms are the same as Vedic Indian and are unlike Avestic Iranian,<sup>4</sup> e.g. *s* is not changed into *h*;<sup>5</sup> numeral 1 Bogh. = *k. aika* in a compound, Ved. = *eka*, Av. *aēva* (Old Persian *aiva*-); numeral 7 Bogh. *k. = satta*-, Vedic *sapta* (Pāli *satta*); Av. *hapta*, etc.<sup>6</sup> Boghaz Keui in north-western Cappadocia was the Hattic capital and centre of Hittite civilisation about the 14th and 13th centuries B.C.<sup>7</sup> It is about 2,500 miles from India. Three questions arise. (i) Is the language Indo-European? (ii) Who were the speakers? (iii) When had they come. (i) Some Boghaz Keui tablets are in the Babylonian language<sup>8</sup> and readable with considerable certainty. More are in dialects—called by Hrozny<sup>9</sup> and Forrer<sup>10</sup> Kanesian, Luvian, Balaic, proto-Hattic, Harrian and Mandaic—akin to Indo-European.<sup>11</sup> Semitic influence is evident more in borrowed words than in structural modification. At the same time the prevailing language of Mittani is evidenced by a long cuneiform letter found at Tel-el-Amarna<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *C.A.H.*, Vol. I. p. 561.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, Vol. I. No. 1. Rev. 55-56.

<sup>4</sup> *A.J.S.L.*, Vol. 33, p. 261.

<sup>5</sup> *Acta Orientalia*, 1925. p. 90.

<sup>6</sup> Jensen, *S. B. der preussischen Akademie*, 1919, pp. 367ff.

<sup>7</sup> *C.A.H.* Vol. II. p. 253.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Hrozny, *Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, Boghazköi-Studien*, III. i. 1919-20.

<sup>10</sup> Forrer, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1922, p. 254ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *C.A.H.*, Vol. I. p. 469.

is allied to Georgian, and not Indo-European.<sup>1</sup> (ii) The Hatti as an "Asiatic" people from the Caucasus or Alarodians from beyond the Caspian is beset with difficulties. The Boghaz Keui finds are hardly adequate. That may not have been the Hatti's native tongue.<sup>2</sup> Nothing is known about their tongue circa 2000 B.C. They might have been a minority.<sup>3</sup> During the 15th century B.C. the Cappadocian Hatti were under Assyria.<sup>4</sup> Shubbiluliuma acceded to the throne in 1380.<sup>5</sup> The Mahenjo-Daro finds have been placed about 3000 B.C.<sup>6</sup> Between 3000 B.C. and 1380 B.C. much might have happened. Even according to the computations of Eratosthenes, Cadmus does not go back earlier than 1313 B.C.<sup>7</sup> No other Indo-European stock is known reaching Mesopotamia by land. On the other hand the Asura settlement near the Indus mouth might in turn have attracted some Vedic Aryans by sea to Mitanni, Hittite and other Assyrians, either as prisoners of war or adventurers in quest of gain. The fascinating story of the Romany Rye<sup>8</sup> or the Gipsy language reveals yet unsuspected waves of linguistic penetration from India abroad. (iii) In the light of present evidence, it seems plausible to imagine some Vedic Aryans and Asuras reaching Mesopotamia through the Persian Gulf about 2000 B.C. An enterprising author<sup>9</sup> has already fancied similarity in names between the names of kings in the First

<sup>1</sup> *C.A.H.*, Vol. II, p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> The Boghazkei documents are about 1580 B.C. But the race of the semitized Cappadocians of 3000 B.C. is yet unknown.

<sup>4</sup> cf. the documents found at Kala'at Sherkat.

<sup>5</sup> Thomson places Shubbiluliuma at 1411 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> Marshall, *Illus. Lond. News*, *op. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> On the other hand the recent excavations carried on by the Swedish Archaeological expedition to Greece, under Professor Persson of Upsala and Dr. Frodin, show that the ceramic evidence of the Mycenaean tomb and "the king's cup," etc. bring down the Pre-Homeric Bronze Age of Greece to about 1350 B.C.

<sup>8</sup> Sampson, *Romani Lang.* 1926.

<sup>9</sup> Waddell, *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered*, 1925, pp. 32, 59.



"Pañch(āla)" or Phœnician Dynasty in Mesopotamia about 3100-2950 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> the king-list of "Gudea's" and "Ur" Dynasties<sup>2</sup> and the Vedic, Epic and Paurāṇic lists and genealogical table on the other. It is amusing to note that Haryaśva,<sup>3</sup> the founder of the Yadu Asura line,<sup>4</sup> also occurs as Ur-Ninā<sup>5</sup> now read by Waddell<sup>6</sup> as Uru-as(the) khad in the king-lists of the Sumerians in Mesopotamia. Whatever be the value of these speculations, the Yadus would seem to have reached their home on the western coast of India somewhere from Mesopotamia across the Arabian Sea. And they were connected with Asura in India affiliated to Ashur in Assyria.<sup>7</sup>

The history of the Yadus is also largely that of the Turvaśas<sup>8</sup>. They were close allies in the Vedic,<sup>9</sup> relatives in epic<sup>10</sup> stories. *Turvaśa Yadu*, *Yadu Turvaśa*, *Turvaśa Yādū*, *Yadus Turvaśascha* are indicative of their intimate association. It has led Zimmer<sup>11</sup> and Oldenberg<sup>12</sup> to regard Turvaśa as the king of the Yadus. Macdonell and

**Turvasas** Keith,<sup>13</sup> and Hopkins<sup>14</sup> rightly take them as two peoples or perhaps related clans. Like the Yadus, the Turvaśas fought Sudās and the Tṛtsu-Bharatas.<sup>15</sup> The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>16</sup> finds them allies of the Pañchālas

<sup>1</sup> Waddell, op. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.* pp. 89, 142-3.

<sup>4</sup> *Vā.* 88,62.

<sup>5</sup> *Camb. Anc. Hist. Babylonia*, 1924, pp. 374ff.

<sup>6</sup> Waddell, *op. cit.* p. 32.

<sup>7</sup> *R.B.O.S.* Vol. xii. Pt. II. pp. 111, 117.

<sup>8</sup> *Rv.* i. 36,18 ; 174,9 ; vi. 20,12 ; 45,1 ; viii. 4,7 ; 7,18 ; 9,14 ; 45,27 ; x. 49,8.

<sup>9</sup> *Rv.* v. 31,8.

<sup>10</sup> *MBh.* Bhīṣma, ix. 23.

<sup>11</sup> Zimmer. *Alt. Leb.* p. 122, 124.

<sup>12</sup> Oldenburg, *Buddha*.

<sup>13</sup> *Ved. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 315.

<sup>14</sup> Hopkins. *J.A.O.S.* pp. 15, 261.

<sup>15</sup> *Rv.* vii. 18,6.

<sup>16</sup> *Sat. Br.* xiii. 5,4,16.

with thirty-three horses and 6,000 men<sup>1</sup> or 6,033 warriors.<sup>2</sup> They subsequently merged in the Pañchālas.<sup>3</sup> The MBh. makes them brothers of the Yadus and sons of an Asura mother, daughter of Śukra the Asura preceptor.<sup>4</sup> Their prowess by water led them along with the Yadus to attack Arjuna and Chitraratha on the Sarayu<sup>5</sup> and cross the Paruṣṇī from the west towards the east<sup>6</sup> against the Bharatas.

Another Asura people that travelled from the extreme north-west of India and to the south are the Nāgas. The northernmost advanced guard of Asura ascent<sup>7</sup> in the R̥gveda were the Druhyus,<sup>8</sup> near Kashmir. The MBh. regards them as brothers of Asura Anu and Pūru,<sup>9</sup> all sons of Śarmiṣṭhā and Yayāti.<sup>10</sup> Druhyus are connected with Gāndhāra.<sup>11</sup> The Nīlamata Purāṇa<sup>12</sup> records the occupation of Kashmir by the Nāgas. The

Nāgas or serpent (also called Sarpas,  
MBh. I. 197, II. 360-66, etc.) were a  
branch of the Asuras.<sup>13</sup> The real

significance of their name will be discussed later. The Nāgas were ousted from Kashmir by Piśāchas living in "an island in the sand ocean."<sup>14</sup> The island was six yojanas in area.<sup>15</sup> Grierson identifies the Piśāchas as the Darads and Kāfirs of the Hindu Kush.<sup>16</sup> He traces the linguistic characteristics of Piśācha to Outer Indo-Aryan. The language of the Nāgas on

<sup>1</sup> *Sat. Br.* xiii. 5-4-16.

<sup>2</sup> *St. Petersburg Dict.*

<sup>3</sup> Oldenberg, *Buddha*, 404n.

<sup>4</sup> *MBh.* Adī. 63-7; 69.36.

<sup>5</sup> Griffith, *Hymns of the R̥gveda*, 1-433n.

<sup>6</sup> Geldner. *Vedische Studien*, 3-152.

<sup>7</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XII. Pt. II. p. 252.

<sup>8</sup> Pargiter. *A. I. H. T.*, p. 30.

<sup>9</sup> *MBh.* 63-7.69.38.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Pargiter, *op. cit.* p. 293.

<sup>12</sup> *Nīlamata P.* Lahore Skt. Series.

<sup>13</sup> Fausboll, *Indian Mythology*, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> *Nīlamata P.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Z.D.M.G.*, 1912, p. 72.

the other hand, as found spoken by the inhabitants of Hunza-Nagar and called Barusaskī "has not yet been identified as belonging to any known family of speech".<sup>1</sup> Stein<sup>2</sup> has explored the oasis in the Central Asian desert. The newcomers evidently belonged to the Indo-European stock. Once dispossessed, the Nāgas wandered over the whole of Northern India to the extreme north-east and then to the south. Airavata (MBh. II. 360-66) was their king and pannaga (MBh. I. 2144-2126; III. 12400), uraga (MBh. I. 2135), ajagara (MBh. III. 12390) and bhujaṅga (MBh. 12386; XII. 13835) their sub-groups. The Indus Valley, the Kurukṣetra on the river Ikṣumatī (MBh. I. 803), the Naimiṣa forest on the river Gomatī (MBh. XII. 13800), the northern banks of the river Ganges (MBh. I. 199) and then into the fastnesses of the Niṣādha hilly tracts (MBh. VI. 246), each in turn harboured the Asura Nāga on his eastern march and significantly enough almost always by the river. Both in the west and the east this Asura expansion has left two landmarks. (i) The serpent-sacrifice of Janamejaya<sup>3</sup> or the annihilation of Asura's collective power. (ii) Jarāsandhā's hill-fortress and the *Maniar math*<sup>4</sup> at Rājgir.<sup>5</sup> The *Sarpa-sattra*<sup>6</sup> was the after-effect of the Arya-Asura conflict and the latter's defeat in the Ṛgveda.<sup>7</sup> It is post-Vedic as borne out by the explicit statement in MBh. I. 51.6f, 15 that it is a Paurāṇic sacrifice where a sūta well-versed in the Purāṇas—and not a sacrificing Brahmana priest—that marks out the sacrificial ground.<sup>8</sup> Jacobi's<sup>9</sup> "monsoon myth" and Ludwig's<sup>10</sup> "rotation of the year's seasons" are ingenious

<sup>1</sup> *Z.D.M.G.*, 1912, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *MBh. Anukramani.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 1913-14, p. 265.

<sup>5</sup> *Archæol Surv. Rep.* 1906.

<sup>6</sup> *Sāṅkhya Śraut. Sūtra*, xiii. 23-8. *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, xxi. 4-48. Contrast *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* xxv.15.

<sup>7</sup> *Rv.* x. 138.3.

<sup>8</sup> *MBh.* I. 51. 6f. 16.

<sup>9</sup> Jacobi, *Indische Studien*, xiv. p. 149, n.

<sup>10</sup> Ludwig, *Ueber den Anfang des Mahābhārata*, p. 6.

but unconvincing. Bachofen<sup>1</sup> first suspected reminiscences of a historical fight with, and annihilation of, the "serpent" people or tribe by Janamejaya. Oldham<sup>2</sup> successfully developed this theme as Janamejaya's victory over and violent extermination of captives of war<sup>3</sup> from amongst a "serpent" people. In fact, it is an historical celebration of the conclusion of the Asura supremacy and the birth of a neo-Aryan polity. Hence the inaugural solemnity of the introductory passage in the MBh. Ugrasravas Sauti having come to the twelve year sacrificial ceremony of Śaunaka, and being questioned by the priests, replies that he has heard the Mahābhārata history, composed by Vyāsa and recited by Vaiśampāyana at the serpent-sacrifice of King Janamejaya, the son of Parikṣit. This deliberate historical setting as well as the language, both are akin to Vedic literature,<sup>4</sup> the name Janamejaya itself being that of a famous Vedic sacrificer.<sup>5</sup> They would be entirely out of place for the narration of petty incidents like those of Uttanka,<sup>6</sup> Rura,<sup>7</sup> even Parikṣit.<sup>8</sup> (ii) The second and closing point in the history of individual Asura chiefs centres round Bhagadatta of Assam and north-east Bengal (Prāgyotiṣa<sup>9</sup>), and Jarāsandha of Māgadha.<sup>10</sup> Bhagadatta joined the Bhārata battle with a contingent of Chinas.<sup>11</sup> He is described as an Asura.<sup>12</sup> His kingdom is called *Mlecchha*.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Bachofen, *Antiquarische Briefe*, 1880, Strassburg, Letters iv-ix.

<sup>2</sup> Oldham, *J.R.A.S.*, 1891, pp. 378ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Lond., 1873, p. 29n.

<sup>4</sup> Winternitz, *Kulturgeschichtliches aus der Tierwelt*, Reprint, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Sat. Br.* xiii. 5. 4-1; *At. Br.* vii. 34; viii. 11-21; *Śāṅkh. Śr. Sūtra*, xvi. 8. 27.

<sup>6</sup> *M.Bh.* Ādi. 6.83; 50.31.

<sup>7</sup> *M.Bh.* Ādi. 8.2; 58.31; Anu. 8.65.

<sup>8</sup> *M.Bh.* Ādi. 41.12; 50.8.

<sup>9</sup> *M.Bh.* v. 1887, 4408.

<sup>10</sup> Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.*, pp. 262, 263.

<sup>11</sup> *M.Bh.* v. 18.584.

<sup>12</sup> *M.Bh.* vii. 29.1290.

<sup>13</sup> *M.Bh.* ii. 50.1834.

*Mlechchha* is allied to *Mlech*, *Maliku* an Assyrian form <sup>1</sup> still used as *Mlek* or *Malek* in Baluchistan <sup>2</sup> and as *Malik* in the Indus valley. <sup>3</sup> Jarāsandha's connection with the western Asuras the Yadus <sup>4</sup>—descended from Madhu <sup>5</sup> the well-known Asura <sup>6</sup> and from Sarmaṣṭhā, daughter of Asura Viṣaparvan <sup>7</sup>—is even more marked. <sup>8</sup> Kamsa the Yādava King at Mathurā, <sup>9</sup> an Asura, <sup>10</sup> was his son-in-law and vassal. When Kamsa was killed by his nephew Kṛṣṇa, <sup>11</sup> Jarāsandha attacked him at Mathurā. <sup>12</sup> Kṛṣṇa and the Bhoja branch <sup>13</sup> of the Yādavas had to leave Mathurā and settle in Dvārakā. <sup>14</sup> Kṛṣṇa bode his time and with the help of Arjuna and Bhīma killed Jarāsandha. <sup>15</sup> The Kṛṣṇa-Jarāsandha Asuras belonged to the Nāga group. Kṛṣṇa's exploits with the Nāginis <sup>16</sup> and the Mañjar Maṭh <sup>17</sup> near Jarā(sa)ndhaki Baiṭhak are clear indications. The Nāgas had contested every bit of ground from the North-West to the confines of Magadha. They induced Purukutsa to fight the Mauneya Gandharvas who had overrun their north-western Indian home. <sup>18</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, Vol. III. p. 207. *Maliku* meant "prince" (or similar), without the full equivalence of *Sharru* "King", cf. *Sayer, Records of the Past*, new series v. 145. *Malik*=counsellor, high official. *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, Vol. II. p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> *Bd.*, *Vā. Mat.*, *Viṣ.* and *Bhāg. Purāṇas* place the "Mlechchha countries to the north beyond India". *Prachetasah putra-salam rājanah sarva eva te || mlechchha-rāṣṭrādhipāh sarve hy udichīm āsamāśritāh ||*.

<sup>3</sup> As a family title.

<sup>4</sup> *M.Bh.* xii. 341, 1290-1.

<sup>5</sup> *Br. P.* 213, 137.

<sup>6</sup> *Rām.* vii. 61, 3, 10, 15; *Hv.* 55. 3061; 94. 5143, 5157, 5168.

<sup>7</sup> *M.Bh.* I. 81, 3369; *Mat.* 30, 11.

<sup>8</sup> *Vā.* 93, 16; *Mat.* 27, 8; *Hv.* 30, 1603.

<sup>9</sup> *Hv.* 87-94, 5188; 99; 100; 110.

<sup>10</sup> *M.Bh.* XII. 341, 12954.

<sup>11</sup> *M.Bh.* II. 13, 571-632; XVIII. 781-7.

<sup>12</sup> *Hv.* 87-94.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *Hv.* 67-190; *Br.*, *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāg.*, *Paṇḍma.*; *M.Bh.* v. 47; 1881-92.

<sup>15</sup> *M.Bh.* I. 131, 5184-45.

<sup>16</sup> *Hv. op. cit.*

<sup>17</sup> *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.*, 1905.

<sup>18</sup> *Viṣṇu P.* iv. 3, 6-12.

They opposed Marutta grandson of Karandhama, ruler of Vaiśālī.<sup>1</sup> The Nāgas had a second period of greatness, when they occupied Takṣaśilā, invaded Hastināpur and killed Parikṣit II.<sup>2</sup> The Śiśunāgas<sup>3</sup> were at Magadha. The Kārkoṭaka Nāgas<sup>4</sup> conquered Māhiṣmatī,<sup>5</sup> afterwards taken from them by the Haihayas.<sup>6</sup> They colonised the Ṛkṣa hills (Satpura range).<sup>7</sup> They were "handsome, of many shapes and wearing showy earrings," *Surūpa, bahurūpa, kalmāṣakunḍala*, MBh. I. 797; XII. 13826. Their kings and heroes Vāsuki (MBh. V. 3617) and Śeṣa (MBh. V. 3618; VII. 3546). Bhogavati their capital (MBh. V. 3617) in Nāgaloka (MBh. V. 3530) rich in "palaces, houses, towers and pinnacles" (MBh. I. 796, 5018). The Vedic struggle drove the Asura from the Indus Valley<sup>8</sup>: the epic conflict routed them in the Madhyadeśa<sup>9</sup> and the subsequent re-adjustment lost them the Gangetic Valley<sup>10</sup> and pushed them southwards. The Nāgas were the spearhead and backbone of the Asura people in India. Daityas, Dānavas, Rākṣasas, among the Kālakañjas, Kāleyyas, Nivāta-kavachas, Asuras Paulomas, etc.<sup>11</sup> are offshoots and families. With the downfall of the Nāgas ended organised Asura supremacy in India. And the remnants of Nāgas who once ruled Gośṛṅga in Khotan,<sup>12</sup> had to seek shelter in places still bearing their name, e.g. Nāgpur, Chhota Nāgpur, and are to-day completely absorbed in the Dāsa aborigines haunting woods, mountain fastnesses, and desolate regions,<sup>13</sup> of the

<sup>1</sup> *Mārk.* 121-31.

<sup>2</sup> Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.* p. 285.

<sup>3</sup> Smith. *B. H. I.*, pp. 31-3, 44-8.

<sup>4</sup> *MBh.* viii. 44, 2066; iii. 66, 2611.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *MBh.* iii. 116, 11089; 117, 10269.

<sup>7</sup> *MBh.* iii. 253, 15245.

<sup>8</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.* Pt. XII. p. 261.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 277.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 282.

<sup>11</sup> Faustell, *Indian Mythology*, p. 1.

<sup>12</sup> *Z.D.M.G.*, 1912, p. 72.

<sup>13</sup> *MBh.* iii. 388; vii. 7928.

jungles of Assam,<sup>1</sup> of Chota Nāgpur and the Vindhya range.<sup>2</sup> The R̥gvedic Asura began as Amṛta,<sup>3</sup> his epic descendant the Nāga ended as Poison.<sup>4</sup>

This fateful fulfilment of an early chapter of Indian history is summed up (i) first in the "Serpent-Sacrifice"<sup>5</sup> setting of the Mahābhārata and (ii), secondly in the more comprehensive and fundamental sketch of the Arya-Asura

**Asuras at the Churning of the Ocean**

conflict and the churning of the Ocean with the Serpent.<sup>6</sup> The description in the Mahābhārata<sup>7</sup> and the Rāmāyana<sup>8</sup> agree and are equally suggestive. The Asuras were the elders<sup>9</sup> of the Suras. They were the masters of the sea.<sup>10</sup> The ocean had yielded them her riches<sup>11</sup> and made them masters of the three worlds,<sup>12</sup> i.e. universal sovereigns. The Nāgas<sup>13</sup> were the standard-bearers of Asura supremacy in India. Then came the Aryans posterior<sup>14</sup> in time. Began the Arya (Deva)—Asura war. Imperial power<sup>15</sup> was the stake. It lasted for 32,000 years.<sup>16</sup> The earth was "converted to an ocean of blood."<sup>17</sup> The ocean-got prosperity of the Asuras was systematically forced. Its chief guardian, the Asura Nāga began to vomit poison,<sup>18</sup> and showed his prowess that fairly threatened to

<sup>1</sup> Fausboll. *Indian Mythology*, p. 42. *MBh* v. 1887. 1408.

<sup>2</sup> *MBh.* viii. 44. 2066.

<sup>3</sup> *Rv.* x. 13. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *MBh.* i. 103-118.

<sup>5</sup> *MBh.* i. *Anukramāṇī*.

<sup>6</sup> *MBh.* i. 1103-1188.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Rām.* i. 45, 15-45; vii. 11. 14-18.

<sup>9</sup> *MBh.* xiii. 566.

<sup>10</sup> *Rv.* viii. 42. 1. *MBh.* xiii. 33. 2098.

<sup>11</sup> *Rv.* i. 47. 6; vii. 6. 7; ix. 97. 94.

<sup>12</sup> *Rv.* i. 25. 8.

<sup>13</sup> *MBh.* xii. 13866; i. 2162.

<sup>14</sup> *MBh.* xiii. 566.

<sup>15</sup> *MBh.* i. 3187; ix. 1352; xiii. 568.

<sup>16</sup> *MBh.* xii. 1185.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *MBh.* i. 1103-1188.

submerge the Aryans. But in the long run the Aryans succeeded. "From across the sea"<sup>1</sup> had come the victorious Asura. After defeat they retraced their steps and "plunged into the sea of salt waters".<sup>2</sup> Those that remained "entered the bowels of the earth"<sup>3</sup> and disappeared as a separate entity, being completely assimilated in the now firmly established Arya-Asura-Dāsa body politic of India.<sup>4</sup> But the Asura strain never died and led them on to fresh pastures and new by sea in India to the south and across the eastern seas beyond, as champions of the neo-Aryan Indian outlook now become theirs as well.

Before following them further in their southern and eastern migration, it would be interesting to test Pargiter's<sup>5</sup> view of western migration from India. (i) He connects the Boghaz Keui treaty with (Ailas) Aryans of the Mid-Himalayan region migrating westward through Iran. (ii) He assigns an Eastern origin to the Vedas as the earliest of the R̥gvedic hymns refer to non-Aryan kings and ṛis. (iii) He denies any association of the R̥gveda with the North-West of India.

Pargiter confuses the different issues by ignoring the Asura from his scheme of traditions. (iii) The geographical data discussed above<sup>6</sup> dispose of his third contention. In additional proof if an undoubted cold region as the original home may be mentioned the passage in the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad<sup>7</sup> describing the world a man comes to after death: "sorrowless and snowless".<sup>8</sup> Ranade<sup>9</sup> takes "snowless" too literally as the region where the

#### **Asura migration— Westward and Eastward**

<sup>1</sup> *Bhāṣiṣya Purāṇa*.

<sup>2</sup> *M.Bh.* I, 1103-1188. Roy's Translation.

<sup>3</sup> *Hiranya-pura* (*M.Bh.* v. 3667; vii. 1997; iii. 12197) *Prāgjyotiṣa* (v. 3567) *Nirmochana* (v. 1890).

<sup>4</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XII, Pt. II. p. 235.

<sup>5</sup> Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.*, pp. 301-2.

<sup>6</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XII, Pt. II. pp. 246-47.

<sup>7</sup> *Br. Up.* S. 23.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. also *Taitt. Br.*, iii. 12.7.2.

<sup>9</sup> *A Constructive Survey of Upaniṣadic Philosophy*, 1926. p. 159.



Upaniṣadic philosopher was tormented by too much cold. More plausibly it is the memory of an earlier Arya home.<sup>1</sup> (ii) The non-Aryan colour of the Vedic Kings and Rsis is due to many of those kings and seers having been originally Asuras.<sup>2</sup> After the Ārya-Asura amalgamation the neo-Aryan pantheon contained many non-Aryan entities and affinities. The success of the process can be judged by Agastya, Vasiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, etc. being regarded as descended from the same father,<sup>3</sup> viz. Mītra-Varuṇa, priest of the same King Sudās.<sup>4</sup> Even the different gods Varuṇa<sup>5</sup> of the Asuras, Indra of the Tṛtsu-Bharata Aryas<sup>6</sup> become each other's<sup>7</sup> gods and then one god.<sup>8</sup> The same synthesis has, in mediæval days, succeeded in turning sectarian deities into all-India *avatāras*—"incarnations".<sup>9</sup> (i) This unification of India was achieved, not in the North-West and the Punjab, but in the Mid-Himalayan Madhyadeśa.<sup>10</sup> The neo-Aryan was born after the old-Ārya-Asura conflict was over.<sup>11</sup> Naturally Kurukṣetra becomes and has ever remained the *Dharmakṣetra*<sup>12</sup> of this neo-Aryanism. The Epics and the Purāṇas glorify this reconstructed and re-read-Ārya outlook of the Pauravas, Aikṣākas and Māgadhas. The Mahābhārata Anukramanikā<sup>13</sup> and the Churning of the Ocean<sup>14</sup> usher in this synthetic Aryanism and the new India as historical and accomplished

<sup>1</sup> Tilak, *Arctic Home in the Vedas*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Viśvāmitra : Rv. iii. 53.12 ; Ait. Br. vii. 3.5 ; Śāṅkh. Śraut. Sūtra xv. 25 are obvious anachronisms, cf. Fargiter, *A.I.H.T.*, p. 100. Similarly Manu viii. 110 ; Nārada i. 248 are palpable distortions.

<sup>3</sup> *Anukramanī* and *Vedārtha* on Rv. viii. 67.

<sup>4</sup> Macdonell and Keith, *Ved. Ind.*, Vol. II. p. 276.

<sup>5</sup> Rv. i. 24.14.

<sup>6</sup> Rv. i. 174.1.

<sup>7</sup> Rv. vii. 33.11.

<sup>8</sup> Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>9</sup> Buddha in the Hindu Pantheon.

<sup>10</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. XI. p. 282.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 261.

<sup>12</sup> *MBh. Vana.* 81.1 ; *Sānti.* 54.

<sup>13</sup> *Supra.*

<sup>14</sup> *MBh.* I. 1103-1188.

facts. Any discussion about the intrusive or extrusive character<sup>1</sup> of Aryan culture in Mesopotamia must start with an adequate appreciation of the contribution made to it by the sea-born and sea-bred Asura,<sup>2</sup> who reached India and the Indus mouth "from beyond the sea"<sup>3</sup> (the Arabian Sea) and whose footfalls once resounded on the banks of many a river<sup>4</sup> in the Indus valley and the Gangetic plains and some of whom retreated from whence they had come "across the sea of salt water."<sup>5</sup> The rest carried their common heritage of an Arya-Asura mission to the Deccan,<sup>6</sup> to Ceylon<sup>7</sup> and across the Pacific.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.* p. 301-2; Marshall, *Illus. Lond. News*, September 1924.

<sup>2</sup> The sea-surrounded earth with its mountains formerly belonged to the Daityas, but the Devas gained the superiority and destroyed Diti's sons." *Rām.* i. 45, 15-45; vii. 11, 14-18, cf. *MBh.* i. 1111; v. 3612; viii. 2983; xii. 1185, 12992, 7543. See Appendix B.

<sup>3</sup> *Rv.* vi. 20.12; vi. 45.1.

<sup>4</sup> Ikṣumatī, *MBh.* i. 803; Gomatī, *MBh.* xii. 13800; Gaṅgā *MBh.* i. 13800.

<sup>5</sup> "Discomfitted by the gods, \* \* \* the mighty Dānavas entered the bowels of the earth, while others plunged into the sea of salt waters." *MBh.* i. 1108-1188, cf. also *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*.

<sup>6</sup> Asuras on the river Narmadā, *Padma P.* vi. 263, 69,70.

<sup>7</sup> Rāva Laṅkā an Asura, *Padma P.* vi. 143-3 cf. *Rām.*

<sup>8</sup> Maitrā-Varuṇa Agastya civilized the south: *Rām.* II, 11. 78-84; vi. 117,14; *Br.* 84,8; 118,6,8; *Hv.* 117,6591: went to Ceylon (Laṅkā) *Mat.* 61,51; and penetrated to the southern Ocean, *MBh.* i. 216, 7839-46; 217, 7877. The Agastyas are explicitly stated to be Rākṣasa Asuras, *Mat.* 202, 12-13. cf. also *MBh.* vi. Roy's footnote to his translation. p. 38 "Probably this mythical account embodies some vague tradition current in ancient India of some republic in Eastern Asia or Oceanic Asia (further east in the Pacific)".

# APPENDIX



THE WAR  
BETWEEN DEVAS AND ASURAS

A.

MAHABHĀRATA

ĀDIPARVA CHH. XVII—XIX

सौतिरवाच ।

उवलन्तमचलं मेरुं तेजोराशिमनुत्तमम् ।  
आक्षिपन्तं प्रभां भानोः स्वशृङ्गैः काञ्चनोज्ज्वलैः ॥५॥  
कनकाभरणं चित्तं देवगन्धर्वसेवितम् ।  
अप्रमेयमनाधृष्यमधर्मबहुलैर्जनैः ॥ ६ ॥  
व्यालैरावारितं घोरैर्दिव्यौषधिविदीपितम् ।  
नाकमावृत्य तिष्ठन्तमुच्छ्रयेण महागिरिम् ॥७॥  
भगम्यं मनसाप्यन्यैर्नदीवृक्षसमन्वितम् ।  
नानापतगसङ्घैश्च नादितं सुमनोहरैः ॥८॥  
तस्य शृङ्गमुपावृह्य बहुरत्नाचितं शुभम् ।  
अनन्तकल्पमुद्दिष्टं सुराः सव महौजसः ॥९॥  
ते मन्त्रयितुमारब्धास्तत्तासीना दिवौकसः ।  
अमृताय समागम्य तपोनियमसंयुताः ॥१०॥  
तत्र नारायणो देवो ब्रह्माणमिदमब्रवीत् ।  
चिन्तयत्सु सुरैश्चैवं मन्त्रयत्सु च सर्वशः ॥११॥  
देवैरसुरसङ्घैश्च मथ्यतां कलशोदधिः ।  
अविष्यत्यमृतं तत्र मथ्यमाने महोदधौ ॥१२॥  
सर्वौषधीः समावाप्य सवेरत्नानि चैव ह ।  
मत्पथवमुद्धिं देवा वेत्स्यध्वममृतं ततः ॥१३॥

इति श्रीमहाभारते आदिपर्वणि आस्तीकपर्वणि अमृतमन्थने  
सप्तदशोऽध्यायः ।

अष्टादशोऽध्यायः ।

सौतिरुवाच ।

ततोऽभ्रशिखराकारैर्गिरिभृङ्गैरलंकृतम् ।  
 मन्दरं पर्वतवरं लताजालसमाकुलम् ॥१॥  
 नानाविहङ्गसंघुष्टं नानादंष्ट्रिसमाकुलम् ।  
 किन्नरैरप्सरामिश्च देवैरपि च सेवितम् ॥२॥  
 एकादशसहस्राणि योजनानां समुच्छ्रितम् ।  
 अधो भूमेः सहस्रेषु तावत्स्वेव प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥३॥  
 तमुद्धर्तुमशक्ता वै सर्वे देवगणास्तदा ।  
 विष्णुमासीनमभ्येत्य ब्रह्माणञ्च दमब्रुवन् ॥४॥  
 भवन्तावत्र कुर्वीतां बुद्धिं नैःश्रेयसीं पराम् ।  
 मन्दरोद्धरणे यत्नः क्रियताञ्च हिताय नः ॥५॥

सौतिरुवाच ।

तथेति चाब्रवीद्विष्णुर्ब्रह्मणा सह भार्गव ।  
 अचोदयदमेयात्मा फणीन्द्रं पद्मलोचनः ॥६॥  
 ततोऽनन्तः समुत्थाय ब्रह्मणा परिचोदितः ।  
 नारायणेन चाप्युक्तस्तस्मिन् कर्मणि वीर्यवान् ॥७॥  
 अथ पर्वतराजानं तमनन्तो महाबलः ।  
 उज्जहार बलाद्ब्रह्मणः सवनं सवनौकसम् ॥८॥  
 ततस्तेन सुराः साद्धं समुद्रमुपतस्थिरे ।  
 तमूचुरमृतस्यार्थं निर्मथिष्यामहे जलम् ॥९॥  
 अपां पतिरथोवाच ममाप्यंशो भवेत् ततः ।  
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B.

## RĀMĀYANA

BĀLAKĀNDA—CH. LV

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 मन्थानं मन्दरं कृत्वा ममन्थुरमितौजसः ॥१८॥  
 अथ वर्षसहस्रेण योषत्रसर्पशिरांसि च ।  
 चमन्तोऽतिविषं तत्र ददंशुर्दशनैः शिलाः ॥१९॥  
 उत्पपातान्निसंकाशं हालाहलमहाविषम् ।  
 तेन दग्धं जगत्सर्वं सदेवासुरमानुषम् ॥२०॥

अथ देवा महादेवं शंकरं शरणार्थिनः ।  
 जग्मुः पशुपतिं रुद्रं त्राहि त्राहीति तुष्टुबुः ॥२१॥  
 पवमुक्तस्ततो देवैर्देवदेवेश्वरः प्रभुः ।  
 प्रादुरासीत्ततोऽत्रैव शङ्खचक्रधरो हरिः ॥२२॥  
 उवाचैनं स्मितं कृत्वा रुद्रं शूलधरं हरिः ।  
 दैवतैर्मथ्यमाने तु यत्पूर्वं समुपस्थितम् ॥२३॥  
 तत्त्वदीयं सुरश्रेष्ठ सुराणामग्रतो हि यत् ।  
 अग्रपूजामिह स्थित्वा गृहाणेदं विषं प्रभो ॥२४॥  
 इत्युक्त्वा च सुरश्रेष्ठस्तत्रैवान्तरधीयत ।  
 देवतानां भयं दृष्ट्वा श्रुत्वा वाक्यं तु शार्ङ्गिणः ॥२४॥  
 हालाहलं विषं घोरं संजग्राहामृतोपमम् ।  
 देवान्विसृज्य देवेशो जगाम भगवान्हरः ॥२६॥  
 ततो देवासुराः सर्वे ममन्थू रघुनन्दन ।  
 प्रविवेशाथ पातालं मन्थानः पर्वतोत्तमः ॥२७॥  
 ततो देवाः सगन्धर्वास्तुष्टुबुधमधुसूदनम् ।  
 त्वं गतिः सर्वभूतानां विशेषेण दिवौकसाम् ॥२८॥  
 पालयास्मान्महाबाहो गिरिमुद्धतुं मर्हसि ।  
 इति श्रुत्वा हृषीकेशः कामठं रूपमास्थितः ॥२९॥  
 पर्वतं पृष्ठतः कृत्वा शिश्ये तत्रोदधौ हरिः ।  
 पर्वताग्रं तु लोकात्मा हस्तेनाक्रम्य केशवः ॥३०॥  
 देवानां मध्यतः स्थित्वा ममन्थ पुरुषोत्तमः ।  
 अथ वर्षसहस्रेण आयुर्वेदमयः पुमान् ॥३१॥  
 उदतिष्ठत्सुधर्मात्मा सदण्डः सकमण्डलुः ।  
 अथ धन्वन्तरिर्नाम अप्सराश्च सुवर्चसः ॥३२॥  
 अप्सु निर्मथनादेव रसात्तस्माद्भ्रस्त्रियः ।  
 उत्पेतुर्मनुजश्रेष्ठ तस्मादप्सरसोऽभवन् ॥३३॥  
 षष्टिः कोट्योऽभवंस्तासामप्सरणां सुवर्चसाम् ।

असंख्येयास्तु काकुत्स्थ यास्तासां परिचारिकाः ॥३४॥  
 न ताः स्म प्रतिगृह्णन्ति सर्वे ते देवदानवाः ।  
 अप्रतिग्रहणादेव ता वै साधारणाः स्मृताः ॥३५॥  
 वरुणस्य ततः कन्या वारुणी रघुनन्दन ।  
 उत्पपात महाभागा मार्गमाणा परिग्रहम् ॥३६॥  
 दितेः पुत्रा न तां राम जग्रहुर्वरुणात्मजाम् ।  
 अदितेस्तु सुता वीर जगृहुस्तामनिन्दिताम् ॥३७॥  
 असुरास्ते न दैतेयाः सुरास्ते नादितेः सुताः ।  
 दृष्टाः प्रमुदिताश्चासन्वारुणीग्रहणात्सुराः ॥३८॥  
 उच्चैःश्रवा ह्यश्रेष्ठो मणिरत्नं च कौस्तुभम् ।  
 उदतिष्ठन्नश्रेष्ठ तथैवामृतमुत्तमम् ॥३९॥  
 अथ तस्य कृते राम महानासीत्कुलक्षयः ।  
 अदितेस्तु ततः पुत्रा दितिपुत्रानयोधयन् ॥४०॥  
 एकतामगमन्सर्वे असुरा राक्षसैः सहः ।  
 युद्धमासीन्महाघोरं वीरत्रैलोक्यमोहनम् ॥४१॥  
 यदा क्षयं गतं सर्वं तदा विष्णुर्महाबलः ।  
 अमृतं सोऽहरत्तूर्णं मायामास्थाय मोहिनीम् ॥४२॥  
 ये गताभिमुखं विष्णुमक्षरं पुरुषोत्तमम् ।  
 संशिष्टास्ते तदा युद्धे विष्णुना प्रभविष्णुना ॥४३॥  
 अदितेरात्मजा वीरा दितेः पुत्राञ्जिह्विरे ।  
 अस्मिन्घोरे महायुद्धे दैतेयादित्योर्भृशम् ॥४४॥  
 निहत्य दितिपुत्रास्तु राज्यं प्राप्य पुरन्दरः ।  
 शशास मुदितो लोकान्सर्विसंघान्सचारणान् ॥४५॥

इत्याषे श्रीमद्रामायणे बालमीकीये आदिकाव्ये बालकाण्डे

पञ्चचत्वारिंशः सर्गः ।

## **[II.—The Successive Events in the Reign of Dharmapaladeva**

**By Nalini Nath Das Gupta, M.A.**

Son of Gôpâla I, the founder of the Pâla monarchy in Bengal, Dharmapâla was the mightiest member of the dynasty, save and except his son and successor, Dêvapâladêva. It was Dharmapâladêva who elevated the Pâla Kingdom to the status of a Pâla empire, and in him Bengal had her own child who first dreamt the dreams of a Pan-Aryyâvartan empire and also attained enormous success in their vivification. And none can truly minimise the extent of the importance of devoting a few lines to the history of Dharmapâladêva with a view to place the known fundamental events of his reign in their due succession, notwithstanding the previous attempts made towards this direction.

The Daulatâbâd plates of the Râṣṭrakûṭa Śaṅkaragana referring to the reign of Dhruva-Dhârâvarṣa are dated in the year 793 A. D.<sup>1</sup> The Paithân plates of Dhruva's son, Gôvinda III, are dated in 794 A.D.<sup>2</sup> Hence Dhruva died either in 793 or in 794 A.D., and on his death Gôvinda III sat on the Râṣṭrakûṭa throne. According to the Râdhanapura copperplates of Gôvinda III, he had defeated a certain king of the Gurjara-Pratîhâra dynasty, who "in fear vanished, nobody knew whither."<sup>3</sup> The Wâni plates of Gôvinda III,<sup>4</sup> dated in the same year as with that of the Râdhanapura plates (808 A.D.), are a little less descriptive than the latter, and are silent on the point of the defeat of any Gurjara King. No other inscription issued previous to the year 808 A. D. refers to

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<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 193ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 103ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 242ff. cf. v. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant. Vol. XI, pp. 187ff.

that defeat of a Gurjara king by Govinda III. This, added to the silence of the Wāni plates in that respect as significant, leads one to suppose, not without impunity, that a Gurjara king (who was of course no other than Nāgabhaṭa II) was defeated by Gōvinda III between the dates of the Wāni and Rādhana-pura plates, i.e. in the very year 808 A.D. At any rate it is to be supposed that it occurred not long before 808 A.D., if not in the self-same year. It is, however, to be remembered, both the two sets of plates absolutely refrain from referring to any defeat inflicted by Gōvinda III on any Pāla king, or more particularly Dharmapālādēva, whose contemporary he was. But an inscription of Amōghavarṣa I, son of Gōvinda III, tells us that while Gōvinda III advanced as far north as the Himālayās in course of a campaign of conquest, two kings Dharma and Chakrāyudha voluntarily submitted to his greatness or prowess (*Svayamēvōpanatau cha yasya mahatastau Dharma-chakrāyudhau*), <sup>1</sup> the underlying import being that the submission was due to a defeat in an actual warfare. Mr. R. D. Banerjee, however, conjectures that the submission presupposes the invocation of assistance on the part of Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha to Gōvinda III, when the former were defeated by Nāgabhaṭa II. <sup>2</sup> But in this case we lose the inner purport of the term "greatness" or "prowess" as applied to Gōvinda III, and what is no less to be marked is that there is an utter lack of proof that Nāgabhaṭa II vanquished Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha before they were defeated by Gōvinda III. Again, there is a verse in the Nīlguṇḍ inscription of the time of Amōghavarṣa I which records : "Having fettered the people of Kērala and Mālava and Gauḍa, and, together with the Gurjaras, those who dwell in the hill-fort of Chitrakūṭa, and then the lords of Kāñchī, he (i.e. Gōvinda III) became (known as) Kīrtinārāyaṇa. <sup>3</sup> This verse is by itself sufficient to prove that there was a war between Gōvinda III and a king of

<sup>1</sup> J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXII, part LXI, p. 118, v. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Bāṅgālār Itihāsa, Vol. I, 2nd. ed. p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 105—6.

Gauḍa (i.e. Dharmapāladēva), or that the King of Gauḍa simply entered into an alliance with Gōvinda III against any third party. In other words, the relation that existed between the two, Dharmapāla and Govinda III, could not possibly be one of amicability, and the acknowledgment of submission by Dharmapāla (and Chakrāyudha) to Gōvinda III was due to losing the day in a battlefield. Furthermore, the Barôḍā plates of Kakkarāja II refers to Govinda III as "the personification of fame, who, taking from his enemies the Gangā and the Jamunā, charming with their waves, acquired at the same time that supreme position of lordship."<sup>1</sup> We shall notice later on that the Gangā and the Jamunā region was held at that time by Dharmapāla, and as such it lends additional colour to the proposition that there really took place an encounter between Gōvinda III and Dharmapāla, in consequence of which Dharmapāla being vanquished by the invader, submitted to him. But as the Wāni and Rāadhanapura plates cease to mention this defeat of Dharmapāla, it is natural to hold that it came to happen after the dates of the two inscriptions (808 A.D.)

From the famous Sāgaratāla inscription of Bhōja I,<sup>2</sup> the Gurjara-Pratībāra monarch, we learn with reference to his grandfather, Nāgabhaṭa II, that he once defeated "Chakrāyudha, whose low state was manifested by his dependence on another (or others)" (v. 9). The next verse (v. 10) says that he (Nāgabhaṭa II) "revealed like the rising sun, after having vanquished the lord of Vaṅga, who was like dense and terrible darkness caused by the array of a flood of chariots and a multitude of horses and elephants of the irresistible enemy." The actual wordings of the verse are :

Durvāra-vairi-vara-vāraṇa-vāji-vārayānaugha-saṃghaṭana-ghōra-ghanāndha-kāraṃ-Nirjitta vaṅgapatimāviraḥvud-vivasvān-uda-yanniva trijagadēka-vikāśa-kōṣaḥ. Dr. R. C. Majumdar modified the translation of the passage in the following manner :

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Surv. Ind. Ann. Rep., 1903-4, pp. 277 ff.



“Having vanquished his enemy, the lord of Vaṅga, who appeared like a mass of dark dense cloud in consequence of the crowd of mighty elephants, horses and chariots, Nāgabhaṭa who alone gladdens (the heart of) the three worlds, revealed himself, even as the rising sun, the sole source of the manifestation of the three worlds, reveals himself by vanquishing dense and terrible darkness.”<sup>1</sup>

But taking the whole compound “*durvāra-vairi-vaṛa-vaṛaṇa-vāji-vārayānaugha-saṁghaṭana-ghora ghanāndhakāraṁ*” as adjective to “*vaṅgapatī*”, which is perfectly permissible by grammar, the former rendering of the passage appears to be more to the mark, denoting, as a matter of consequence, that the elephants, horses and chariots, which caused the terrible darkness to the lord of Vaṅga before his defeat by Nāgabhaṭa II, belonged to an irresistible enemy (*durvāra-vairi*, who is thus a third person), and not to the *vaṅgapatī* himself, according as the second interpretation seems to read.

But who is this *Vaṅgapatī* or lord of Vaṅga? From the Bhāgalapura inscription of Nārāyanapāladeva we know that it was Dharmapāladeva who placed Chakrāyudha on the throne of Kānyakubja in place of one Indrarāja (Indrāyudha).<sup>2</sup> Chakrāyudha was thus a protégé of Dharmapāla, and any war against the protégé, directly or indirectly, means war against the suzerain also. Thus in the so-called Sanjan copperplate of Amoghavarṣa I, we find the name of Chakrāyudha, as it is natural, associated with that of Dharma (-pāladeva, Dharmachakrāyudhan). In the like manner, if the Sāgaratāla inscription referring, as it does, in its ninth verse to the defeat of Chakrāyudha, goes to mention in the following verse and just in the following verse, one *Vaṅgapatī*, the presumption is, even on the situation of the land of Vaṅga, that it was none but Dharmapāla himself. That Dharmapāla enjoyed the possession of Vaṅga at that time becomes evident from the fact that he whose army advanced as far as Gōkarṇa in the Bombay

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, pp. 204ff., cf. v. 3.

Presidency, and Kedāra-tīrtha in the western Himalayās,<sup>1</sup> and who predominated over almost the whole of the Aryyāvartta could hardly suffer the exclusion of Vaṅga, just bordering upon his "janakabhū" or paternal land, from his occupancy. Further, on his death, his nephew Jayapāla had some political treatment with the lords of Utkala and Prāgjyotiṣa,<sup>2</sup> but not with Vaṅga. If Vaṅga were an excluded jurisdiction of the Pālas at that time, Jayapāla would not perhaps refrain from giving attention to it, before or after he went to exact submission from the more distant, and thus less harmful, opponents. Again, if "Vaṅgapati" as referred to in the Sāgaratāla inscription would have been a different person from Dharmapāla, one is at a loss to trace the probable route which was followed by Nāgabhaṭa II in proceeding to Vaṅga, without reckoning or passing through Dharmapāla's territory, which, in itself, is an absurd idea. For aught we know Vaṅga slipped out of the Pāla occupation to the Khadgas not before the demise of Devapāla, and palæographical considerations do not place the Asraṭpur copperplates of Devakadga before the ninth century A.D. Hence the term "Vaṅgapati" may easily be supposed to have application to Dharmapāla. And the supposition becomes all the more conclusive when Vahukadhavala, a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa II,<sup>3</sup> defeated Dharma(-pāla), and in all probability, he accompanied Nāgabhaṭa II, and did not go to fight Dharmapāla, so powerful a sovereign, alone, at his own risk.

Now, the manner in which the same verse (v. 10) has been composed at once brings home to our mind that the darkness, that is to say the sequel of the defeat used figuratively, was still in the force of overwhelming, as it were, Dharmapāla; in other words, the defeat that Dharmapāla sustained at the hands of the "irresistible enemy" was not a matter of long past. Had it been so, what rational ground could possibly prevail so as to induce the inscriber to refer to such a defeat that took place long

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, pp. 304ff., cf. v. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bāṇatār Itihāsa. Vol. I. 2nd. ed., p. 191.

ago, thus allowing a good many other events to occur in the meantime, and which had practically no bearing upon the matter of the moment, viz. Nāgabhaṭa II's victory over Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha? Verily, the verse presupposes that the "irresistible enemy" won over the Vaṅgapati, ere long Nāgabhaṭa II himself had overthrown the latter. And this is a conclusion which also requires recognition in view of the fact that if we place the date of the defeat by the "irresistible enemy" much more before, the chronology of the Pālas is apt to suffer to an extent.

The cardinal fact in the history of India at the time was the struggle for supremacy amongst the three first-rate powers of the day, the Pālas, the Gurjara-Pratībāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. So, to a Gurjara-Pratībāra monarch who had just appeared as a subjugator of the Pāla king, the "irresistible enemy" as referred to in the inscription was undoubtedly a Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereign, who would thus either be Dhruva-Dhârāvârṣa or Gôvinda III. But as Dhruva was more or less a contemporary of Vatsarāja, whom he defeated sometime between 783 and 793 A.D., the reference apparently applies to Gôvinda III.

Placing then the contents of the above abstract (i.e. v. 10 of the Sāgaratāla inscription) *seriatim*, we find—

- (1) Dharmapāla had in the best of probability been recently defeated, at any rate not long back, by Govinda III;
- (2) Nāgabhaṭa II defeated Chakrāyudha, who ruled at Kānyakubja as a protégé of Dharmapāla;
- (3) he also vanquished Dharmapāla, the lord of Vaṅga;
- (4) thereupon he revealed like the rising sun, meaning he had a stupendous victory of far-reaching consequence.

These accepted, it appears that Dharmapāla encountered defeat at the hands of Nāgabhaṭa II, after the former had been vanquished by Gôvinda III. The so-called Sanjan copperplate of Amôghavarṣa I also supports this conclusion, inasmuch as it refers to the victory of Gôvinda III over Nāgabhaṭa II (v. 22) anterior to that over Dharma and Chakrāyudha (v. 23).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. B.B.E.A.S., Vol. XXII, part 61, p. 118.

We have presently seen that Nāgabhaṭa II himself was vanquished by Gōvinda III in or about 808 A.D., and that Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha had been defeated by Gōvinda III after that date. All these things may be put in other words, viz. that till 808 A.D., neither Dharmapāla nor Chakrāyudha was curbed by either Gōvinda III or Nāgabhaṭa II, but that it was after 801 A.D. that a defeat was inflicted upon the two by Gōvinda III, which was quickly followed by another by Nāgabhaṭa II. Mr. R. D. Banerjee propounds the theory that Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha met defeat at the hands of Nāgabhaṭa II before 808 A.D.<sup>1</sup> But we notice how the deductions from the Sāgaratāla and other inscriptions render it inadmissible. Again, are we to believe that Nāgabhaṭa II vanquished Chakrāyudha of Kanouj before 808 A.D., and still the latter continued to rule in the self-same place, so that when the northern expedition of Gōvinda III was led, he had accompanied his suzerain, Dharmapāla, to give battle to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invader after 808 A.D.? So far as we know Nāgabhaṭa II met Chakrāyudha (and also Dharmapāla) only once; how and when did Nāgabhaṭa come to occupy Kanouj? And, on the other hand, is it not strikingly curious to suppose that the inscribers of the Wāni and Rādhanapura plates absolutely forgot or neglected to record such an important and eventful expedition—perhaps the most glorious episode of Govinda III's sea-reer—as his northern campaign, in course of which both Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha succumbed to his prowess?

As such, it is not difficult to conceive where the true history lies. To be more conclusive, we turn to the Barōdā plates of Kakkarāja II, wherein a passage runs to the effect that, “having for the purpose of protecting (the king of) Mālava, who had been struck down, caused his arm to become the excellent door-bar of the country of the lord of the Gurjaras, who had become evilly inflamed by conquering the lord of the Gauḍa and the lord (?) of Vaṅga—his master (Govinda III)

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<sup>1</sup> Bāṅgālār Itihāsa, Vol. I. 2nd ed. p. 189.

thus enjoys (his) other (arm) also as (embodying all) the fruits of sovereignty." <sup>1</sup> These plates are dated in the year 812 A.D. and the lord of the Gurjaras, as referred to in these, has rightly been identified with Nāgabhaṭa II. It is easy to observe that the lord of the Gurjaras first overthrew the lord of Vaṅga and Gauḍa, i.e. Dharmapāla, and then struck down the lord of Mālava, and ultimately it was Kakkarāja II, who "caused his arm to become the excellent door-bar of the country of the lord of the Gurjaras." Hence it would not be unreasonable and unjustifiable if we go to attest the date of the victory of Nāgabhaṭa II over the lord of Mālava in or about 811 A.D., and that over Dharmapāla towards 810 A.D. Consequently Dharmapāla's submission to Gōvinda III may be supposed to have occurred a little earlier than 810 A.D., but after 808 A.D.

The inner significance of the extract from the Sāgaratāla inscription, quoted above, may be extended in other different ways. Withal it presupposes that the Gurjara-Pratihāras were not in the occupation of Kānyakubja or Mahōdaya (which became in later times their capital city) till at least Nāgabhaṭa II's inflicting defeat on Chakrāyudha, perhaps sometime between 808 and 810 A.D. In the Śaka year 705 (expired) corresponding to 783-784 A.D., Vatsarāja, the father of Nāgabhaṭa II, was a ruler of Avantī <sup>2</sup>, the real cradle of the Gurjara-Pratihāra power. After that and before 793 A.D., he was defeated by Dhruva, whereupon he fled northwards to the desert of Rājputanā, whence his return is doubtful, for it is recorded nowhere. True, before he was defeated by Dhruva, he himself inflicted a defeat upon Dharmapāla, but there is hardly any reason to suppose that he reaped the harvest of his victory to any considerable extent. As Dr. R. C. Majumdar notices, "It has been generally concluded that Vatsarāja invaded Gauḍa and must have of course conquered the intermediate states. This view, however, has probably to be given up in view of a verse in the Sanjan copperplate of Amoghavarṣa I. It tells

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XII. p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 253; also cf. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI., pp. 195, 196.

us with reference to Dhruva, that 'he took away the white umbrellas of the king of Gauḍa (who was) destroyed between the Ganges and Jamunâ'. This verse seems to refer to an encounter between Dhruva and the King of Gauḍa somewhere between the Ganges and the Jamunâ. That the Râṣṭrakûta king had actually proceeded so far in his career of conquest is also proved by a verse in the Barôdâ plates of Kakkarâja. The important points established by these references may be summarised as follows :—

- (i) That the kingdom of Gauḍa stretched as far at least as Allahabad in those days.
- (ii) That Vatsarâja defeated the King of Gauḍa.
- (iii) That, probably not long afterwards, Vatsarâja as well as the King of Gauḍa were defeated by Dhruva".<sup>1</sup>

So then it appears that Vatsarâja, a king of Avantî, came into conflict with Dharmapâla whose empire extended in the west as far as Allahabad before this contest and defeat. But there is scarcely any room to conjecture or contend that Vatsarâja ever conquered Kanouj. From the Sâgaratâla inscription we understand that, "he seized by main force the imperial sway from the famous house of Bhandî".<sup>2</sup> This Bhandî has been tried to be identified with the maternal cousin of Harṣavardhana who bore a similar name. But so far as we know, there was "a commotion which followed the usurpation of Harsha's throne by Arjuna"<sup>3</sup> and there is no proof that Arjuna, a minister to Harṣavardhana, was a person who belonged to the house of Bhandî. Then, again, we are aware that the throne of Kanouj passed to the famous Yaśôvarman, who ascended the throne perhaps in 728 A.D. or so,<sup>4</sup> but not a bit of testimony exists to establish the lineal descent of that monarch from the

<sup>1</sup> Jour. Dept. Letters, published by the Cal. Univ., Vol. X, 1923, pp. 34, 35.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. V. 7.

<sup>3</sup> J.A.S.B., New Series, Vol. XVI, 1920, p. 322.

<sup>4</sup> As supposed by the late Dr. V. Smith; vide J.R.A.S. 1908, pp. 765ff.

house of Bhaṇḍi, the maternal cousin of Harṣavardhana. So it may be easily gainsaid that the Bhaṇḍi of the Sāgaratāla inscription was the same as the Bhaṇḍi of the Harṣacharitam. Besides, if Indrāyudha was ruling at Kanouj contemporaneously with Vatsarāja in Avantī, and if Dharmapāla placed Chakrāyudha on the throne of Kanouj by ousting the same Indrāyudha, and again if Chakrāyudha was a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa II, son of Vatsarāja, how could Vatsarāja acquire the possession of Kānyakubja by dethroning a member of the house of Bhaṇḍi? Consequently, the house of Bhaṇḍi as referred to in the inscription must be regarded to have held sway in any other site than Kanouj, and it is not improbable that it was ruling somewhere in the vicinity of Avantī.

Under these circumstances what is natural is to suppose that Kanouj felt for the first time the brunt of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra rule in the very reign of Nāgabhaṭa II after he had succeeded in defeating Chakrāyudha. And it is to be recalled here that Bhōjadēva I, the grandson of Nāgabhaṭa II, issued a grant from Kanouj (Mahōdaya) early in his reign,<sup>1</sup> and Rāmabhadra, the son of Nāgabhaṭa II, was too weak to add an acre of land to the original inheritance.<sup>2</sup> This renders additional evidence in favour of the conquest of Kanouj by Nāgabhaṭa II himself.

Let us now consider the inscriptions of Dharmapāla's reign. Two inscriptions, and two only, have as yet been discovered which refer themselves to the reign of Dharmapāladēva. The one which was issued earlier than the other and is generally known as the Bōdh Gayā inscription of Dharmapāladēva is dated in the 26th year of his reign,<sup>3</sup> while the other and later inscription is the famous Khālimpura grant of Dharmapāladēva, dated in his 32nd regnal year.<sup>4</sup> The former inscription is

<sup>1</sup> The Daultpurā plate, dated samvat 590=843 A.D. Ep. Ind., Vol. V, pp. 208ff.

<sup>2</sup> Read Ep. Ind. Vol. XVIII. pp. 105, 106.

<sup>3</sup> J.A.S.B., New series, Vol. IV. pp. 101, 102; also Gauḍalēkhamālā, pp. 29-32.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. Ind., Vol. IV. pp. 243ff; also Gauḍalēkhamālā, pp. 9-28.

significant in this respect that it records no usual epithet of a suzerain monarch but mentions Dharmapāla as only a "mahābhuk", or simply a king. If the term is strictly paid heed to, it may of course mean that Dharmapāladēva was not as late as the 26th year of his reign a very great emperor, who could claim with propriety the epithets due to one who swayed the imperial rod, on the analogy that Bhōjadēva I, son of Nāgabhaṭa II, is sometimes regarded not to have attained the imperial dignity by at least the year 843 A.D., on the score that the Daulatpurā plate of Bhōjadēva I, dated in Samvat 900, corresponding to 843 A.D., refers to him simply as a "mahārāja".<sup>1</sup> But against this it may be contended with considerable reason that the votive inscription issued in the 26th regnal year of Dharmapāladēva was issued not by the Pāla court, nor by any member of the royal dynasty, nor even by one who seems to have been dependent on Dharmapāla, whereas the Daulatpurā inscription of the year 843 A.D. was issued from the very camp of Mahōdaya by Bhōjadēva I himself. Hence any rigid application of the underlying import of such a use is to be made with particular caution in the former case, for there is every chance of its being used haphazardly by a disinterested person like Kēsava who issued the inscription. In his 32nd regnal year, Dharmapāla, however, appears with the titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Paramēśvara, and Mahārājādhirāja. This we learn from that grant which at the same time records an account conveying at once to our mind the idea that almost all northern India paid homage to Dharmapāladēva, whose glory was sung by all, including even the cowherds, children and those that roam in the forests.

But the question arises here, what was the probable time when Dharmapāla could establish himself in such a sovereign position? It cannot be placed after 811 A.D., when the star of Nāgabhaṭa II, his implacable opponent, was in the ascendant. Necessarily it requires to be placed before that and hence also before Dharmapāla acknowledged humiliation to Gōvinda III,

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<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind., Vol. V. pp. 208ff.



circa 809 A.D. But at the same time it cannot be fixed long before 809 A.D., for, in that case, the dates of the accession of Dharmapāladēva, as also of his father Gōpāladēva I, are apt to fall back so early that very few would concede to that. So the only recourse left to us is to suppose that the date of the Khālimpura inscription corresponds with 808 A.D. or thereabouts. This is by no means improbable, for up till that date neither Gōvinda III nor Nāgabhaṭa II seems to have encroached upon the Pāla territory proper, and Dharmapāla, in the absence of an active rival, could well enjoy a suzerainty similar to that as recorded in the Khālimpura grant, unabated, almost all over the Aryyāvarṭta. If this be correct, the date of the accession of Dharmapāla is to be marked some time about 776 A.D., if not earlier, following the death of Gōpāladēva I.

It is not, however, difficult to find that all the known factors of the life-history of Dharmapāladēva fit well with each other upon this hypothesis, keeping at the same time consistency with all the versions of the contemporary inscriptions.

Of Dharmapāla we know the following facts for certain :—

- (1) The Gurjara king Vat sarāja inflicted a severe defeat upon him.
- (2) Dhruva, the Rāstrakūṭa monarch, and father of Gōvinda III, also defeated him.
- (3) Dharmapāla installed a certain Chakrāyudha on the throne of Kanouj, to the joy of the people of Pāñchāla, and with the ready approval of the Bhōjas, Madras, Matsyas, Kurus, Yadus, Yavanas, Avantīs, Gāndhāras, and Kīras, in place of one Indrāyudha, the former king of that place,<sup>1</sup> who was certainly reigning till 783 A.D. (expired) at least.<sup>2</sup>
- (4) Gōvinda III vanquished Dharmapāla.
- (5) So also Nāgabhaṭa II did.

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<sup>1</sup> Khālimpura plate of Dharmapāla, v. 12, and Bhāgalapura inscription of Nārāyaṇapāladēva, v. 3.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Jaina Harivaṃśa, cf. Eq. Ind. Vol. VI. pp. 195, 196.

It would suffice if only we deal with the relative priority of these events.

Leaving aside the question how Dhruva succeeded his brother Govinda II, a king recorded to be self-conceited and sensual, who did not cease to rule till 779 A. D. (the date of the Dhulia plates of Kakkarāja which was issued in the prosperous reign of Gōvinda II, and which has been proved not to be spurious),<sup>1</sup> we should consider the real date of the accession of Dhruva by attaining the whole sovereignty, as after 779 A.D. (i.e. in or about 780 A.D.), while the year 793 A.D., the date of the Daulatābād plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Saṅkaragana, was his final year. Dhruva defeated Vatsarāja, the Gurjara Pratihāra king, who himself had "appropriated the fortune of royalty of the Gauda" some time between 784 and 793 A.D. It is, however, not correct to suppose that the 783 A.D. was probably the last year of Vatsarāja's reign, whereafter he fled to the desert of Rajputana. If then Dharmapāla began to rule from circa 776 A.D., the King of Gauda who was defeated by Vatsarāja was none but Dharmapāla himself. The date of Vatsarāja's defeat by Dhruva can be brought within a still more narrow limit, on the consideration that the last years of Dhruva fortuitously saw a political crisis within his own realm. Its effect was so heightened and his position perhaps became so insecure that he had even to propose to instal his son Gōvinda on his throne, on account of the preponderance of his son's abilities, which proposal was however, as we learn, humbly refused by the son.<sup>2</sup> As soon as Dhruva died, the utter discontent prevailing behind the throne burst forth into a dangerous revolution headed by twelve princes, but that was successfully quelled by Gōvinda III. It does not in any way appear probable that while such untoward events were in existence in his own radius of concerns, Dhruva was out on invading the kingdoms of other princes, suffering the unpleasant domestic

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 183 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Rādhnapura plates of Gōvinda III, v. 12, Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 24<sup>o</sup> ff.

affairs run as they would. This easily lead us to suppose that at least for the last few years of his reign Dhruva got himself stationed at his own place, and hence Vatsarāja seems to have been defeated by Dhruva perhaps not later than 790 A.D.

In the same way Dharmapāla's defeat, too, by Dhruva seems to have occurred not later than 790 A.D., as well as not before 784 A.D.

According to the Barôdâ plates of Kakkarāja, Dhruva had conquered the basin of the Ganges and the Jumna. From the Râdhanapura plates of Gôvinda III, we learn that Vatsarāja, being defeated by Dhruva, fled into the trackless desert. And as the so-called Sanjan copperplate of Amôghavarṣa I tells us, Dhruva defeated the king of Gauḍa in a battle that took place between the Ganges and the Jumna. The symmetry of the versions of all these three inscriptions can best be preserved if we suppose that Dhruva defeated in course of the one and same expedition both the lords of the Gurjara-Pratihâras and Gauḍa; Vatsarāja, who was defeated first, fled towards the desert, whereupon Dhruva advanced further northwards or north-eastwards and met and defeated Dharmapāla. During this absence from his kingdom, it seems, the hostile elements of his own territories developed and tried to make headway.

It cannot be determined at present with accuracy when Vatsarāja defeated Dharmapāla. It might be before 784 A.D. and thus 790 A.D., too, or it might also be between those dates. But one thing appears probable that Dharmapāla sustained defeat by Vatsarāja not long before Vatsarāja himself was defeated by Dhruva.

Between 790 and 808 or 809 A.D., Dharmapāla does not appear to have incurred any defeat from any quarter whatsoever. For these eighteen or nineteen years, or in round figures two decades, he found sufficient time to raise himself to the position of an overlord of so vast a land.

The last days of Dharmapāla could not be happy or prosperous, for the two great invasions, one after another, certainly much debilitated his strength and power. It is

probable that he did not long outlive his defeat by Nāgabhaṭa II. As Mr. R. D. Banerjee puts it, Tāranātha cannot be quoted as authority in respect of the duration of Dharmapāla's reign (64 years), for the monk-historian could not even ascertain the relation amongst the first three Pāla monarchs.<sup>1</sup> To do justice to the inference that Dharmapāla died not long after the invasion of Nāgabhaṭa II, we may turn to the Monghyr copperplate of Dēvapāladeva, which reads a line to the effect that he (Devapāla) "inherited the kingdom of his father free from troubles."<sup>2</sup> (Rājya māpa nirupaplavaṁ pituḥ). It is evident that Gōvinda III on the one side and Nāgabhaṭa II on the other, Dēvapāla could, on his accession, seldom regard his position a very safe and secure one. *Primâ facie*, it appears that as Gōvinda III did not cease to rule till 814 A.D., the accession of Devapāla must in a necessary course fall after 814 A.D., i.e. not before 814 A.D. But as we know, just on the death of Gōvinda III, some tributary Râṣtrakûṭas rebelled, whereupon Kakkarāja II, defeating them, "speedily placed Amôghavarṣa on the throne"<sup>3</sup> and these tributary Râṣtrakûṭas were headed by Gōvindarāja, brother of Kakkarāja II.<sup>4</sup> It is not unreasonable to conjecture that there was something wrong in the constitution of the Râṣtrakûṭas which was yielding discontent amongst the subordinate princes from time to time, and that the last days of Gōvinda III too, like those of his father, were perhaps plagued with domestic troubles. Else it is difficult to account for why Amôghavarṣa I, the chosen heir of Gōvinda III, was thrown into these troubles just before he actually came to the throne. If that was really the fact, the conclusion is irresistible that home politics rendered Gōvinda III quite harmless outside the sphere in which his direct influence and interests were limited. So, then, any trouble from the

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<sup>1</sup> Pāṅgālār Itihâsa, Vol. I, 2nd. ed., p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, pp. 254ff., cf. V. 12; also Gauḍalākhamâlâ, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 201.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 102ff.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa quarter, even a little before the death of Gōvinda III (814 A.D.) might not be seriously apprehended by the Pālas at that time, and thus if Devapāla be regarded to have sat on the throne even before the death of Gōvinda III, there is nothing to be wondered at, for that was not an unsafe time for the Pālas as far as the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were concerned. As to Nāgabhaṭa II., it is true, he was alive at that time; nay, he was perhaps then at the acme of his power. But what we should not lose sight of is that the spheres of his activities at that time absolutely lay in the western parts of Northern India. The Sāgaratāla inscription of Bhōja I records his (Nāgabhaṭa II's) forcibly taking the hill-fortresses of the rulers of Anartta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa and Matsya — all situated in a more or less western direction from Dharmapāla's territory — after having mentioned the defeat of the lord of Vaṅga by Nāgabhaṭa II. <sup>1</sup> Hence it would be permissible to conclude that Dharmapāla died even before the death of Gōvinda III, say in 812 or 813 A.D.; at any rate, there is however no valid reason or justification to place it later by seven or eight years, in which case chronology is perverted.

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<sup>1</sup> Arch. Surv. Ind. Ann. Rep. 1903-4, pp. 280-81.

## IV—Marriage Customs of the Oraons

### (1)—Preliminary Ceremonies

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

The Oraon considers marriage as essential for every person of either sex. Old bachelors and maidens are practically unknown amongst the tribe. Even most Oraon deities are believed to have each a consort. And the Oraon celebrates the marriage ceremonies even of his paddy seedlings, his fruit trees, his tanks and wells. When an Oraon youth procures a new shield, he ceremonially puts vermilion marks on it as on a bride at marriage and calls it the marriage of the shield; and this ceremony must be performed before the shield can be carried in a wedding procession or to a *Jātrā* or dancing festival. Similarly on purchasing a new musical instrument such as a *nāgera* drum or a *rūnj* drum (but not a *māṇḍal* drum) and a *narsinghā* pipe or bugle, an Oraon must anoint it with three parallel lines of vermilion by way of celebrating its "marriage". Again at Oraon weddings musical instruments, whether belonging to the family or brought by hired musicians, are anointed with three vermilion marks by a woman of the house and a few grains of *ārua* rice sprinkled on them.

Twenty or twenty-five years ago, Oraon young men and women invariably used to select their own partners in life themselves, and their choice used to be communicated to their parents through their friends or relatives. Adult marriage was the rule. A young man would rarely think of marriage before he was at least eighteen or nineteen years old, and a girl would not be married before she was fifteen or sixteen

The Oraon's recognition of the necessity of marriage

Marriageable age and selection of husband and wife

or even later. But now this state of things has changed in most parts of the Orāon country. Mainly through contact with their Hindu and Hinduised neighbours and partly also as a protest against the premarital sexual laxity that not long ago prevailed—and still to some extent prevails in places amongst the non-christian Orāon youth of both sexes—most Orāon parents now themselves select brides for their sons and bridegrooms for their daughters, although the consent of the parties to their marriage, when they are old enough to have an opinion of their own, is generally sought beforehand by the parents. In most cases now-a-days Orāon boys are married between their sixteenth and twentieth year and in some cases even at a lower age than sixteen and in a very few cases at a higher age than twenty; and Orāon girls are generally married between their thirteenth and sixteenth year, and in some cases at a lower age than thirteen and in a few cases at a higher age than sixteen. Such late marriages as now occur are mostly due to poverty or temporary social ostracism of a family. Generally speaking, among the Orāons the more well-to-do a family, the earlier is the age at which its girls are now married.

It is only in the cases of marriages of widows and widowers, that there is no limit to the age of either party. A widow is free to marry in any clan (*gotra*) except her father's. Subject to this restriction, widows and widowers are free to choose their own partners. The relations of the late husband of a widow have no right over her except when the younger brother of her late husband marries her in the *Sāgāi* form proper for a widow. But now-a-days this old customary right of levirate cannot be enforced against the will of the female.

As I have said, until lately young men and women among the Orāons were allowed free sexual intercourse with each other before marriage, with the only restriction that the pair should not belong to the same totemic clan or *gotra*.

**Intercourse of the sexes**

As a matter of fact,<sup>1</sup> however, such intercourse between boys and girls of the same *gotra*, if not actually condoned, is punished only with a fine sufficient to provide for a feast to the villagers or at least the sacrifice of a white cock to Dharmes or God. As I have stated elsewhere, among the Orāon bachelors and maidens, in villages where Hindu and Christian influences have not made much impression and the relations of the sexes before marriage are as loose as before, most Orāon bachelors have each his own sweetheart among the maidens of his village, and if a boy of the bachelors' dormitory is found to go with a maiden who is known to be the sweetheart of another boy, the headman of the bachelors' dormitory punishes the offending young man with a fine. Although the grains of *āruā* (sun-dried) rice and bits of turmeric that are thrown on the newly-wedded Orāon pair are ~~believed~~ to expiate the sin of their premarital licence, it not unoften happens that a girl continues to be on intimate terms with her old sweetheart until she bears a child to her husband. Cohabitation with immature girls is, however, not common. In cases where Orāon girls are now-a-days married before they attain puberty, the husband refrains from cohabiting with her until the wife attains maturity. Even in adult marriage a man does not cohabit with his wife immediately after marriage, but the practice of visiting one's wife by stealth for sometime after marriage is unknown to the Orāon.

Marriage in the same totemic clan (*gotra*) is regarded as a sin productive of dire calamity to the tribe, and is, on no account, permitted. Even sexual intercourse without marriage between persons of the same *gotra* is considered in much the same light. Besides community of same *gotra*, the only other forbidden degrees of consanguinity in relation to marriage are, strictly speaking, a brother and sister and children of two brothers or two sisters. The old orthodox rule is said to be that if either of the parents of

<sup>1</sup> *The Orāons of Chota Nagpur* (Rauchi, 1915), p. 249.



a boy was suckled at the same mother's breast with either of the parents of a girl, there can be no marriage between such a boy and girl. The reason assigned for the taboo on the marriage between a son and a daughter of the same mother though not of the same father is that they were suckled at the same mother's breast. In practice, however, the Orāon now recognises relationship up to three generations as a bar to marriage between members of different *gotras*. As a corollary to the old rule prohibiting marriage among "milk-relations" we find that when an Orāon child by reason of the death of its mother in its infancy has been suckled at the breast of another Orāon woman, marriage is not allowed between the son or daughter of such a woman and her foster-child. Another artificial relationship which is regarded as a bar to marriage between two families is the ceremonial friendship of various forms customary in the tribe. When two Orāon boys have entered into a ceremonial friendship with each other, marriage between members of the two families is not permissible although they may belong to different *gotras*. When however some member of either family migrates and permanently lives in a different village, his branch of the family is exempted from the bar against inter-marriage.

As a general rule, an Orāon has a natural disinclination towards marrying his son or daughter to a girl or boy of his own village, and such marriages are rather infrequent. This is probably a reminiscence of the times when, not very long ago, the Orāon families of a village in most cases belonged to the same totemic clan among whom intermarriage was not permissible. Marriages between such near relatives as are not sanctioned by custom are believed to be punished by Dharmes, the Orāon Supreme God, with either loss of sight or leprosy or malignant ulcers and the like. It is the husband of such a marriage who is said to suffer such punishment for it is he who has sought the match. The wife is not visited with such punishment. The sin may be expiated by sacrificing a white goat or cock to Dharmes and drinking a few drops of the

blood of the sacrificed goat or fowl. Under Hindu influence, the drinking of water in which copper and leaves of the *tū'si* or sacred basil plant (*ocimum sanctum*, Willd) have been dipped is also prescribed. The *panch*, or council of village elders, as representatives of the whole community, further levies on the offender a fine sufficient for providing a feast to the Orāon village community. Where, however, one of the offending parties belongs to a different tribe, the punishment inflicted on the Orāon offender is excommunication from the tribe until the non-Orāon partner is given up. Then alone can the Orāon offender be restored to his tribal rights by taking a few drops of the blood of the sacrificial animal or fowl and by sipping a little water sanctified with copper and *tū'si* leaves.

Monogamy is the rule with the Orāon ; but an Orāon who is not blessed with issue from his first wife may take a second wife. Polyandry is unknown and so also the practice of lending or exchanging wives or any form of what might bear the semblance of "group-marriage." Although the virginity of girls is not often preserved till marriage, Orāon custom does not require that a wife should be deflowered by a person other than the husband or that at marriage she should have connection with other persons before she may cohabit with her husband. Marriage by purchase is the rule, except in the case of a *ghardijoa*. A *ghardijoa* or *ghar-damad* is either a boy selected by a childless Orāon as a prospective son-in-law brought to his own house and subsequently married to his daughter and installed as the prospective heir to all his property (except *Bhuinhari* lands), or is a poor Orāon boy who has not means enough to pay the customary bride-price and therefore lives and works like Jacob at the house of his prospective father-in-law for a year or two before marriage—the services thus rendered being regarded as the equivalent for bride-price. Except in the case of a *ghar-damad*, an Orāon does not ordinarily reside with his wife at her parents' house, either wholly or in part, but either the husband or the wife

separately or both together pay short visits as guests to the latter's parents' house generally on ceremonial occasions.

## (2)—Betrothal

When parents think of seeking a bride for their son, they set about it by employing some comparatively clever friend or relative to act as the *āgia* or go-between. When the *āgia* finds a suitable girl and the boy's parents consider her an eligible match for their boy, the *āgia* visits the parents of the girl generally after the Karam festival in *Bhado* (August) and makes the marriage proposal on behalf of the boy's parents. If the girl's parents (or in their absence, uncle or brother) entertain the proposal as worth considering they in their turn send one or more friends or relatives to see the boy and his house.

When both parties are satisfied as to the desirability of the match, the girl's father invites the boy's people to his house on an appointed day for the "feet-washing" (*kheda-nodhna*) ceremony. On that day three or five friends and relatives of the boy go to the boy's father's house. On their arrival, the female relatives of the girl come out with a small earthenware pot filled with mustard oil and one or more brass-plates filled with water, place the brass-plates before them and anoint the feet and legs of the guests with the oil. The guests then put their feet into the plates of water and the women wash their legs. The guests then place in the oil-pot the small sum of an anna or two as a present to these women.

The guests now take their seats on a palm-leaf mat spread out for them in the *verandah* or in the *angan* of the house, and then a male relation of the girl asks them whether they have seen any omens on the way. If they have come across any bad omens, the *āgiā* or some other member of the party describes it; otherwise he says, "We have fared all right on the way."

Among good omens (*sāgūn*) may be named the sight, at starting from one village or arrival at the other village, of a vessel filled with water, of some lamp burning.

Among bad omens may be mentioned the sound of a *dheehua* (king-crow) cawing, the sight of a fox crossing the path of the party from left to right, the sight of an empty vessel being carried to fetch water just when the party is leaving their village or entering the other village, the sight of cowdung being carried to the manure-pit or to the fields.

If the omens seen on the way are reported to be satisfactory or at any rate not altogether bad, an earthen lamp is lighted inside the house with wick and oil (other than kerosene) and the guests are treated to a dinner. If the lamp goes on burning till the dinner is ended, it is considered an auspicious sign even if bad omens were met with on the way. But even if good omens or at least no bad omens had been seen on the way, and yet the lamp goes out before the dinner is over, the match is broken off, as the extinction of the light is believed to portend the death of one of the parties to the marriage if marriage should take place.

After the lamp is lighted but before the men begin to eat, a jar of rice-beer known as *khheta uinā borey* or *negborey* is brought out, water poured into it, and the liquor strained.

**The ceremonial drinking of rice-beer (Neg Borey')** When the beer is thus made ready for use, it is poured into another earthen vessel (*tāoa*), and from this vessel two *lōtas* or metal jugs are filled, one of which is made over to the men of the boy's party and the other to the headmen of the girl's village. One of the headmen or elders of the boy's village who may be in the party takes a cup made of jack-fruit leaves, pours some of the beer (*boreyam*) into it and drops the beer three times on the ground as an offering to the ancestor-spirits whose blessing on the betrothed are thus invoked: "*Phalnās-gāhi aur phalni-gāhi benjā-gāhi thik thik māujā. Se irghāi ullā bechhā biekhehkim nālā kekā.*" A marriage has been arranged between so-and-so (names the boy) and so-

and-so (names the girl). May they spend their days well (i.e. in happiness)". This is followed by a set speech by one of the men of the boy's party which is replied to by a suitable set speech by a man of the girl's party. The boy's father or other guardian now pays one rupee to the guardian of the girl as *ba'i-tisigna* or *dura khulauni* (gate money) which is subsequently credited to the account of the bride-price. Then the guests are treated to plenty of liquor, after which all sit down to a hearty dinner. Just when they sit down to dinner, a man of the boy's side exchanges his plate of rice with that of a man of the girl's side sitting next to him. After this mutual exchange is repeated twice again, they all fall to eating. Dinner over, powdered tobacco with lime is distributed to the guests. Then after exchange of salutations with the girl's people, the boy's party take leave.

### (3)—Lowri-Ghurowni

After harvest, the boy's father or guardian again invites the girl's people to his house, and on the appointed day the girl's father or other guardian goes with a few relatives to the betrothed boy's house. On their arrival there, their feet are washed by the women of the boy's family in the manner described above as *Kheda-nodhna*. They are given the ceremonial drink (*negbōrey*) which is followed by a feast.

Soon after this, a similar *Lowri-ghurowni* ceremony is celebrated at the house of the girl's parents where a few of the boy's side attend on invitation. On this occasion, the *panches* of both sides settle the amount of the bride-price and the number of cloths to be presented to the bride's people. The amount of the customary bride-price is different in different *pārḥās*, varying from about Rs. 7 to about Rs. 14, or more. When the parties to the marriage belong to two different *pārḥās*, where the customary rates vary, the boy's people usually object to pay at the rate customary in the girl's *pārḥā* if that rate be higher than that of the boy's *pārḥā*. And the boy's party usually gain their point if they can cite instances in which people of the girl's *pārḥā* were married to brides of the boy's

*pārḥā* and paid bride-price at the lower rate customary in the latter *pārḥā*. In such cases a compromise is generally effected. As for presents of cloths to be made by the boy's parents to the girl's relatives, the *pañcā* has no voice in the matter, and the demand of the girl's people on this score has to be met. As a rule, such presents must consist of at least one cloth for the girl's mother and one for the girl's father's mother (if alive).

**(4)—Fixing the date of marriage (Lagan bandhi)**

Sometime later, two or three men of either the boy's or the girl's side will go to the house of the other party to have a suitable date fixed for the celebration of the wedding. The third, fifth, ninth, eleventh and thirteenth days of the moon are considered as auspicious days. In any case Thursdays and Saturdays must be avoided as inauspicious.

**(5)—“Koha-Pahi” (Ht., the big relationship feast)**

On a date appointed beforehand two or more messengers (*āgiās*) go very early in the morning from the girl's house to the boy's. On their arrival, the women of the house come out with a brass plate and a brass jug full of water with which they wash the feet of the guests. Then they are regaled with a ceremonial pot of rice-beer known as the *Jurub-khittur-borey* and are treated to breakfast at about 11 a.m.

After that a pig or a goat is killed in the presence of the two messengers. These men as well as one or two men of the girl's side now skin and dress the slain animal. In the afternoon other friends and relatives of the girl's side, numbering from seven or eight to twenty or more, arrive accompanied by Goṣāit musicians playing upon *nāgerā* drums and *narsinghā* pipes. On the arrival of the guests their feet are anointed with oil and washed by a few women of the house for whom the guests each puts a few pice in the oil-pot. The guests then salute the boy's people and take their seats. Some member of the family (who must not be a widow or a widower) brings out a leaf-mat known as *maina-piṭi* or *neg-paṭi* (ceremonial-mat), and the mat is turned upside down three times. The guests are now given tobacco and lime which they

mix together and chew. Two jars of ceremonial liquor (*neg bōrey*) called *khetā-ninā-bōrey* are then brought out and strained in their presence.

Two new earthen jugs are now filled with the liquor. One of these is handed over to the elders (*pañch*) of the girl's village and the other to the elders of the boy's village. The *pañch* of the boy's village in company with their fellow-villagers then go to their village *ākḥra* with the jug of liquor and a few leaf-cups; and similarly the *pañch* and other men of the girl's side go with their jug of liquor and a few leaf-cups to some open place not far off. In each party a man of each *gotra* or clan takes up a leaf-cup in his hands, a little of the liquor is poured into each leaf-cup, and the man drops, by way of offering, a little liquor from his leaf-cups three times on the ground, first to the spirits of his own deceased ancestors, then to the ancestors of the betrothed boy and girl, as the case may be, and lastly to the *gāon-deoti* or the presiding spirits of his village. The rice-beer that is left over in each of the leaf-cups is then distributed to all the members of their respective parties who drink it as sacramental (*prasādi*) liquor. Then all return to the boy's house.

There, the rest of the *khetā-ninā-bōrey* is drunk by all present. While the guests are engaged in drinking, the boy escorted by two companions, one walking before and the other behind him, proceeds to make obeisance to all. One of the two companions carries on his shoulders a carrying-pole at one end of which is slung a large jar of rice-beer in a carrying-net and at the other end a jar of water in another such net. When the three boys stand before the assembled guests, three men of the girl's party come forward and each of them takes up one of the boys in his arms and sits down with the boy who is now seated on his knees. All the men of the girl's party then make presents of from one copper pice to a rupee each to the bridegroom elect. Then each of the three boys makes obeisance (*gōr-lāgi* or touching the feet) to all present by touching the feet of each man with the hands and then touching his own forehead with the hand.

During the time that this *gōr-lāgi* is going on, someone of the girl's party holds in his hand a lighted torch made of a sickle round the iron blade of which a cloth soaked in oil has been wound and lighted.

Now, three young men of the boy's village come forward each carrying a leaf-cup full of flowers, and stick flowers into the hair (if long) or over the ears of each guest (first of the girl's side and then of the boy's) and makes obeisance to him by touching his feet with the hands and then touching his own forehead. The men of his girl's side make three hats of leaves or straw and put one on the head of each of the three boys. Then the father or guardian of the girl makes a small payment of an anna or so to the boys. The men of the girl's side then regale themselves with the pot of rice-beer which the bridegroom brought for the ceremonial touching of the feet (*gōr-lāgi*).

Two more pots of ceremonial rice-beer (*neg-borey*) are now brought out from the boy's house into the courtyard, and water poured into them, and a quantity sufficient for consumption by the *panches* is drained off into an earthen bowl (*tāoa*). The *panches* or elders of both sides sit down on a mat spread out east to west in length, the elders of each party occupying one part of the mat. Two earthen jugs each with a spout attached to it are placed on the mat at the dividing line between the two parties, one jug representing the bride's side and the other the bridegroom's. A number of *bavis* or small pulse-cakes are also placed there. The two jugs, called *sarkhis*, are so placed that their spouts touch each other. The jug of the girl's side is placed a little higher than the other jug, so that liquor poured into the former may flow through the spout into the latter. When both the jugs are filled with rice-beer in this way, a silver coin or rupee is placed on the brim of the jug of the boy's side and a copper coin or pice on the brim of the jug of the girl's side.



The *panches* or elders of both sides now indulge in mutual jokes and jests. Thus, a man of the girl's party says, "One of our male-calves has run away. The cowherd says the calf has strayed to this place so we have come here." A man of the boy's party replies, "The cowherd has deceived you. No he-calf has been to our place." One of the *panches* of the girl's side then makes over as many *baris* to the *panches* of the other side as the number of rupees of bride-price demanded. The number of *baris* is always in excess of the money actually wanted. The *panches* of the boy's side will give back only so many out of these *baris* as represent the actual number of rupees already agreed upon as bride-price. Then the *panches* rise from their seats, and all embrace one another by clasping one another by the arms and hugging one another to the bosom. They then resume their seats and drink up the liquor. Then the *panches* make obeisance to the rest of the assembled guests on both sides. Then all drink and are treated to a feast of boiled rice, curry made of *bari* (dried pulse-cakes) and goat's flesh. Then all take tobacco-powder mixed with lime. By evening the guests take leave after mutual *salāms* (obeisance). The girl's party leave their *āgūā* or somebody else to escort the boy's party to the girl's house on the following day.

Next morning at least two men, known as *jurub khittur*, from the boy's house go to the girl's place for the *kōhā-pāhi* ceremony; and the same procedure is followed as in the girl's house, the only difference being that when the girl goes to make *gōr-lāgi*, her two companions, who must be females, instead of carrying a carrying-pole (which is taboo to females) carry on their heads, one a jar of water and another a jar of rice-beer, and after *baris* are given and taken as before, actual silver coins or rupees are paid by the boy's party to the girl's father or guardian as bride-price, together with the number of clothes (*sāris*) agreed upon.

## V.—The Story of a Fool and its Sanskrit and Buddhist Parallel

By Kalipada Mitra, M.A., B.L.

The following tale has been taken from the *Folk Tales of Hindustan* by Shaikh Chilli (edited by the late Rai Bahadur Srish Chandra Basu, Panini Office, Allahabad):—

A fool was invited to a feast by his father-in-law a few days after his marriage. His friends advised him to be circumspect in his diet and not to eat or drink much or show that he was hungry as opposed to good-breeding for a son-in-law. When he went he found many rich dishes and delicacies prepared for him. Although his mouth watered, he did not eat a single mouthful, mindful of the advice of his friends. He excused himself on the plea of stomach-ache and indigestion when pressed by his mother-in-law to eat. He fasted the whole day, and his hunger was so great, that he would have gnawed his own bones to satisfy it. At night he groped his way to the kitchen to see if he could get anything to eat. Nothing did he find except some eggs in a corner. He took as many as his hands could hold and ran towards his sleeping room. In his haste he fell with a loud crash at the door of his bed-chamber. To elude the inmates of the house, who were roused by the sound and came running to see what the matter was, he entered the room, got into his bed, and finding no time to hide the eggs thrust them all into his mouth to avoid detection. His mouth became swollen, "as big as a melon," and he was almost choked to death. His relations came and asked him what the matter was. He did not reply and kept his mouth tightly closed, lest as he spoke he should show the eggs within. All were afraid and began to cry, "Poor boy, his mouth is inflamed

with cold and hunger. Send for a *hakim* (doctor) quickly." The *hakim* came, and finding him silent, and his eyes bursting with suffocation, pronounced that the dangerous inflammation of the cheek required an instantaneous surgical operation. He took a sharp knife and made an incision in his right cheek cutting one of the eggs within and out came the white and yolk of the egg through the cut. With a triumphant glee the physician said, "Behold, what an amount of putrid matter was in it!" The left cheek was similarly incised and the physician exclaimed again, "Behold the pus." The son-in-law burst out, "Fool of a *hakim*, it is no pus but white and yellow of eggs." The table was, however, turned on him and an unanimous verdict awarded him the palm of being the greater fool of the two.

Close variants of this story are current in Bengali Folklore and it may be one such story that has already appeared in print.

Now, let us turn to the story in Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* known as the *Tandula-bhākṣaka-mārka-katha* (Taranga 63. Sl. 181 *et seq.* p. 335 of *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Nirṇaysāgar Press, Bombay, 1915). The translation has been given in the excellent edition of "The Ocean of Story" edited by N. M. Penzer, Vol. V (1926) pp. 135, 136.

*Story of the Fool who was nearly choked with rice.*

A certain foolish person came for the first time to his father-in-law's house and there he saw some white grains of rice which his mother-in-law had put down to be cooked, and he put a handful of them into his mouth, meaning to eat them. His mother-in-law came in that very moment. Then the foolish man was so ashamed that he could not swallow the grains of rice nor bring them up. Then his mother-in-law, seeing that his cheek (taking *galla*—a variant reading) was swollen and distended and that he was speechless, was afraid that he was ill and summoned her husband. And he, when he saw his state, quickly brought the physician, and the physician fearing that there was an internal tumour, seized the head of that fool and opened his jaws. Then the grains of rice came out and all those present laughed.

Somadeva caused no operation to be performed on the cheeks of the foolish son-in-law.

The same story occurs in *Po-yu-king* in *Cinq cents contes et Apologues extraits du Tripitaka chinois et traduits en Français par Edouard Chavannes* (1911) Tome II p. 213 (No. 308) entitled *Celui dont on fendit la joue parcequ'il avait fourré du riz dans sa bouche*. I am giving a translation of it.

Once upon a time a man had gone to the family of his wife and seeing her occupied in grinding some rice, he approached her on the right, took furtively some rice and put it into his mouth. On seeing her husband, the wife wished to talk with him, but having his mouth full of rice he could not absolutely respond; as he was ashamed before his wife he dared not throw out the rice, and this was why he could not speak. His wife, surprised at his muteness, touched his cheek with her hand to see what he had and thought he had got an abscess within his mouth. She said to her father, "No sooner has my husband arrived here than he has got suddenly an abscess within his mouth and he cannot speak altogether." The father immediately summoned a doctor to cure him. The doctor declared it was a very grave malady and could not be cured without making an incision with a knife. Immediately he split his mouth with a knife, the rice escaped and the whole affair became manifest.

From the preliminary note to *Po-yu-king* it appears that it is to be found in the *Tripitaka* of Tokyo and was translated into Chinese in 492 A.D. by a Hindu monk named *K'icou-na-p'i-ti* (Gunavṛiddhi); in its original form it was composed by a certain *Seng-hia-sseu-na* (Samghasena). Gunavṛiddhi was the disciple of Samghasena who lived about 450 A.D. On the other hand two other works are contained in the Chinese *Tripitaka*, equally attributed to Samghasena, the first translated into Chinese about the year 391 A.D., and the second about 250 A.D. Chavannes says: "On my part I think that Samghasena, the author of the book of a hundred 'comparisons,' flourished about 450 A.D. and must be distinguished from

Samghasena,—author of the two books translated into Chinese about 391 and 250 A.D.”

The life of Gunavṛiddhi has been given as found in *Kao-seng-tchouan* (Trip. de Tokyo. Vol. XXXV. fasc. Z. p. 18vo. 19ro.).

Gunavṛiddhi was a native of Central India. He was a disciple of Samghasena, master of the law of Mahayāna. He was intelligent and of extraordinarily strong memory. In the beginning of *Kieu-yuan* (470-482) period of T'si, he arrived at the capital Nanking and established himself in the temple of *P'i-ye-li* (Vaisāli).

At first in India Samghasena had collected and drawn up all the apologues of some value which were found in the collection (miscellany) of books written on *tāla* (sur olles) and he composed from them a book containing, in all, a hundred paragraphs. (In reality the *Po-yu-king* contains only ninety-eight apologues.) This new subject of study he taught to his disciples ..... In the autumn of 492 A.D. Gunavṛiddhi translated them into Chinese, contained in ten chapters and having the title “The Book of One Hundred Apologues.”

It is evident, therefore, that Samghasena put together these apologues about the year 450 A.D. They were, however, very old—at least older than 450 A.D.

Somadeva in his *Kathāsaritsāgara* has collected numerous tales known to him. “He tells us that *The Ocean of Story* is not his original work, but is taken from a much larger collection by one Guṇādhya—known as the *Brhatkathā* or the Great Tale.” This Great Tale has been lost.<sup>1</sup>

Twenty or thirty years previous to Somadeva, Kshemendra, another Kashmiran poet, had used the *Brhatkathā* and written the *Brhatkathāmañjarī*. Somadeva made a general collection of tales, current in India about A.D. 1000, and Mr. Penzer shows that he must have composed his verses about 1070 A.D. “His *magnum opus* was written for the amusement of Sūryavati, wife of King Ananta of Kashmir, at whose court

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<sup>1</sup> Penzer, *The Ocean of Story*, Vol. I. Intro. p. xxxii.

Somadeva was a poet." "Between the first and second retirements of Ananta from the throne that Somadeva wrote—possibly about 1070 A.D.—one can almost imagine that these stories were compiled in an effort to take the mind of the unhappy queen off the troubles and trials which so unremittingly beset her and her court."<sup>2</sup>

All sorts of tales—tales from the Mahābhārata, the Pañcatantra, the Vetālapañcavimsati, and others have been incorporated into it. Mr. N. M. Penzer shows in Vol. V. App. II. pp 245—286 that the story of Ghata and Karpura on pp. 142—146 of Vol. V. was one of the numerous variants of the tale of Rhampsinitus as told by Herodotus (Bk. II. p. 121). "Exactly how and when it got into India are questions I do not even hope to answer. My own opinion is that it found its way across the Indian Ocean in Ptolemaic times, very possibly during the reign of Philadelphus (284-246 B.C.), when the trade and diplomatic relations between Egypt and India were in progress. The natural appeal of the tale soon caused it to be gathered in Guṇādhyā's net and so it appears in Somadeva."<sup>3</sup>

A really good tale or an apologue had a charm all its own and fascinated Somadeva. I presume, therefore, that the ancient Indian originals of the apologues found in the *Po-yu-king*, composed by Saṃghasena (450 A.D.) and translated (492 A.D.) by Guṇavṛiddhi, floated down the stream of time and reached Somadeva who treasured them in the ample storehouse of his great work the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. A few comparisons given in the appendix will bear out my proposition. Hence if similar tales are found in different parts of India, they may have descended from Buddhistic, Jain or other sources of tales which were drawn upon by Somadeva himself or from Somadeva's own tales contained in his great work *The Ocean of Story*. Many Indian tales were carried abroad and similarity in tales occurring in different parts of the world has to be put

<sup>2</sup> Penzer, *op. cit.* Vol. I. Intro. xxxii.

<sup>3</sup> Penzer, *op. cit.* Vol. V. pp. 285, 286.

down to migration of tales to and fro, especially where Indian influence, mediate or immediate, could be traced. It has already been noticed that really good tales might as well migrate to India.



## Appendix.

No.	Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara (Edited by Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, Nirupa- yaśāgara Press, Bombay, 1915.)	N. M. Penzer's "Ocean of Story," Vol. V. (1926.)	Cinq cents et apologues Tome II <i>For-Ye-King.</i>	Stanislaus Julien's translation Les Avadānes.
1	2	3	4	5
1	Agurudāhi-Kathā ...	Story of the Foolish Mer- chant who made Aloes-Wood into Charcoal (No. 85), page 67.	Story No. 258. Celui qui alla sur la mer pour chercher de l'aloès. Page 172.	T. II. p. 88 (No. 84.)
2	Tilakārṣika-Kathā ...	Story of the Man who sowed Roasted Seed (No. 86), page 67.	No. 260. Celui qui semait des graines de sésame rôties. Page 173.	T. I. pp., 229-230. "This is No. 67 in Stanis- laus's trans. of the <i>Avadā- nes</i> . Found in Coelho's <i>Contos Populares Portu- gueses</i> , p. 112. Also cf. Fretter, <i>Griechische My- thologie</i> , Vol. II. p. 312; Ovid, <i>Fasti</i> , II. 638 and III. 853, 854; Clouston, <i>Book of Noodles</i> , p. 120; N. M. P. Footnote on p. 68.
3	Jalē'gniksepakasya-Kathā ...	Story of the Fool who mixed Fire and Water (No. 87), page 68.	No. 361. Apologue de l'eau et de feu Page 174.	T. I. pp. 232-238, No. 70.



## Appendix—contd.

No.	Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara (Edited by Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, Nirupya- sagara Press, Bombay, 1915.)	N. M. Penzer's "Ocean of Story," Vol. V. (1926).	Cinq cents et apologues Tome II <i>Po-Yu-King.</i>	Stanislaus Julien's translation <i>Les Avadānas.</i>
1	2	3	4	5
4	Gurubhāryāśca-Kathā ...	Story of the Man who tried to improve his wife's nose (No. 88), p. 68.	No. 284. L'homme qui voulut échanger le nez de sa femme contre celui d'une autre, p. 175. (Here instead of cutting off the high nose of the spiritual preceptor he cuts off the nose of the wife of another.)	...
5	Vanarāśipśāpāla-Kathā ...	Story of the Foolish Herdsman (No. 89), p. 69.	No. 266. Le gardien de moutons, p. 177. (With this difference that he is told "votre âle qui était né, maintenant est mort.")	...
6	Alankāralambaka-Kathā ...	Story of the Fool and the Ornaments (No. 90), p. 69.	.....	No. 57.
7	Tulādāhi-Kathā ...	Story of the Fool and the Cotton (No. 91), p. 70.	No. 268, p. 179 ...	T.I. pp. 289, 240.

8	Kharjurchedaka-Kathā	...	Story of the Foolish Villagers who cut down the Palm-trees (No. 92), p. 70.	No. 269, p. 179 ... Couper l'arbre pour en prendre les fruits. (Some difference.—In both cases an attempt was made to restore the dead tree, but without any avail. Il voulut ensuite remettre l'arbre debout .....) No. 272, p. 181.	Le trafiquant qui déroba de l'or. (With this difference that the second merchant stole the heated gold and in covering it up with his stuff of <i>tālā</i> , he burnt it completely and was discovered).	No. 71.  T.I. pp. 168-170.
9	Nidhānadarśi-Kathā	...	Story of the Treasure-Finder who was blinded (No. 94), p. 71.	Calut qui abîma les yeux du ṛṣi donc des cinq <i>abhyāsa</i> . Here the ṛṣi "pouvait apercevoir à l'intérieur de la terre les joyaux précieux de toutes sortes qui s'y trouvaient cachés." No. 287, p. 153.	Story No. 88. T.I. pp. 204-208.	
10	Lavanāsī-Kathā	...	Story of the Fool and the Salt (No. 94), p. 71.	Le sot qui mangeait du sel. (A moral is added.)	Story No. 38. T.I. pp. 148-149.	

Appendix—*contd.*

No.	Somaśara's Kathāsaritsāgara (Edited by Durgaprasad and K. P. Parsh, Nirpa- yāsāgara Press, Bombay, 1915.)	N. M. Penzer's "Ocean of Story," Vol. V. (1926.)	Cinq cents et apologues Tome II <i>Po-Yu-King.</i>	Stanislaus Julien's translation Les Avadānas.
1	2	3	4	5
11	Godāhaka-Kathā ...	Story of the Fool and his Milk-cow (No. 95), p. 72.	No. 238, p. 154. Le sot qui amassait le lait de sa vache. (Also story No. 202 in the <i>centés</i> with a moral.)	Story No. 98. T.I. p. 79, 80.
12	Khalvātaka-Kathā ...	Story of the Foolish Bold Man and the Fool who pelted him (No. 96), p. 72.	No. 239, p. 155. Celui dont on cassait la tête à coups de bœuf. (With a little modification. A cudgel of pear- wood is used instead of wood- apples.)	...
13	Kṣāmagdha-Kathā ...	Story of the Bald Man and the Hair-Restorer (No. 100) p. 83. [Modified by Soma- deva to lighten the effect. The doctor is a rogue here.]	No. 276, p. 184. La guéri son de la calvitie. (The doctor was also bald. He honestly says if he could cure baldness, then he would have first cured himself.)	...

14	Aśhīṃg dha-Kathā	...	Story of the Faithless Wife who was present at her own śrāddha. (No. 102, p. 84). [She comes with her paramour who is the officiating priest and enjoys the sweet-meats offered at her own śrāddha. Original modified by Somadeva.]	No. 240, p. 150. La femme qui se fit passer fausement pour morte. [The husband is deluded by the importation into the house of the corpse of another woman. Deserted by her paramour the wife returns and says to her husband]	No. 43. T.I. pp. 162-164.
15	Jalabhika-Kathā	...	Story of the thirsty Fool that did not drink (No. 106) p. 88.	No. 241, p. 157. L'homme altéré qui aperçoit de l'eau.	...
16	Putraghaṭi-Kathā	...	Story of the Fool who killed his son. (No. 107) p. 88 (The Fool killed another son to keep company with one already dead).	No. 242, p. 157. Celui qu voulait installer son fils mort dans sa maison. (The fool kills another son so that his corpse may serve as a counterpoise to that of the other son already dead which he proposed to carry suspended from a pole to the grave.)	...
17	Bhratrbhanta-Kathā	...	Story of the Fool and his Brother (No. 108), p. 89.	No. 243, p. 158. Celui qui reconnaissait un homme pour son frère aîné, (A moral at the footnote.)	...
18	Brahmacāri suta-kathā	...	Story of the Brahmacarin's Son, (No. 109) p. 89 (Of what Sganarelle says in Le Mariage Forcé—Ouvres de Molière, Paris, 1873-1900, Vol. IV. 61n <sup>1</sup> —footnote by N. M. Penzer).	No. 245, p. 160. L'homme qui louait la vertu du son pere. (A moral in footnote.)	...

Appendix—*contd.*

No.	Somadev's Kathasaritsāgara (Edited by Durgaprasad and K. P. Parsh. Nirnayasa- gara Press, Bombay. 1915).	N. M. Penzer's "Ocean of Story," Vol. V. (1926)	Cinq cents et apologues Tome II Po-yu-King.	Stanislaus Julien's translation Les Avadānas.
1	2	3	4	5
19	Gaṇaka-kathā ...	Story of the Astrologer who killed his Son (No. 110), p. 90.	No. 247, p. 162. Le brahmane qui tua son fils.	..
20	Krodhanapurūṣa-kathā ...	Story of the Violent Man who justified his character (No. 111), p. 90.	No. 249, p. 164. L'homme de qui on disait qu'il se mettait volontiers en colère.	
21	Kanyāvardhaka-kathā ...	Story of the Foolish King who made his Daughter grow (No. 112), p. 91. (See the in- teresting footnote on p. 91)	No. 251, p. 166. Le médecin qui donne à la fille du roi une drogue pour la faire grandir subitement.	
22	Ardhanopārjāna kathā.	Story of the man who re- covered half a pana from his servant. (No. 113), p. 92. (The fool recovered the half pana after much expense).	No. 253, p. 167. Reclamer une demi-pièce de monnaie. (The fool even after much expense could not see his debtor.)	No. 51, T.I. pp. 135, 136.

23	Abhiñānakartṛ-kathā	...	Story of the Fool who took notes of a certain spot in the sea, (No. 114) pp. 92, 93. (See Fn. 2 on p. 92.)	No. 256, p. 169. Celui qui était sur un bateau et perdit une coupe.	No. 69, T. I. p. 238-235.
24	Pratimānśapada-kathā	...	Story of the king who replaced the Flesh (No. 115), p. 93 (See Liebrecht, <i>zur Volkskunde</i> , pp. 113-120, Benfey, vol. I. p. 391, <i>Nachtrage</i> ii 543).	No. 256, p. 170. L'homme qui disait que le roi se laissait aller à cruaute.	No. 103.
25	Putrāntarakāṅksinīyāh striāh kathā	striāh	Story of the Woman who wanted another son (No. 116) p. 94.	No. 257, p. 171 La femme qui demandait à avoir un second fils.	No. 49, T. I. pp. 180, 181.
26	Āmalakānetṛ-kathā	...	Story of the Servant who tasted the Fruit (No. 117), p. 94.	No. 306, p. 211. Celui qui goûtait les fruits d'āmra (mangue).	No. 37, T. I. pp. 146, 147.
27	Nāpiārthi-kathā	...	Story of a Fool who wanted a Barber (No. 119), p. 96.	No. 291, p. 196. L'homme qui désirait raser la barbe du roi (Here he wanted to shave the king's beard).	...
28	Śakāṣṭhapuruṣa-kathā	...	Story of the Man who asked for Nothing at all (No. 120), p. 97 [Give me the Nothing. Cf. footnote 1, also Chāli's <i>Hindusthan Folk-tale</i> ].	No. 292, p. 197. Exiger Zéro. ("Zero est ce que je vous donnerai." "Donnez-nous donc zéro").	...
29	Samabhāgakartṛ-bhrātṛdvaya-kathā.		Story of the Two Brothers who divided all that they had, (No. 123) p. 114 (Cf. Grohman, <i>Sagen aus Döhmen</i> , p. 35.)	No. 294, p. 199. Les deux fils qui se partagèrent un héritage.	No. 17, T. I. pp. 81, 82.

## Appendix—contd.

No.	Somadeva's Kathāsaritsaṅga (Edited by Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, Nirayasaṅga Press, Bombay, 1915.)	1	2	3	4	5	Cinq cents et apologue Tome II <i>Po-yu-King</i>	Stanislaus Julien's translation <i>Les Avadānas.</i>
30	Suvarāmaṅgla-kathā ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
31	Peṭikarākṣakabhṛtya-kathā	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
32	Apūpamaṅgla-kathā	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
33	Dvākarākṣakabhṛtya kathā ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

No. 43. T. I. pp. 171-173.

No. 296, p. 200. Le reflet de l'or aperçu au fond de l'eau. (cf. No. 230—Real gold carried by the bird reflected. See Cambridge translation of Jataka, Vol. VI, p. 172. Question No. 19—Perhaps this was the original source.)

No. 104. T. II. pp. 98-99.

No. 278, p. 187. Les trafiquants dont le chameau est mort.

No. 66. T. I. pp. 227-228.

No. 289, p. 189. Celui qui aurait voulu manger une demi-galette.

No. 281, p. 189. L'esclave qui garda la porte.

...

Story of the Servant who looked after the Door (No. 128), p. 117 (cf. the 37th story in *Sicilianische Märchen* pt. i. p. 249. See Foot-note on p. 117.)

34	Mahābhāṣka-grāma-kathā	Story of the Simpletons who ate the Buffalo (No. 129), pp. 117-118.	No. 283, p. 190. Le bouf volé.	...
35	Daridrabhāryā-kathā	Story of the Fool who behaved like a Brahminy Drake (No. 180), p. 118.	No. 288, p. 191. Le pauvre homme qui imita le cri du canard.	...
36	Mūdhavaiḍya-kathā	Story of the Physician who tried to cure a Hunchback (No. 131), p. 119. (Modified by Somadeva). The foolish physician unable to cure the hump lost his bet of ten paṇas.)	No. 286, p. 194. Le medecin qui voulut guerir le bossu. (Here the physician failing to cure the hump with butter shampoo placed his patient between planks and pressed him so, that his eyes came out of his head.)	...
37	Ādhyā gāndharvikayoh-kathā	Story of the Fool who gave a verbal reward to the musician (No. 134), p. 132. (For parallels, see footnote on p. 132.)	No. 288, p. 195. Le musicien qui fai sait de la musique.	...
38	Mūrkhaśiśyadvaya-kathā	Story of the Teacher and his two Jealous Pupils (No. 135), p. 133.	No. 289, p. 196. Le maître qui avait mal à ses pieds et qui les avait confiés à ses disciples.	...



## Appendix—contd.

No.	Somanadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara (Edited by Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, Nirpa- yasāgara Press, Bombay, 1915.)	N. M. Penzer's "Ocean of Story," Vol. V. (1926.)	Cinq cents et apologues Tome II <i>Po-Yu-King.</i>	Stanislaus Julien's translation Les Avadānes.
1	2	3	4	5
39	Dviśraḥ sarpa-kathā ...	Story of the Snake with two Heads (No. 136), p. 134. See footnote.	No. 290, p. 196. La tête la queue du serpent se disputant à qui ira la première	T.I. pp. 152-154.
40	Taṇḍula bhakṣaka-mūrkha- kathā.	Story of the Fool who was nearly choked with Rice (No. 137), p. 135.	No. 308, p. 213. Celui dont on fendit la joue parcequ'il avait fourré du riz dans sa bouche.	...
41	Bālakānāṁ gardabhāṣya ca kathā.	Story of the Boys who milked the Donkey (No. 138), p. 136.	No. 613, p. 216. Traire l'ânesse. (They wanted to milk a he-ass)	...
42	Brāhmaṇamūrkhapuṭya-kathā.	Story of the Foolish Boy who went to the village for nobh- ing (No. 139), p. 136, 137.	No. 314, p. 217. Celui qui avait convenu avec son fils de partir de bon matin.	...

43	Mūrkharogivaidyayoh-kathā.	Story of the Fool that was his own doctor (No. 141), p. 13.	No. 316, p. 218. Le lavement.	..
44	Mūrkhapurūṣa tapasvī-kathā.	Story of the Fool who mistook Hermits for Monkeys (No. 142) p. 140.	No. 317, p. 219. Celui qui fut mordu par un ours. (Here it was the bear and not the monkey that bit).	..
45	Prāpta hema bhastasya mūr-khasya-kathā.	Story of the Fool who found a Furse (No. 143) p. 140.	No. 326, p. 225. Celui qui trouva par terre des pièces d'or.	..
46	Caturanārī-kathā.	Story of the Woman who escaped from the Monkey and the Cowherd (No. 145), p. 141.	No. 329, p. 226. La vieille qui tenait l'ours. (Somadeva has monkey instead of bear).	..

## VI.—Indian Architecture in Post-Vedic Days

By Manmohan Ganguli, Vidyaratna, B.E.

Pūrta or engineering works were encouraged in the Vedic period, and this encouragement is noticeable in the age of the Mahābhārata, Darśanas, the Purāṇas and in the mediæval period down to the present day. On going through the *Jalāsayot-sargatatvam* by Raṅhu Nandana the Bengali jurist and law-giver of the fifteenth century, "it is found that the engineering works were recommended broadcast, and he has quoted *eriatim* from the Bhaviṣya Purāṇam, Jatukarna, Br̥haspati Samhitā, Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra in support of his recommendation." In the Kathopanishad I have come across a reference to the Pūrta Works.

I am not going to tread on the debatable ground of the chronology of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, but there is no doubt that they were written in the pre-Christian era, and relate incidents much older than the advent of Gautama Buddha. In the Rāmāyaṇa we come across an instance of seven-storeyed palaces with which Lankā abounded, reminding one of the Chaldean temple. In the Sāmantapasādikā, a commentary on the Vinaya, there is a mention of seven-storeyed buildings; a seven-storeyed building of the twelfth century called the Sāt Mahal Prāsāda is still in existence at Polonnaruwa in Ceylon. These buildings are reminiscent of the Ziggurats or the staged towns of the Assyrian texts. We find the form of the Chaldean Ziggartus copied in the Pallava architecture of the post-Christian era, particularly in the rock-cut temple called the Dharmarāja Ratha at Mahavellipuram, the "Wave-covered Metropolis of Bali" immortalised by the poetical talent of Southey. I shall show later on that the form of the Ziggartus

has been perpetuated in the crenellated parapets surmounting the Buddhist palaces, walls and fortifications.

Although no architectural remains of importance of the pre-Aśokan period have yet been exhumed there is every reason to believe that they may be brought to light if the digging operations be conducted on a larger scale; literary evidence so long as these remains are not exposed, if carefully sifted and examined, may help us in arriving at conclusions which cannot be refuted; and I shall see if any such evidence is forthcoming. Kautilya's Artha-Śāstra ascribed to Viṣṇu Gupta, otherwise called Chāṇakya, is believed, not without reason, to have been written in the fourth century B.C.—some-time between 300 and 321 B.C. Whatever evidences, internal and external, may be cited to establish its antiquity Kautilya's Artha-Śāstra was certainly posterior to an early version of the Manu Samhita for we find a reference to the latter in the second chapter while discussing the end of sciences and determining the place of Āṇvikṣhikī among them. Having said so far, for the present let us see what we find in Kautilya's Artha-Śāstra re the use of columns. While describing in detail the construction of forts with the masonry adjuncts in Chapter III, relative proportions of the different parts of a column, e.g. the capital and the shaft have been noted. We learn that at that early age the columns used to be provided with capitals and that the proportion of this important feature in relation to the total height had already been fixed in the "sūtra" form, or in other words had already been conventionalised after obviously practising the form for several centuries; this conventionalisation of a type is certainly the outcome of the practice of the element in different other proportions for a considerably long time, and having found them not suitable the architects had to abandon them in favour of the one subsequently recorded in the Artha-Śāstra in the enigmatical form in the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. The context here may help us in roughly, very roughly of course, fixing the probable period during which all such forms were practised before their being

recorded in the Sūtra form. If we go through the rich details of the ramparts, platforms or *Pratimañcha*, the top of the gateway or *torāṇa*, the turret or *hastinam*, and mentioned with the columns having capitals we may without the risk of contradiction consider them to have been elaborated through at least three to four centuries at a modest computation. This brings us to the seventh or the eighth century A.D.

I have already remarked that cities used to be fortified in the early Vedic period, and references to fortified cities of different classes are found in the Mahābhārata, Manu-Samhitā, Purāṇas, Artha and Nīti Śāstras; the descriptions are so strikingly similar that I am led to believe that there must have been a tradition existing from a very early time and rigidly followed in the construction of forts. Kauṭilya has adopted the terminology of Manu with very slight modifications and in one case the very same term has been adopted. The *dhanvadurga* or a fort girdled by deserts noticed in Manu-Samhitā has been used by Kauṭilya in his Artha-Śāstra. The *abddurga*, *siridurga* and *vārgadurga* of Manu have been converted into Andaka Durga, Parvata and Vana Durga by Kauṭilya.

I have prepared a plan and sectional elevation of a particular type of a fortified capital called the *sthānīya* from the description given in Kauṭilya's Artha-Śāstra and I believe they will be interesting in so far as they convey an idea as to the lay-out of the fortress. This is different from the fortress at Susa or Ecbatana surrounded by plurality of ramparts as described by Herodotus; there is, however, noticeable a similarity in the selection of the site for a fortified city between the Indian type of Kauṭilya and the Assyrian plan discovered by Layard in a bas-relief representing the walled city of Susa in connection with the campaigns of Asur-nat-Sripal in the province of Elam.

I should draw your attention to the change of the outer face of the rampart rendering "the planting of scaling ladders more difficult" as it necessitated the use of much longer ladders than would have been necessary if the ramparts were true to the plumb line. We find this to be exactly the case in Egyptian

fortifications, and it will be worth while to quote the following from *Aegypten* by Professor Erman, the great German Egyptologist : " To reach the parapet of a wall built with this change of angle, it is necessary to have much longer ladders than for a particular wall of the same height. In a tomb at Beni Hassan there is also a representation of a fortress of the Middle Empire, with a similar change of angle in the wall."

From the thirtieth line of the account of an expedition of Sargon, the Assyrian king, against Ashdod in the eighth century B.C. inscribed on the octagonal cylinder discovered by Mr. George Smith of the British Museum, it is found that the depths of the ditch round the fort approached that of the outermost one of the three concentric rings of moats as given by Kauṭilya. It is stated there that " twenty cubits. (34 feet) in its depth they made it." The Jewish principality of Ashdod lay between Egypt and Phœnicia, and it is probable that the Egyptian method of construction showing some similarity to the Indian method as described above was adopted in Ashdod ; we learn on the authority of Dr. Budge, the Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, that Egypt in the 12th Dynasty extending from 2500 B.C. to 1550 B.C. and also in earlier times held certain important districts in the peninsula of Sinai, e.g. Sarbut-al-Khadim.

While looking down the chronological ladder, starting from the Vedic age, our guiding thread snaps suddenly before we reach the Buddhist period ; but for all that you must not imagine the Buddhist period as outside the chain of the great Indian synthesis that produced the Buddha, the last of the enlightened who was as much our own as Kapila or Śaṅkarāchārya.

It is not the purpose of this paper to give detailed descriptions of the *stambha*, or *lāt*, *stūpa*, or *tope*, the Buddhist rails, *chaityas* or assembly halls, the *vihāra* or monastery which have been described in Fergusson. Here are offered a few suggestions regarding the disposition and constructional peculiarities of some of them.

In connection with the stambha I may remove a wrong impression from the minds of the students of Indian Architecture that the Buddhist laṭs were employed to bear inscriptions only like the Asoka column. Like the Brāhminical Garuḍa stambhas, or the Jaina dipadānas they are found in front of Buddhist temples containing the relics, or images of the Buddha, or enclosing the sacred Bodhi tree. The term Chaitya was not coined in the Buddhist period. I have come across this term in the Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, 5th Svarga.) I shall speak in detail about these chaityas later on when dealing with the development of Hindu temples.

The chaityas were not only excavated in the living rock as at Karle, Kanheri, Bedsa, Nasik, Ajanta, but they were also built structurally as evident from the ruins at Sāñchī or the chetyagiri of the Mahāvamsa, from apsidal, barrel-vaulted halls at Ter in the district of Naldroog in Hyderabad, at Chezarla in the Kistna district. There are brick built structures now appropriated to Brāhminical worship. The temple at Ter reminds me of the storeyed structure of the Pallava style called Bhīma's Rath at Mahavellapur. The temple at Chezarla puts me in mind of two Jaina temples noticed by me in a very small insignificant village of weavers on the other side of the Vegavati near Conjeeveram, viz. the temples of Puṣpadanta Nāth and Vasupūjya Nāth, the 9th and the 12th Jaina Tirthaṅkaras. A chaitya of the Pallava hall *maṇḍapa* type with a barrel-vaulted roof and resting in squat massive octagonal pillars is found represented.

I may in this connection remove an erroneous impression that the Buddhist period<sup>1</sup> is characterised by a development of the ecclesiastical or memorial architecture only, and that it had very little to do with the needs and requirements of an ordinary citizen, or the empire, i.e. architecture of the civil or military type. I would now show you the picture of an ordinary Bhadrāsana with a courtyard as represented on a copingstone of the railing at Bhārhut. I have found the remains of very nice and perfect examples of this type of Bhadrāsana in the

monasteries of the Kuṣāṇa period in the villages of Saulian and Mohra Moraduk at Taxila. While speaking of a structure with a courtyard and rooms disposed round the latter I would state that the remains of a building of this type belonging to the fourth century B.C., i.e. Mauryan era were discovered a few years ago by Sir John Marshall at Bhita near Allahabad. This type existing from the most ancient period is extant even now though there is a decided tendency noticeable to replace it by the villa type which has degenerated in Calcutta into a type of the warehouse class. Those who hold that the type of Bhadrāsana is derived from the Græco-Roman buildings with atrium or Herculaneum and Pompeii as the House of Pansa, or even from the Megaron of the Mycenæan remains discovered by Drs. Schliemann and Dropfeld, should bear in mind that this courtyard surrounded by a roofed colonnade of massive pillars just beyond the pylon is noticed in the Egyptian temples, viz. of Luxos and Karnac-Ajain ; on going through Vitruvius, particularly the portion (chapter N. Book VI) dealing with the details of atria, I find that the Roman rules were not followed in the Indian exemplars. It may be mentioned here that the courtyard was not only found in domestic buildings but in those of the ecclesiastical type as well.

My observation *re* the Bhadrāsana would be incomplete if I were not to mention a fact noticed by me at Taxila. I measured the dimensions of the cells for the Bhikṣus in the monastery at Javlian and found the floor area of these cells to range between 66 and 81 square feet. I may mention that it is laid down in the Calcutta Municipal Act, that every room in a domestic building which is intended to be used as an inhabited room must have a clear superficial area of not less than 80 square feet ; we may accordingly conclude that the idea of sanitation of the ancient Indians does not compare unfavourably with that obtaining in Calcutta in the twentieth century of the Christian era.

Let us now return from the Bhadrāsana of some pretensions to the hut of a poor man or a hermit which is worth our attention from the constructional standpoint ; against the idea that all



such structures had a thatched roof I would show you a square or rectangular room covered by a pyramidal roof of tiles showing the break of joints so excellently ; similar tiled roof is seen in the stable for elephants at Sāñchī.

On studying the bas-relief and the sculptural representations of Bhārhut we may form a correct idea as to the lay-out and disposition of the building in a fortified city with its gate or toraṇa, fortress, ramparts, watch towers, etc.

### Sanchi Details.

*a-f.*

- (a) Gate of the fortress.
- (b) Octagonal pillar.
- (c) *Aṣṭakavedī* representation.
- (d) Stone wall with building and cornices.
- (e) Balconies.
- (f) Pyramidal parapet.

*g-j.*

- (g) Balconies.
- (h) Raised toraṇa.
- (i) Vaulted roof.
- (j) Characteristic gateway of the fortress.

*k-r.*

- (k) Panelled window of the top.
- (l) Prototype of *chhajā* cornice.
- (m) Stone masonry with nice bordering.
- (n) Balconies.
- (o) Raised toraṇa pavilion.
- (p) Vaulted roof.
- (q) Characteristic fortress gateway.
- (r) Crenallated parapet.

*s-w.*

- (s) Torāṇa similar to Sāñchī torāṇa.
- (t) City wall with embosses.
- (u) Balconies.
- (v) Open galleries.
- (w) Thickly carved torāṇa.

Then take a bas-relief at Bhārhut. In it we see representation of a vaulted chaitya with a storied building, probably a *vihāra*. It shows three different scenes ; each of these scenes is flanked by two tall columns reaching from the ground level to the top of the uppermost storey. This representation of flanking by columns is found in the old Egyptian buildings. M. Grander showed it clearly in the model of an Egyptian house erected at the Paris Exhibition of 1889.

The development of temple architecture is a matter of speculation and diverse theories are advanced to trace the origin and growth of temple construction. It is not the purpose of this paper to enter into the constructional details of temples. I shall only content myself with stating how it came into existence. We find references of temples in the Mahābhārata, Purāṇas, and also in Kauṭilya who gives the exact position of temples in a fortified city. Now, considering that in the age in which Kauṭilya flourished, Buddhist architecture had not attained much importance as evident from an absence of remains, and as the Buddhist empire supplanted the Brāhminical one, or in other words, as the latter grew out of the former it is expected that there must have been some type extant before Kauṭilya, from which the temple could have evolved. It is for us to determine what this could possibly be. We find at Bhārhut representations of chambers or halls divided by pillars into nave and aisles similar to the basilicas. These representations are found here, not as indication of the first beginning of this type of buildings, but in an advanced stage of evolution and convention. I should also request you to bear in mind that even at this time basilicas with semi-vaulted aisles were unknown in any other part of the civilised world. This structural type with the rotunda in the centre and two side-aisles roofed by semi-vaults was older than its counterpart found in Europe. The earliest building in Europe bearing some resemblance to it is the Pantheon in Rome erected in the second century A.D. under the orders of the Emperor Hadrian. If a section be drawn through the two semi-circular recesses, or exedrae, or even the rectangular

ones of the Pantheons, it cannot but strike a casual observer that the two types are cousins germains and who can say that India did not furnish the architectural ideal, at least a portion thereof, for the erection of the noblest of the Roman monuments of art.

These Indian basilicas were the precursors of the temples found with MANDAPAS and not of temples forming complete units by themselves. The apse of the basilicas where the relics used to be enshrined was naturally converted into the cella, or the sanctum sanctorum, the GARBHAGRHA of the South Indian style or the VIMĀNAM of the North-Indian school. The pillared hall in front of the apse containing the nave and aisles took naturally the place of the MANDAPA.

On examining the basilican type with its arched roofing represented at Bhārhut and other places, it appears that it must have been practised for a long time before it was translated in the cave temples in a finished and elaborate form. In this latter representation some of the structural details, such as the drum of the vault as at Bhārhut or Ajanta, or of the dome as of the cave at JUNNAR now used as a Śaivite temple, the cornice at the springing of the arches of the aisles, the general plan and disposition of the columns offer an irresistible conclusion that these forms had obviously to pass through a tedious process of elaboration and evolution before they found an expression in the cave chaityas and viharas built within two or three centuries before the Christian era.

We meet with the domical representation in the cave at Junnar belonging to the pre-Christian era, but we do not come across this type anywhere outside India at this time of architectural history. The tomb at Mylassa in Asia Minor or that at Dugga near Tunis in Africa belong to the post-Christian era, and the monument of St. Remi in Provence though belonging to the first century B. C. is not surmounted by a dome but by a conical stone roof. I may mention the use as well of an octagonal dome in the pre-Christian era as noticed at Sāñchi.

While looking at the arched or vaulted roofing of the chaitya halls the question naturally suggests itself as to how the ancient Indians constructed the arches, whether on the principle of voussoirs, or on the horizontal principle called trabeation. I believe it was on the second principle that the Indians built their arches and domes and that they were not acquainted with the principle of the "Line of Resistance" called by Ruskin the moral character of the arch. It does not matter in the least if the early Indians resorted to the horizontal method instead of the radiating one, for it is the motif, the form that counts much from the architectural standpoint and not the means by which the end is gained. This misunderstanding of the fundamental canon of architecture is responsible to a large extent for the non-appreciation of the beauties of Indian arches, either ancient or mediæval, as the mind hedged round by an uninterrupted fence of the classical prejudice is prone to reject the kernel as useless at it finds no value in the shell.

I intend dealing with the different arenal types in a separate paper, and only state here that of the several forms met with before the Christian era; the following are important :—Semi-circular, segmental, horseshoe, trefoil, equilateral. The intrados, or soffit of the arches of the façade of the cave at Bedsa presents the forms of a stilted arch.

Indian art had already reached a high state of excellence and development when we find it in the Mauryan era. I have already remarked while speaking of Kaṭilya that there was a continuity of artistic traditions systematically consecrated by the reproduction of forms handed down from generation to generation. The scholars who imagine this art as the first attempt at essaying bolder flights have wholly misunderstood its genesis and development, and they will realise it clearly if they make a comparative study of its technique and details apart from symbolism. I shall presently expose and analyse the technics of its essential motifs, and prove that the Indian

architectural traditions are different from those of the Hellenic or Persian culture.

According to scholars obsessed by Hellenic prejudice, the touch of the Greek artist lurks clearly in many architectural details and it will be my endeavour to understand these details as far as possible.

According to Sir John Marshall, the Macedonian conquest, though a splendid achievement, had short-lived effects owing to the withdrawal with all his force of the Greek Governor EUDÉMUS from the Indus valley within six years of the death of Alexander, and the expulsion of the Greek garrison by Chandra Gupta east of the Indus and annexation of Taxila to the great Mauryan Empire. A few years after, i.e. in 305 B.C., all the Macedonian provinces as far as the Hindu Kush were annexed by Chandra Gupta. On the breaking up of the Magadha Empire after Aśoka's death in 231 B.C., the Greek colonists in Bactria moved eastwards, and tried to invade the outlying provinces of India; the first of these Bactrian invasions took place in 190 B.C. European scholars, including Sir John Marshall, ascribe the establishment of Greek culture in the north-western parts of India to the Bactrian invasion and not to the short-lived Macedonian conquest. Therefore the earliest date that can be fixed for the introduction of the Greek influence is the second century B.C.

Before the Hellenic culture could at all spread in the east, nay before it was possible for it to influence the west, and accordingly long before the consolidation of the different independent Grecian states into the Great Macedonian Empire, the Iranic civilisation may be taken to have dominated to some extent the history and traditions of the Indian people. This domination, of course, was mutual. Owing to the close proximity of Persia to India and its importance as the seat of a great empire and also owing to many essentially similar characteristics from the standpoint of race, stock, language and tradition, it is naturally expected that we should be able to discover a larger amount of Persian influence than the debased Greek or Hellenic

as practised in Bactria. It will therefore be worth our while to examine Persian influence as evinced by some of its essential features.

The scholars of Archæology are sometimes found to be very vague in their description of the columns having zoophorous capitals that they meet with in several parts of India which they in one comprehensive sweep call Persepolitan in character without caring to enquire about the necessary and essential features of a Persepolitan column. This is mainly due to their labouring under a wrong impression that the zoomorphic form is the only criterion by which one is to judge of the Persian character of a column. It is known to all students of architecture that a column has three essential parts, e.g. the base, the shaft, and the entablature containing the capital, so the prominence given to one or the other of the members fails to convey the full sense which can only be obtained from a critical study of all these three elements taken together constituting an integral whole; an elimination of one or more of those adjuncts in our consideration of the nature of a column is faulty in character and is likely to give rise to some erroneous conclusions which it will be worth our while to expose.

In the first place let me remind you that the form of the quadrupeds, or unicorns placed back to back, had its origin in the valley of the Nile. The representation of the Egyptian column with animal capitals as depicted in the tomb paintings is conclusive on this point. The hydria, or vase belonging to six to eight centuries dating from the time of Ahmes I. of the Pharaohs reigning in the sixteenth century B.C., with its foot flanked by necks of two horses placed back to back depicts clearly the zoophorous form of the capital; the lid of the above hydria representing the inverted lotus shows clearly that this form had already been practised for a long time. In Assyria too this form had been practised before the Median, or the Perso-Median supremacy was established by Deioces in the early part of the seventh century before the Christian era. That this representation became conventional in Assyria will be evident from

an examination of the Assyrian standard shown by Botta and Flandin in monuments from Nineveh. The animal capital is also found in the pilasters of a rock-cut tomb of MYRA in Lycia; though by the side of Ionic columns and under a Greek pediment, these pilasters show special Asiatic characteristics in the capitals and shafts, and even in their decorations. I have studied the ruins of Asia Minor carefully and I find a large amount of Asiatic influence which cannot be ignored.

It is known that India displayed a maritime activity in the seas of western Asia from the earliest dawn of history. Indian articles of commerce found their way into the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf in ages long gone by, how long none can tell. On going through the Chronicles and Kings of the Old Testament we learn that there was in that early age the existence of sea-borne trade between India and Syria. Solomon used to get his supplies of peacock, sandalwood and gold from Ophir and Tarsish; so it is at once seen that inter-communication took place between India and the western part of Asia containing Assyria or Babylonia, Syria before the Persian supremacy, much before lithic architecture began to be practised by the Persians at Susa, Pasargadae in the valley of Meshad-i-Murghab, or in that of Mervdasht, i.e. at Persepolis. As far as our present knowledge goes no column having an animal capital has so far been discovered at Pasargadae in the valley of the Polvar; we find it for the first time in Persia at the time of Darius Hystaspes who ascended the Persian throne in 522 B.C. after slaying the Magian priest, Gaumata who tried to usurp the throne of Cambyses; so it is seen that the zoophorous capital already in existence in Egypt, Assyria and Phrygia was first introduced in Persia a little before the fifth century B.C., i.e. after the death of Buddha, or in the time of Ajātaśatru, the king of Magadha.

I would now proceed to detect the points of similarity and difference in the two forms of capitals, e.g. Iranian and Indian. The first point that strikes us is the variety of the zoomorphs. In Persia only two forms, viz. the bull and the unicorn have

been noticed so far ; in India we find the bull, elephant, horse as at Bedsa, and lion ; not only do we find the animals only, but a combination of animal and human forms, conventional types created by Indian fancy. We accordingly find feminine busts on bovine bodies as at Bhaja.

The Persian capitals are characterised by a salient prominence owing to the absence of abacus which is invariably found in the Indian counterpart. This inartistic attachment of the capital to the shaft as obtained in the Achaemenian columns is nowhere found in ancient India where the architects are found to studiously avoid the glaring contrast by an intervening tile, or even a series of tiles. Even when the capital was designed to present a complex form consisting of two members the lower member was separated by an abacus from the crowning member (see Asoka column). Though the ungraceful effort of sudden contact of the shaft with the capital was sought to be reduced by the introduction of a complex and dissimilar form constituting the part below the crowning member, as in the Hall of the Palace of Xerxes, the desired end could not be gained, the legs of the zoomorphs still spread out of the shafts too prominently.

The zoomorphs are always represented in the couchant form in Iran, with the legs of the animals either folded back, or stretched out as in the case of the unicorns. There is no fixed form in India ; they are even found in a standing posture similar to that noticed in the Assyrian standard ; moreover, they are never found back to back as in Persia.

I anticipate some critics to say that it is not so much in the animal capital of a column but in its bell-shaped part that the advocates of the Persian school seek to find visible traces of imitation. To this I would ask them to place the two capitals side by the side and to compare. The so-called bell-shaped member of the Persian capital is cylindrical and does not represent the bell at all ; the idea is derived from the falling or drooping of the dead leaves about the trunk of a palm tree, and the invariable association of this part with its crowning



member representing the green bunch of foliage rising above the stem strengthens the suggestion that this architectonic feature was copied from the palm. The Indian member of the capital represents a bell no doubt but the idea was suggested by a full-blown inverted lotus as is clearly seen in the entrance pillar of the small stūpa No. 2 at Samehias per numbering of General Maisey; and this feature gradually degenerated into the shape of a vase or *kumbha* prompted by a sense of symmetry to repeat the base.

I have remarked that this member of the Indian capital though resembling a bell was suggested by an inverted lotus, and this view of mine used to be held by European scholars up till recently in respect of the bell-shaped capital of the Egyptian column falling in the 4th order of the classification of Egyptian columns by Sir G. Wilkinson.

I have spoken so long about the animal capital of a column, in this connection I may mention one point which appears to be significant in tracing the zoomorphic member of the Indian column, an omission of which would tend to make my observations incomplete. In Persia we have not so far met with an isolated column with an animal as the crowning member resembling the Buddhist *lāt*, or a *Garuda stambha*. Wherever the animal representation is noticed it is meant to support the architrave. This variation found in Indian architecture might by the advocates of Iranian art be interpreted as a later development, a logical sequence of the main idea derived from Iran. To this I would say nothing but simply refer to the representation of a small pavilion within a fortress discovered by Layard at Nimrod.

The next point that would naturally strike one's attention in making a comparison between the Indian and the Persian column is their respective bases. The base is very simple in Indian exemplars, consisting of an overlapping tier of rectangular slabs decreasing in width, or a torus resembling a vase or urn resting over the former. Before we institute a comparison between the two types of bases it is necessary to bear in mind

that the Persian base shows three variations, a flat disc as at Pasargadae, a rectangular slab surmounted by an ordinary torus, or that marked by horizontal flutings, and thirdly a complex base consisting of an inverted bell ornamented by a leafy design supporting a torus. On comparing the Indian base with the Persian type we do not detect any similarity except perhaps that in the employment of torus as a component feature, but is not this torus called *Kumudam* in Sanskrit found employed from the earliest dawn of history as a decoration or an architectonic device? We find it in every age and clime, everywhere—be it in the valley of the Nile, the regions of European culture round the Mediterranean, or the Aegean, the basin of the Tigris or Euphrates, the tableland of Fars or Farsistan, or the vast Indian Peninsula. In this country alone so many different modifications of torus or *Kumudam* are met with that they, if studied carefully, will amply repay the care and attention to be bestowed upon them. It will be a pardonable digression for me to say that with the help of this torus alone I could very successfully identify a structure of the Pallava style whether in the rock-cut caves of Undavilli in the Kistna district, or at Mahavellipuram, or at Kanchi or Conjeeveram in the district of Chingleput.

I have already remarked that the Indian base resembles a vase or urn or *kumbha*. This type of base is nowhere found in Iran either before or after Darius. I do not accordingly understand how could the oriental scholars detect any similarity between the Persian base and the Indian exemplar. I am constrained to remark that the application of the term Persepolitan base to the corresponding member of the Indian column is wholly incorrect. It will be interesting to know that the vase representation is found in an Assyrian standard though its position is reversed, i.e. from base to capital. However, the *motif* is traceable to the early Assyrian period. I cannot resist the temptation of pointing out a striking similarity noticed between the Indian base and that shown in relief on a stone tablet discovered at Sippara, one of the oldest of Chaldean

towns now preserved in the British Museum depicting the scene of doing homage to the Sun-god Sarnas by the Chaldean King Naboa-Abla-Idin reigning about 900 years before Christ. The pillars of the portico preceding the hypogea of the tomb in Paphlagonia near Phrygia called the Iskelib group have vase-shaped bases; the pillars of one of the tombs of this group have animal capitals as well. Phrygia, where these vase-shaped bases are found, derived its culture from Syro-Cappadocia where is also found the mainspring of Hellenic culture. I may therefore call the Indian base a kindred of the Syro-Cappadocian type probably derived from that found in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, having absolutely nothing to do with the Hellenic, or Iranian counterpart. I think it is necessary to state here that it may not be presumed that the bases of all pillars resemble the vases in shape or even depict a form; some pillars have no base at all.

Mention may be made in this connection of a peculiar zoomorphic base found in a particular style of Southern India bearing a close affinity to a type found in Assyria. If we examine the columns of the Pallava style as illustrated in the bases or columns found within the Kachcheśvara temple at Conjeeveram we cannot but be reminded of the façade in a bas-relief now preserved in the British Museum. The bases are not only similar, but a striking similarity is noticeable in the pedestals of the column as well. The same fillet (*antarin*), cavetto (*alīṅga*), torus (*kumuda*), scotia (*padma*) and the fillet (*upalam*).

If we disengage, or eliminate the capital and the base from a column what remains is the shaft, and let us now consider its details. The shaft of the Persian or Greek columns was always cylindrical in form with or without a little tapering. In almost all the cases, the corresponding member of an Indian column or columnar representation of it was rectangular or octagonal, or a combination of both. This predilection for rectangular or octagonal shafts has manifested itself from the earliest Vedic period through the

mediæval times down to the present day. Why is this difference? Let us take up and consider the Bhārut gateway. We find here a conglomeration of four octagonal shafts resting on a rectangular base. If we look at the Sāñchī gateway we find rectangular pillars. The columns of the rock-cut caves at Bhaja, Bedsa, Karle, or Kanheri are all octagonal.

The Persian shaft tapers upwards very slightly and is characterised by airy slenderness. It is also fluted, and fluting is noticed everywhere in Persia except in the only instance of a primitive column discovered in the ruins of the palace of Cyrus at Pasargadae and in the rock-cut tombs at Persepolis where the flutings were omitted for constructional expediency. The tall slender shaft with flutings, the member of which again does not correspond to the classical order, is one of the points of difference between the Indian type and its counterpart found in Persia.

I shall show you another feature which, [small as it is, is very significant in so far as it is eminently characteristic of the Indian order, I mean the four angles separating the octagonal from the rectangular portion; the stop chambering as it is technically called is so Indian in character that we find it from the pre-Christian times up to the present day, in wood, stone, brick or metals. I have not found it in the sculptural, or architectural representations of any country outside India. On referring to the Bhārut gateway you will find it represented there as cleverly as in the mediæval Orissa pillars at Konārka, or in the wooden or masonry supports of a verandah either in Calcutta, Benares or at Peshawar:

I may, before I conclude, very briefly examine the column discovered by Dr. Spooner at Kumrahār in connection with the excavations at Pataliputra. On the strength of certain illegible scribblings or mason's marks at the base of the above column, Dr. Spooner has sought to confirm Sir John Marshall's supposition that "Asoka must have employed, even if he was not the first to introduce, Græco

Persian artists or artisans." First, I should say with all deference to the learned Doctor that he has no first-hand knowledge of these Persian marks, and has merely relied upon Dieulafoy's work *L'Art Antique de la Perse*. From his remark it appears that he has taken the remains of Behistun and \* Meshid-i-Murghab, i.e. Takhte Madere Soleiman as synchronous, for which there is a great divergence of opinion. Secondly, the squat massive exemplar at Kumrahar does not bear any resemblance to the column of either of the two different periods, i.e. of Cyrus and Darius. Again, as Dr. Spooner has likened it to the column of the time of Darius, it may be borne in mind that not a single unfluted pillar of the structural type has yet been discovered in Persia. Fourthly, there is no Persian column discovered up till now which was not provided with a base either in the time of Cyrus or Darius. Fifthly, the taper of this column is eminently Indian; sixthly the bosses projecting from a certain height of this column have no counterparts in Persia.\*

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\* Messrs. B. Ghose and S. Kundu, friends of the late Mr. M. Ganguli, have helped in arranging the paper and verifying references.—*Editor, J.B.O.B.S.*

## MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS

### I. Some Names in the Ramayana

By G. Venkoba Rao

In the article published in pages 290ff. of Volume XII, Part II of the Journal, the learned author in giving the derivation of the word लङ्का meaning "white" has not correctly construed the definition given in the lexicon *Śabdakalpadruma*. The lexicon gives लङ्का, स्त्री, (रमन्तेऽस्यामिति । रम् + बाहुव्यात्कः । रस्य सत्वम् । इत्युज्ज्वलः । ३ । ४० । ) रत्नः पुरी ।

उज्ज्वलः is the name of the commentary वृत्ति on उणादिसूत्र by उज्ज्वलदत्त and not the meaning of लङ्का. The numerals ३ । ४० clearly indicate the reference to the work उज्ज्वल. इति does not here define or explain लङ्का as उज्ज्वल "white" but is used in the sense of quoting, i.e. it serves the purpose of inverted commas. रमन्ते cannot impart the idea of उज्ज्वल white, but means rejoice or delight. To take उज्ज्वल as white and then add reasons for the derivation is farfetched and untenable. The *Śabdakalpadruma* gives only one meaning रत्नः पुरी and Mr. Ramdas was right in his statement that the dictionaries do not give the meaning of लङ्का. If we ignore the explanation given in the brackets the reading will be लङ्का, स्त्री, रत्नः पुरी. In his long discussion as to how Jātāyu was Rāma's पितृ सखा, Mr. Ambika Prasad, while admitting the friendship between Jātāyu and Daśaratha as a foregone conclusion (page 292) later on differentiates between the words वयस्य and सखा. He says that Jātāyu never introduced himself to Rāma as पितृ सखा but only as वयस्य पितुरात्मनः while it was Rāma who adopted the word सखा, as though finding fault with Vālmiki for taking the two words as synonymous. The author states that वयस्य means contemporary and सखा friend. But Monier Williams

gives in his dictionary the meaning of वयस्य as—friend, companion and associate as well. It is clear that Rāma had understood Jaṭāyu rightly and used the word पिह सखा in his reply. Sampāti's question as to how Jaṭāyu was the friend of Daśaratha presupposes, according to some commentaries of the Rāmāyaṇa, that Aṅgada should have already informed Sampāti about the friendly relationship between Daśaratha and Jaṭāyu, which fact Vālmiki has omitted to record. Rather it should be remembered that the extant work is only an epitome of a larger one. Otherwise Sampāti would not have put this abrupt question. Mr. Prashad says that Jaṭāyu used the word वयस्य: in the sense of *contemporary* and that Rāma adopted the word सखा meaning *friend* (III-14-3). But later on (III-67-23) when Rāma saw Jaṭāyu mangled by Rāvaṇa and about to die, Rāma said अयं पिह वयस्यो मे गृध्रराजो जरान्वितः. From this it is clear that Rāma did not differentiate between वयस्य: and सखा ।

Sanskrit dramas abound in instances of such indiscriminate usage of the terms वयस्य: and सखा ।

In Act II of Kalidāsa's Śakuntalā विदूषकः says—

आः हतोस्मि एतस्य मृगयाशीलस्य राज्ञो वयस्यभावेन ।

Later on he again says addressing King Duṣyanta—

भो वयस्य न मे हस्तौ पादौ प्रसरतः

Duṣyanta in one place says—

वयस्यस्त्रै वमाह ममापि काश्यपसुतामनुस्मृत्य, etc. and again to Vidūṣaka's remark

भो वयस्याद्य तापसकन्यकाप्यर्थनीया दृश्यते

King Duṣyanta replies

सखे न परिहार्यं वस्तुनि पौराण्यां मनः प्रवर्तते ।

At the very end of Act II Duṣyanta says to Vidūṣaka क्व वयं...स्वसमेघिनो जनः ।

परिहासविजल्पितं सखे परमार्थेन न गृह्यतां वचः ॥

The lexicon अमरकोश gives

वयस्यः स्निग्धः सखा अथ मित्रं सखा सुहृत् ।

Thus वयस्यः and बन्धु are synonymous words meaning *friend* and वयस्यः is not used by Jaṭāyu in the sense of "a contemporary." If Jaṭāyu had not been Daśaratha's friend he would not probably have attempted to take care of Sītā and eventually lost his life in trying to save her from Rāvaṇa.





## II—Nagas and their Worship

By Satindra Narayan Roy, M.A., B.L.

The word Naga in common parlance means a snake. Snakes have their terrors. Primitive men in their simplicity and superabundance of fear might worship them. But such a worship is a very inferior order of worship. Be it said to the credit of the Hindus with their interminable pantheon of gods and goddesses that there is no trace of abject fear in any of their numerous worships. Every one of the numerous gods and goddesses, as conceived in their staba or devotional conjuration, is nothing but a symbolical representation of the Infinite in one of His varied phases. Nag puja, as it obtains at the present day, in Bengal, Chota Nagpur and Orissa is not a very inferior form of worship.

Manasa is worshipped in Bengal and Chota Nagpur on the last day of the month of Sraban. Her worship does not prevail in Orissa. There is an idea current in those who have not studied closely the mantras of the worship that Manasa Puja is nothing but snake-worship. This is altogether wrong. Manasa is described in her staba as a youthful lady, seated on a swan, decorated with ornaments. She has snakes on her lap and seven snake hoods behind her. She is the mother of the snakes and her attitude is that of blessing the world. She is the sister of Basuki, who Atlas-like holds the world. Her husband is a Rishi, called Jaratkaru. Her son Astika is also a great Rishi. It may be noted here that Astika saved the snakes when they were taken by the power of mantras from all imaginable quarters and burnt at the great Sarpa-Jagna of King Janamejaya of the Pandava line.

When most of the snakes were burnt and gone, and a few remained in imminent danger of their life, Astika interceded and saved them from the wrath of King Janamejaya who did the great Sarpa-Jagna because one of the snakes, Takshaka, had fatally bit his father King Parikshit, according to a curse of a Rishi. It must be remembered that Manasa is a late admission into the Hindu pantheon. The earliest outburst of Bengali poetry, known as Manasamangal, celebrates the origin of her worship. Chandsadagar of Champa was a worshipper of Siva and he refused to worship Manasa. She was angry and wanted to get her puja from him anyhow. She killed his six sons and destroyed his fleet of ships that carried his merchandise from far and near. But Chandsadagar was obdurate. He was a type of inflexible personality that might break but would never bend. His last son Lakshmindhar was killed by snake bite on his bridal night. His wife Behula carried his dead body on a raft and prayed to Manasa to bring her husband back to life. At last her prayers were answered. Manasa was pleased to bring to life all the sons of Chandsadagar. She also raised his fleet that had gone under water. Chandsadagar consented to worship her with his left hand. Thenceforward the mother of the snakes obtained her first recognition as a goddess. She is the mother of the snakes only in the figurative sense of a protecting guardian. She is the embodiment of a power that controls the vicious snakes. She sits in an attitude of blessing the world. If we take her name we are saved from all harms caused by snakes. The man who worships snakes as such, cowed down by their terrors, is more beast than man. But the power for good that regulates the evil may be worshipped consistent with self-respect. Manasa is such a power.

We pass on to the Nagas. They are the children of the great sage Kasyapa by his wife Kadru. The same Kasyapa is the father of the Adityas, the Danabas, the Daityas and Garuda by different wives. The Adityas are

very ancient Aryan gods. They are mentioned in the Rig Veda. We find six of them there, viz., Mitra, Aryamā, Bhaga, Varuna, Daksha and Anshu. The Daityas and the Danabas had human forms like the anthropomorphic gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon. Garuda, the familiar mount of Vishnu, appears in every Vaishnavite shrine as a human figure with wings seated on a small pillar. The Nagas were little short of divine beings like the other sons of Kasyapa. Vasuki, one of the Nagas, was used as a rope by the Devas and the Danabas in the mythological churning of the ocean. In the Sastras high regard is paid to Basuki. Ananta is one of the Nagas on whom Vishnu sleeps when the world is full of water after the deluge. He is worshipped in this attitude as Ranganath in Southern India.

Naga Panchami in the dark fortnight of the month of Ashar is specially fixed for the worship of the Astanagas in Bengal and Chota Nagpur. The Astanagas are Ananta, Basuki, Kulira, Karkataka, Takshaka, Sankha, Padma and Mahapadma. What is really worshipped is not the Nagas but Manasa. She is represented on a throne, borne by the eight Nagas. There is no corresponding worship in Orissa, but Naga-chauthi or Naga-chaturthi on the fourth day of the bright fortnight of Kartic is celebrated in Orissa, although the puja is somewhat different. The Nagas are worshipped as subsidiary deities along with Manasa, the principal goddess. There is a folklore amplifying the Naga Panchami Puja. Once upon a time there lived a great merchant. He had seven sons and seven daughters-in-law. The youngest daughter-in-law came of a poor family and had neither father nor mother to look after her. One day the daughters-in-law met at the bathing ghat and began expressing their hearts' wish to each other. All of them, except the last, said that it would be a great pleasure to be in their fathers' place, to take delicious dishes and to do nothing. The youngest daughter-in-law of the merchant said that her heart's wish was to take a little rice steeped in water with a burnt fish.

While returning from the tank, she actually found two Lata fish playing about in a little pool of water. She took them up and kept them in a corner of the cooking-room, under a basket, and forgot all about them. When she was going to take her meal she thought of the fish she had brought, and opened the basket. To her great amazement she found that the fish were gone and two small creeping snakes were inside the basket. Out of tenderness for all living creatures, she secreted them inside an earthen pot, and brought them up with milk and plantain. One night in her dream the Nagas appeared before her and said, "We harm no living creature. We never forget a good turn done to us. Yet we are not worshipped on this earth. Men who would worship us would have all their desires fulfilled." She spoke of her dream to the household, but none heeded her. However, she in her own way worshipped the two Nagas. When asked what she wanted, she said that she was not in special want of anything, except that, she had no father's house to live in for a few days, by way of change. The Nagas said that they would be brothers to her and take her to their place in Patala. The Nagas went home and consulted Manasa, who, knowing the nature of the Nagas, hesitated a good deal to bring the merchant's daughter-in-law to Patala. She ultimately gave her consent. The Nagas in human form went to the merchant's house with rich presents. They introduced themselves as brothers of the youngest daughter-in-law of the merchant and said that they were brought up in their maternal uncle's place from their infancy and so they could not come to their sister so long. They took the youngest daughter-in-law of the merchant to Patala. Manasa gladly received her and showed her all quarters of Patala except the northern quarters, where she forbade her to go. When Manasa was away on the earth to take her pujas from her devotees the merchant's daughter-in-law out of feminine curiosity entered upon the northern quarters where a python stung her. Manasa felt, at that very moment, that something wrong had happened at Patala and she hurried

home. She restored the merchant's daughter-in-law to life and sent her back home with ornaments suited only for the left side of her body. The snakes that went with her took diminutive forms and waited to find out the real feelings of their sister. The members of the household told her that ornaments given by her brothers were excellent, but they were only fit to be worn on the left side of the body. But she only blessed her brothers and said that, in due course, they would give her a complete set of ornaments. The Nagas went to Patala highly delighted with the conduct of their sister. Next year, the Nagas came and again took their sister home to Patala. There she remained for a number of days. One day Manasa told her to boil milk for the Astanagas. She went inside the cooking-room to boil milk, but she was in the family way, and felt drowsy, and took a nap. The Astanagas came home hungry and asked her for milk. She hurriedly boiled milk for them and served it in golden cups without minding to cool it properly. The result was that the Nagas got blisters in their mouths. They restrained their feelings towards her, but the youngest of the lot, unable to do so, bit her with its poisons fangs and she died then and there. Manasa came upon the scene, took the Nagas severely to task and brought her back to life. She then sent her home with a complete set of ornaments and presents of all imaginable descriptions. Thenceforward Naga worship came into vogue throughout the country. The folklore shows clearly the nature of the Nagas, when their anger was roused they felt no hesitation in biting their dearest sister to death. The story also illustrates the influence for good exercised by Manasa over the Nagas. It was she who saved the story from a total wreck by undoing the wrongs done by the Nagas. Naga-worship, such as it is, came into vogue after Manasa had been recognised as a goddess. In fact, it is a corollary to her worship. The origin of the Nagas and the origin of the Nagabangshi Kshatriyas might lead to ethnological conjectures. The Nagas are the descendents of Kasyapa Rishi by his wife Kadru. In Hindu eugenics the mother has an inferior place. It is the father who determines the qualities

of the children and confers on them a higher status in society. The mother is not altogether left out of the count as we see that the sons of Kasyapa by different mothers obtained different positions in society. Bearing in mind the superiority of the father in determining the status of the offspring the origin of the Nagabangshi Kshatryas become somewhat clear. They trace their descent from the Nagas. The figure of a snake is found in their seals as also in their signature. They observe Naga Panchami and worship the Astanagas. They are found all over Chota Nagpur, and the Ruling Chief of Kalahandi also belongs to their clan. Tradition asserts that the Nagabangshi Kshatryas gave the name of Nagpur to the tract in which they came to live originally. The Maharaja of Nagpur was at one time the head of the Nagabangshi Kshatryas. He is still their titular head. If the tradition of the Nagabangshi Kshatrya is taken side by side with the origin of the Nagas, one broad generalisation may be drawn. Kadru perhaps belongs to a non-aryan clan and her offspring, the Nagas, by Kasyapa obtained the first entrance and a superior status in the Aryan fold. Later on, when the entire male population of Kshatryas were destroyed by Parasuram the need of reconstructing the Kshatrya caste became paramount. At that time the offspring of Kshatrya women by a Naga, or descendant of Kasyapa, gave the start to a new line, the Naga family of the Kshatryas.

Ordinarily the people of India are divided into Aryans and Non-Aryans. The existing non-aryan tribes have been numbered and classified. But history does not record how many non-aryan tribes have been taken inside Hindu society by the slow process of selection and assimilation. Nor is there anything to show that the so-called Aryans of the present day are not really a hybrid race, a mixture of pure Aryans and some of the non-aryan tribes. In one sense, the greatest romance of history and the amplest display of creative genius are to be found in the social organisation of the Hindus.

The origin of the Nagas and subsequently the origin of the Nagabangshi Kshatryas point the index finger to the forces of selection and assimilation that they worked to raise the high and delicate structure of Hindu Society.



### **III—Local Tradition about Cuttack and its Relics**

**By Sarat Chandra Ghosh**

The town of Cuttack was first established by the Hindu King Naripa Kesary of Kalinga (Orissa) who reigned from 941-953 A.D. He was one of the kings of the Kesary dynasty that ruled over Orissa. Jajpur, which is at present one of the subdivisions of Cuttack, was first selected as the capital by the Hindu King Jajati Kesary of Orissa, who reigned from 474-527 A.D. He was one of the most famous kings of the Kesari Dynasty, and the place was rightly named Jajatipur, or in an abbreviated form Jajpur (i.e., Place of Jajati) after the name of its founder. After the acquisition of Orissa by the British in 1803, Puri was first made the capital of Orissa, but then in 1816 the capital was shifted to Cuttack, where it is still.

Out of the most prominent relics, the Barbaty Fort to the north of the town deserves the first position. It was built as the stronghold of the Orissa Raj during the rule of Annang Bhim Dev of Orissa. He was one of the famous kings of the Gaṅga dynasty who reigned from 1175-1202 A. D. in Orissa. During the time of the successive kings of this dynasty a nine-storied building was erected within it, which was used as a palace by them. The ruins of this fort are still to be seen, and have been preserved up to this day by the British Rāj.

The stone embankments of the Katjuri and the Mahanadi rivers, a lasting monument of olden times, next deserve attention. The zigzag position and the present sound condition of the embankments attract us all the more. These were built in the reign of the king Maraket Kesary of Orissa who reigned from 953-981 A.D. about 1,000 years ago. The



peculiarity in the construction of the embankments bespeaks a good deal about the skill of the then workmen, who are in no way inferior to the present skilful engineers of this scientific age.

Chouduar, a village on the other side of the river Mahanadi, about six miles off to the east from Cuttack town, still bears the ruins of the palace of Birat Raja, who is nicely depicted in the pages of the great Epic the Mahābhārata. One who happens to go there will be satisfied at a glance that there are ruins of the palaces and big tanks too, and those within a ditch excavated all round. He will also find at a short distance from this, the present site of the *Kichak Gar*—the place where Kichak, the well-known Commander-in-Chief of Birat Raja, used to put up. Local traditions will also convince him of the above facts. These are not myths but real facts, and so these relics at once take us to pre-historic times even.

Then again here also we find traces of the remains of the Fort Chouduar constructed during the reign of Gangeswar Dev, a king of the Gaṅga dynasty of Orissa who reigned from 1152-1166 A. D.

Furthermore one will notice here the place where the famous Vaishnava Reformer Lord Chaitanya, who flourished in the latter part of the fifteenth century and the first part of the sixteenth century A. C., stayed one night on his way to Vrindāvana.

### Religious remains

Turning to Cuttack town we see the site where Lord Chaitanya was installed in Mahammedia Bazar. This deity was established by the famous Pratap Rudra Dev, the famous Hindu king of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinga (Orissa), within his palace here. During his reign as a token of his heartfelt devotion to his preceptor Lord Chaitanya, Pratap Rudra Dev installed him and began to worship him. This place where the deity is, still locates the position of the palace of the famous Raja of Orissa, who reigned between 1504-1532 A. D. So this deity must be of 400 years old.

Next the Bithal Thakur of Mahidas Bazar in the heart of the town, was established by the Marhattas, when they came to rule Orissa, after the treaty was entered into by Nawab Aliverdhi Khan with the Marhatta Chief in 1751 A.D. The very name Bithal which appears only in relation to Marhatta deities and is wholly new to the Sanskrit language, and a Marhatta term at once convinces us of its Marhatta-origin, and the very existence of the deity, and the fact that its Sebayet is a Marhatta, leave no room for doubt. This deity itself is strong evidence and a monument of the advent of the Marhattas into this country. So this deity at once takes us to a period about 200 years back. Besides this deity there are 21 deities more who receive *Gundi allowance* for their Sebayet for the time of the Marhattas up to this time.

Then comes Jajpur, at present one of the subdivisions of Cuttack, and which was included within this even before by the native Rajas of Kalinga (Orissa). Jajpur, better known as *Biraja Khetra*, is one of the 52 *Hindu pīṭhasthāna* (sacred places) in India, and is considered as a most sacred place. The presence of the holy river Baiturani there, a bath in which takes away all sins, and the presence of the Goddess Biraja, attract Hindu pilgrims from all quarters of India. It is termed *Gada Khētra* according to Vaiṣṇava scriptures. Moreover the *Navi Gaya* or centre Gaya continues to attract Hindus for offering *pindas* there to their departed relations just as they do at Gaya, and that with the same religious efficacy. Next turning to comparatively recent times I may mention the temple of Barahanath at Jajpur, which was built under orders of Raja Pratap Rudra Dev, the most famous king of the Ganga dynasty who ruled from 1604—1532 A.D. at Cuttack.

Turning to Muhammadan religious institutions I must mention the name of *Kadam Rasul* here in the heart of the town. Two footprints of the Prophet Muhammad are placed there in a mosque with a big compound and gardens ~~and out here~~ and there, and are adored by the Moslem com-

munity. The mosque was built by orders of Badshah Shah Suja in 1166 Hijri as the inscription clearly shows.

### Literature

Most of the famous Oriya poets belong to Cuttack. The well-known Jagannath Das and Balaram Das, authors of the Bhagbat and the Ramayana respectively, were born here, and all flourished during the reign of the kings of the Gaṅga dynasty of Orissa, who reigned from 1118-1534 A.D. The aforesaid Jagannath Das was a Brahmin, and the latter was a Karan by caste and a Vaishnab. Then again the poet Abhimanyu Samantasingar is a native of Balia, twenty-one miles to the east of the town. The famous sooth-sayer and devotee Achutananda Das, who wrote out the *Malika* or future History of Orissa in Oriya, is an inhabitant of village Lembal, nineteen miles to the east of the town. The origin of the Oriya language can be traced back to the period 1118-1534 A.D. During which the Gaṅga dynasty ruled in Orissa.

Sarala Das, the famous poet, who wrote the Mahābhārata, was born at Jhankar, about twenty-eight miles to the east of Cuttack town within the Sudder subdivision. He lived a saintly life too. The place where the saint breathed his last (at about 50 cubits off from his place of birth) can still be well seen, and marked through, popularly known as "Muni Gosain Muth".

### Trade

Fallspoint light house was a port of Cuttack in olden times, and our enterprising ancestors used to carry on trade with distant places such as Java, Sumatra and other islands in the east.

Furthermore the presence of tombstones of the Dutch, and the French very near the bank of the Kathjuri just by the side of the present Cuttack Training School, at once establishes beyond doubt that European traders used to trade here, and were buried in those places after death.

## IV—Mustard in Magic and Religion

By Kalipada Mitra, M.A., B.L.

It is well known that Mustard is considerably used in magic practices. The antiquity of these practices is beyond question and dates as far back as the Atharvaveda. There is a hymn in it (Av. viii. 6) which is recited to guard a pregnant woman against demons. Kausītaki (8.24) includes this hymn together with Av. ii. 2 and vi. 111 into the category of *mātṛnāmāni*. It is also employed in the *sīmanta* rite (35.20) in the eighth month of a woman's pregnancy, and an amulet is bound as specified in the text (cf. verse 20). This amulet is said to be that of white and yellow mustard, and the Ath. Paddh. seems to prescribe "a talisman in the form of a doll made of red and yellow mustard plants (?)", and reaching from the woman's neck to her navel.<sup>1</sup> Av. viii. 6. 20 reads thus :— "Let her maintain what is left (?) ; what is set let not that fall down ; let the two formidable remedies, to be borne in the undergarment, defend thine embryo."

The commentator paraphrases *parirṣṭam* by *homādiviniyogāv-asīṣṭam sarṣapadvayam*. The two mustard seeds (or plants?) thus consecrated are therefore the two formidable remedies protecting the embryo in the pregnant woman against the influence of demons. It was also used as a remedy against diseases which were either, or caused by, demons, spirits, etc. Kausītaki (30.1) quotes a hymn (Av. vi. 16) recited in a healing rite, performed to cure disease of the eyes. The first hymn under vi. 16 is unintelligible. The commentator in deriving *ādayu* understands mustard to be addressed.

If the idea was that mustard could protect life, perhaps in later times it was credited with the power of bringing back the dead to life if magical rites were duly performed in that behalf. It seems that such rites were actually resorted to. In the

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<sup>1</sup> Harvard Oriental series, Vol. VIII. p. 494.

*Brahmajālasutta-aṭṭhakathā vetālaṃ* is explained—"ghaṇatālaṃ, mantena matasariruttāhāpanaṃ," i.e. bringing dead bodies back to life by spells. It appears that the idea that the dead could be restored to life (e.g. by *vetālaṃ*) widely prevailed in the times of the Buddha, as it assuredly did in subsequent times.<sup>2</sup> It is abundantly clear from the *Vinaya*, that the Buddha showed due regard for popular superstition, and he utilised it in his religious discourses. It is in agreement perhaps with this popular superstition, viz. the dead could be brought back to life that the Buddha, when asked by Kisā Gotamī to find a medicine for her dead child, advised her to bring *white mustard seed*. She asks: "*Kim lāddhum vaṭṭatīti*" (What should I bring to you?). The Lord says: "*Accharagahaṇa-mattaṃ siddhatthakaṃ lāddhum vaṭṭatīti*" (Bring me a handful of white mustard seeds).<sup>3</sup>

The practice of protecting babes from evil influence by fumigating the lying-in room with the smoke caused by burning mustard seeds is alluded to in *Kumārāpelavattu* in the *Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā* (III. 5). So unfortunate was the poor babe in the tale that even the commonplace rite of *sāsapa-dhūpanaṃ* was not made for it. The commentator explains *sāsapadhūpanaṃ* thus: "*yaṃ iātasya dāraḥkasya rakkhanaṭṭhāya sāsapena dhūpanaṃ karonti tampi tassa karontā nāhesuṃ*", i.e. nobody made for him that smoke with mustard seed which is caused for the protection of newborn babes.

As a cosmetic powdered mustard seed<sup>4</sup> or mustard paste<sup>5</sup> was used by ladies for the face, whether it was purely a beautifier, or the idea of protection was inherent in it I cannot say

<sup>2</sup> Of the story of Anāgarati and her four Suitors in the *Kathāsaritāsāgara* where the Brahman Jivadatta says—"by means of the sciences which I possess by the favour of Gauri, I can raise to life a dead woman."—N. M. Fenzler, *Ocean of Story* (1925) Vol. IV. p. 145, cf. also the story of the second *vetāla* in the *vetālapañcaviṃśati* as given in the *Kathāsaritāsāgara* (Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay, 1915, p. 411—"Śaktiṃ paṭhitasiḍḍhasya mantrasya mṛtajīvanīm.")

<sup>3</sup> *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*—Kisā Gotamī-Vatthu. Vol. II (P.T.S.) p. 273 Dh.p. VIII. 13—114.

<sup>4</sup> *Jāt.* v. 302. *Sāsapa-Kakku* (cf. *Kakka*, *Kalka*), *Sāsapa-kutṭa* (*Vin.* I. 205, II. 151.)

<sup>5</sup> *Jāt.* vi. 232, *Sāsapa-Kakka*.

White mustard was used in auspicious ceremonies. We read in the *Kalpasūtra*, a Jāin book, that "interpreters of dreams..... put for the sake of auspiciousness *white mustard* and *durva* grass on their heads."<sup>6</sup>

In the *aupanīśadikam adhikāraṇam* of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* we read—" *Raktasvetasarṣapair go-dhātṛ pa kṣa muṣṭikā-yūm bhūmau nikkhātāyaṃ nihitā badhyenoddhṛtā yāvat paśyati, tāvaṃ mārāyati* " (Translation :—No sooner does a person condemned to death pull out from the earth an alligator or iguana (*godhā*) which, with three or five handfuls of *both red and white mustard seeds*, is entered into the earth than he dies at its sight).<sup>7</sup>

Mention is made of several other applications of mustard as a means to injure an enemy, such as :

Mālyena caikapatnyagnim pums'calyagnim ca sarṣapāih (p. 414).

It was largely used in contrivances for producing wonderful and delusive appearances as mentioned by Kauṭilya in "*Prakaraṇam—Pralambhane adbhūtutpadanam*" which I need not detail here. In the *Samhitās* too we find it used in offering *homa* or in other religious rites. Sloka 17, ch. II of the *Satātapa Samhitā* alludes to the performance of the tenth part of the *homa* with mustard. In *Yajñavalkya Samhitā* the use of *white mustard seed* (*gaurasarṣapa*) is indicated in slokas 277, 278 and 290 ch. I. Ślokas 12, 13, 14 of the same *Samhitā* and sloka 13 ch. XXVI of the *Kātyāyana Samhitā* may also be referred to.

Thus we find that in very ancient times the use of mustard in magic and religion was widely prevalent. It is not thus confined to superstitious people of modern times.

A very interesting and long list of prescriptions for compelling the love of her husband and making her co-wife a slave to her is given by Līlāvatī to Lahanā in *Kavikāṅkana Candī*

\* *Kalpasūtra* by Jacobi. S.B.E. Vol. XXII. p. 245.

<sup>7</sup> *Samhitā*, p. 413, Translation, p. 499. Italics are mine.

by the renowned Bengali poet Mukundarāma Chakravartī. One of the contrivances was :

*Rāi sarisā bhājibe sasārura taile !*

*Ghṛtera pradāpa jvālī bhuñja kutuhale ||*

Translation :—Fry mustard seed in the oil of sasāru (an animal), light a ghee lamp and eat merrily.

White mustard seed (*siddhārtha*) forms one of the several auspicious things placed on the *varaṇaḍālā* (skt. *prasasti-pātra*) used in religious and quāsi-religious rites. The word *siddhārtha* (that which accomplishes one's end) has a ring of sympathetic magic about it.

The Bengali mother prepares for the newborn babe a pillow of mustard seeds evidently as a charm against the evil eye or evil spirits. Exorcists in Bengal and North India extensively use it against spooks (cf. *sarṣe paḍā* in Bengal). Ghosts or spirits cannot transcend the magic circle described with mustard seeds. When corpses are taken to the cemetery or the crematorium, the halting places are circumscribed with mustard seeds to prevent the ghost from going back to the house where the person died. The *silārī* or the professional hail-avorter of Mymensingh (East Bengal) uses it as a charm against the malignant demon of the storm.<sup>8</sup> Dr. Crooke gives several instances of mustard seed as a scarer of demons and as a charm against the evil eye (*chasm rasidam*).<sup>9</sup>

The belief in the protective potency of mustard seed occurs amongst the Santals. In the tale of the *Flycatcher's Egg* in Bompas' *Folklore of the Santal Parganas* (pp. 111, 112) we read : "The husband said some incantations over mustard seed which he gave his wife as protection. She threw the seed at a *jugi* and turned him to ashes."

In St. Matthew (xiii. 31, 32) the kingdom of heaven is likened to "a grain of mustard seed which when it is grown is the greatest among herbs and becometh a tree....." Is there any significance in it ?

<sup>8</sup> *Man in India*, Vol. III, September and December, 1923.

<sup>9</sup> *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore in Northern India*, (Alld. ed.), pp. 170, 171, 198, 200.

## V.—On the Derivation of the Word Taka

By Kalipada Mitra, M.A., B.L.

While reading the Khoṭānese “Aparimitāyuh Sūtra” in *The Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature in Eastern Turkistan* by A. F. R. Hœrnle, I was struck by the following passage (paragraph 28).

Namaṃ.....Aparimittāyusūttrā udiśāya tanka masi haurā hauri tteye.....

Sanskrit Translation:—Om.....Aparimitayusūtram dharm aparyāyam uddiśy, ekamapi Kārshāpaṇam dānam.....

English Translation:—Salutation.....And whoever it might be who would make a gift as great as a farthing on account of the Aparimitāyuh Sūtra, by him gifts.....

*Tanka* is evidently a loan word in the Khoṭānese extract in much the same way as other words are found therein, e.g. *baudhisatvyam* (Bodhisatva), *nāmma* (nāma), *satva* (satva), *udiśāya* (uddiśya), etc. *Tanka* is equivalent to farthing in the English and *Kārshāpaṇam* in the Sanskrit, translation. In the Glossary *tanka* is equivalent to a “small coin.”

Now there were four kinds of *Kārshāpaṇa* (Pāli *kāhāpaṇa*) viz. gold, silver, copper and lead (*sīsakāhāpaṇa*).<sup>1</sup> That mostly in use, however, was, copper.<sup>2</sup> “The *Sāmantapāsādikā*, while explaining a verse from *Pātimokkha*, says about *kārshāpaṇa* as follows:—‘*tattha kāhāpāṇoti; suvaṇṇamayo vā rūpiyamayo vā pākatiḥ vā*’, here *kārshāpāṇa* is either made of gold, or that made of silver, or the ordinary one.”<sup>3</sup> If it was necessary for *tāka* (which, I think, is associated with *tanka*)

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<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar's *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics* (1921) pp. 77, 142.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82. See also Pandit Vidhusēkhara Sāstrī: *Bhikkhupātimokkham* (Bengali edition, Calcutta, 1323 B.S.) p. 162,



to be of silver, the *kāhāpana* or *kārshāpana* which is the meaning of *tanka* and which was also of silver, satisfies that condition. Gold, silver and copper standards prevailed in India.<sup>4</sup> *Tanka* means (i) a stamped coin and (ii) a weight of silver equal to 4 *māshās*.<sup>5</sup> *Kārshāpana* is so called because it is one *karsha* in weight.<sup>6</sup> One *karsha* is equivalent to (a weight of gold or silver equal to) 16 *māshās* (see Apte's *Dictionary*). Unfortunately there is much uncertainty as to the weight of *karsha*. "It is a matter of regret that the term *karsha* has not been explained by Mann, Yājñavalkya or any lawgiver".<sup>7</sup> According to Kulluka it is 80 *ratas* (copper) in weight. Dr. Bhandarkar makes 16 silver *māshakas*=1 *dharana* (which, according to him, is a *kārshāpana*).<sup>8</sup> This very well agrees with Apte. But silver in time became scarce, and the weight of silver coins was therefore reduced.<sup>9</sup> *Tanka* was 4 *māshās* of silver in weight, that is to say, it was one-fourth in weight of the standard silver *kārshāpana* (whose weight, as noted above, was 16 *māshās*). But, as we have seen, owing to the scarcity of silver the weight of the standard silver *kārshāpana* itself was reduced; hence *tanka* being still one-fourth of the *kārshāpana* would indeed be very small silver coin, suiting our text in the Khotānese extract above quoted; and it will not be necessary to take it as strictly equivalent (in weight and worth) to a (silver) *kārshāpana* as given in the Sanskrit translation.

Silver did become scarce, and the weight of coins had either to be reduced or the expedient of debasing the coinage (as in later times in most countries) had to be resorted to. Jayaswal mentions that the Jaina tradition ascribes to Chāṇakya the issuing of eight hundred million *debased silver coins* called *kārshāpanas* to fill the treasury.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* p. 84, 85.

<sup>5</sup> Y. S. Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1912) Q.V.

<sup>6</sup> Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* p. 83.

<sup>7</sup> Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* p. 86.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 92, 93. <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>10</sup> K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, pt. II., p. 162.

It is enough for us that we know the *tanka* to be a stamped coin, of inferior value, of silver, or in other words, it was minted, *ṭankitaṃ*, "mint-marked" being either "bored through" or "punched". And there was no dearth of such punch-marked coins in India. "These silver punch-marked coins", says Cunningham, "are found all over India from Kabul to the mouth of the Ganges, and from the Himalaya mountains to Cape Comorin..... Besides it is quite possible that in the ancient period represented by the punch-marked coins, the standard issue was generally silver *kārshāpaṇa*".<sup>11</sup> Buddhaghosha relates how different symbols were "punched" or stamped on the coins indicating where they were struck—"at which village, mufassil town, capital city, mountain and river bank and also by what mint-master".<sup>12</sup> The mint-master is *ṭaṅkapati*, also called *rūpyādhyakṣa* or superintendent of *rūpyas*. *Rūpya* is a stamped coin, gold or silver, "struck with a hammer so as to cause the *rūpa* or figure of a man to rise on it both on the obverse and reverse" according to Amarakoṣha<sup>13</sup>. The word, therefore, denotes something on which a *rūpa* or figure is stamped, and no doubt can be entertained that it is a "coin". The practice of getting *rūpa* or figure is alluded to in the *Sāmantapāsādikā* in the explanation of *dārumāsaka* and *jatūmāsaka*, e.g. "*dārumāsako ti sārādārūnā vā veṭupesikāya vā antamaso tālapaṇenāpi rūpaṃ chinditvā katamāsako. Jatūmāsako ti lākhāya vā nīgyāsena vā rūpaṃ samutṭhāpetvā katamāsako*".<sup>14</sup> Allusions to *rūpa* or coin occur in Pāli literature. Kauṭilya in his *Arthasāstra*<sup>15</sup> says: "The superintendent of mint (*lakṣhānādhyakṣa*) shall carry on the manufacture of silver (and copper) coins, (*rūpyarūpa*)." The Hindi *rūpeyā* may for its name at least be beholden to this *rūpyarūpa*.

<sup>11</sup> Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* p. 96.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* p. 100.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133.

<sup>14</sup> V. S. Śāstrī, *op. cit.* p. 162.

<sup>15</sup> II. 2, p. 24. Translation by R. Shamasastri, p. 93.

We have thus seen that *ṭāṅkā* is “punched” or stamped coin, and *rūpya* is also a stamped coin. The *ṭāṅka* and *rūpyarūpa* may have been of different values, but perhaps in time these different values were forgotten and they became mixed up and the one was used for the other. We read that “Altāmiş was the first to introduce a purely Arabic coinage such as had long been in use in countries further west and to adopt as his standard the silver tanka, the ancestor of the rupee, weighing 175 grains and thus exactly corresponding to our florin.”<sup>16</sup>

I have no means just now to ascertain if the *Arabic* coinage refers (as it seems it does) to the silver tankā, and if so in what countries exactly *they had long been in use*. It may be that this so-called *Arabic* coinage was not precisely of Arabic origin, but may have been derived from the ancient Khotānese *tāṅka* at some time or another not now definitely known with an improved weight at a time when the supply of silver became more abundant.

Let us also examine the words *tāṅkā* (Bengali তঙ্কা,<sup>17</sup> also তন্কা) and *tāṅkhā* (তন্খা). In Rai Bahadur Jogesh Chandra Ray's *Bengali Dictionary* (বাঙ্গালা শব্দকোষ) we find (a) তঙ্কা=টাকা। (b) তন্কা, তন্খা (ফাঃ তন্খা; সং টঙ্কা=টাকা প্রাচীন বাঙ্গালা তঙ্কা)—বেতন, মাসিক প্রাপ্য টাকা।

In Mr. Jnanendramohan Das' *Bāṅglā Bhāṣhār Abhidhāna* we find :—

তঙ্কা (টঙ্ক শব্দজ), রৌপ্যমুদ্রা, টাকা (তুল হিঃ তন্খা, ফাঃ তন্খোয়া)

It is clear from the above that *tāṅkā* and *ṭākā* are interchangeably used. What part does the Persian *تَنْجَر* play here? It means “an assignment, draft, salary.”<sup>18</sup> I believe that *تَنْجَر* or বেতন, salary, was paid in তঙ্কা, *tāṅkā* (old Bengali) or টাকা, *ṭākā*. Hence *tāṅkā* (তঙ্কা) and *تَنْجَر* got mixed up with one another and with *ṭākā*, টাকা।

<sup>16</sup> Lane Poole, *Medieval India*, p. 73.

<sup>17</sup> “*Ṣāta tāṅkā dīla sādhu piñjarer bāni*”—in *Kavikankan Canṭi* of Mukundarama Chakravarty where *tāṅkā* means *ṭākā*.

<sup>18</sup> Palmer, *A Concise Dictionary of Persian Language*, p. 150.

## VI.—The Sarāks of Mayurbhanj State

By Satindra Narayan Ray, M.A., B.L.

In the interior of Mayurbhanj State extensive ruins of Sarāk settlements are still met with. The Sarāks were an ancient people. They have however completely disappeared from the face of the earth. Not a single man is found who can tell his own tale of a lost civilisation. Near about Kitching in Mayurbhanj State there existed in the long past extensive Sarāk settlements. The sites are covered over with earthen mounds. Tradition has it that the Sarāks were a black coloured and strongly built people. They, at any rate, in the later stage of their existence had accepted Buddhism as their religion. Adi Bhanj, the founder of Mayurbhanj State, is said to have waged a bitter war against the Sarāks and the latter were almost killed to a man. This is all that we hear about them. Kitching was an old capital of Mayurbhanj State. Its ruins testify to its antiquity.

It is not at all possible to picture the ancient civilisation of the Sarāks. The materials available for reconstructing the past are meagre and unreliable; we shall avail ourselves of the dim light which they throw on the past glories of a lost race. There is a tradition that every Sarāk family had its own tank. The sites of ancient settlements are studded with big tanks, most of which have silted up. People say that the number of families in a particular settlement can still be traced by counting the number of contiguous tanks in the locality, as no Sarāk family ever used a tank that did not belong exclusively to it. The tanks that exist to this day are quite big and their excavations indicate a high state of civilisation. But that is not all. Iron implements of husbandry, tools, broken swords and even matchlocks have been dug out in pretty large number

from the mounds. Buddhistic images of stone, some of them exquisitely carved, have been unearthed. Ruined temples of stone stand in cluster indicating the high watermark of civilisation. Tradition asserts that each Sarāk family had its own temple as well as its own tank. No graveyard exists near the site of a settlement, and the question naturally arises whether the Sarāks used to burn their dead. It is not possible to give a definite answer. The graveyard with its stone memorials is the last thing to perish, and if it existed at all, it should have outlived the ruined temples. Tradition does not tell us anything about the manner in which they used to dispose of their dead. In the absence of a better evidence we may presume that the Sarāks used to burn their dead.

The position of the sites indicate that the Sarāks were a stray people who had settled down in the land after a good deal of wandering abroad. So far as we know no settlement is found anywhere else in Orissa. They did not intermarry with the indigenous people, who were mostly aborigines. They maintained their identity and superior civilisation and culture even after settling down permanently in the land. The sites when joined together form a small streak on the north-eastern corner of Mayurbhanj State. Whence came the Sarāks to Mayurbhanj and how could they attain such a high state of civilisation? Were they a wandering group of the Asuras who had taken to Buddhism late in their existence? Their culture, images, and engravings on stone make it quite clear that their civilisation was quite exotic. It came with them when they first settled in the land. The idea of an evolution, phase by phase, cannot be entertained as the aboriginal tribes that hemmed in their settlements are even now much the same as they were ages ago. The Asuras who fought with the Aryans in the delta of the Indus during the period of the Rig Veda, migrated eastwards along the whole of Central India and lost their identity only in the plains of Bengal. In their migration from one end of India to the other they moved among semi-civilised peoples of the Negrito type, who formed a boundary line as it

were between the Aryans of Northern India and the Dravidians of the Deccan. Scholars say with some confidence that the Asuras in the delta of the Indus were a sea-roving people like the Phœnicians. In their inland migrations they naturally lost their love of the sea, but as habits die hard, their genius probably took delight in excavating big tanks near their houses, each of which was appropriated by a particular family.

Tradition has it also that the Saraks in the palmy days of their existence exercised a shadowy influence over the whole of Mayurbhanj. Their culture and superior organisation struck the imagination of the aboriginal tribes who looked upon them almost as demi-gods. Ruined temples at the sites of their settlements still testify to their ancient glory, but their houses have completely disappeared. They might have built stone temples exquisitely carved for their gods, but probably they did not care to build even stone houses for themselves. This is quite in keeping with their religious temperament. People in the villages of Orissa even now build stone or brick temples for their gods although they are living from generation to generation in thatched mud huts.

## **NOTES OF THE QUARTER.**

### **Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held at the Society's Office on the 1st August 1926.**

#### **PRESENT.**

Mr. V. H. Jackson, Vice-President (in the chair).

Mr. G. E. Fawcens.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh.

Mr. E. A. Horne.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 15th March 1926.

2. Elected the following new members :—

Mr. Mahabir Prashad, B.Sc., B.L., Pleader, Chapra (Saran).

Pandit Aditya Narain Misra, P. O. Digha, Sikandarpore,  
Patna.

Mr. Parmanand Shaw, Daldary Bazar, Dinapore Cantt.  
(Patna).

3. Considered a letter, dated the 24th June 1926, addressed to the Vice-President, from Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham.

Resolved that Mr. Oldham's proposals, with regard to the maps and appendices to be included in the Society's forthcoming edition of Buchanan's Purnea Report, be adopted.

Resolved, further, that it is desirable to publish Buchanan's Dinajpur and Bangpur Reports (if some patron of the Society in Bengal can be found to finance the undertaking) in view of the fact (i) that Prinsep's edition of the former is now unprocurable, (ii) that the latter has never been published in a complete form, (iii) that cross-references to these two earlier

volumes occur very frequently in the reports which the Society has undertaken to publish.

The Council record their deep appreciation of Mr. Oldham's kindness in undertaking to edit, for the Society, Buchanan's Bhagalpur Journal.

4. Considered a letter, dated the 21st April 1926, from Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, with reference to the foundation of a (Kern) Research Institute of Indian Archaeology at the University of Leyden.

Resolved that an exchange of publications be arranged with the Kern Institute.

5. Considered a letter, dated the 2nd June 1926, from the Honorary Secretary, Delhi Public Library, requesting that the Library may be supplied with the Society's publications gratis.

Resolved that the request cannot be complied with.

6. Considered a letter (undated) from the Secretary of the Java Institute, proposing an exchange of publications.

Resolved that the proposal be accepted.

7. Read and recorded letters, dated the 22nd April 1926, from Dr. J. Jolly and Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, the newly elected Honorary Members of the Society.

8. Considered a memorial, dated the 29th July 1926, submitted by the peons of the Society's office, in which they ask that they may be granted grain compensation allowance on the Government scale.

Resolved that copies of the latest Government general order and quarterly circular on the subject be obtained and placed before the Council at the next meeting.

E. A. HORNE,

*Honorary General Secretary.*



**Proceedings of a meeting of the Council  
of the Bihar and Orissa Research  
Society, held at the Society's Office on  
the 26th September 1926.**

**PRESENT.**

Mr. V. H. Jackson, Vice-President (in the chair).

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Mr. E. A. Horne.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 1st August 1926.

2. Elected the following new members :—

Pandit Dharma Raj Ojha, M. A., New College, Patna.

Mr. Muhammad Abdus Sathar, M.A., High Court, Patna.

3. Adopted, after amendment, the Society's budget for 1927-28 and the revised estimates for 1926-27.

Resolved that a letter be sent to members, whose subscriptions for 1925 are in arrears, intimating that unless all arrears are paid up within three months, they will (under rule 14 of the Society's rules) cease to be members ; and that pending payment of their arrears in full, no copy of the forthcoming (September) issue of the Journal will be sent to them.

4. Considered item 8 in the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council (payment of grain compensation allowance to the Society's peons).

Resolved that grain compensation allowance be paid to the Society's peons, on the Government scale, with effect from the 1st August 1926.

5. Considered item 13 in the proceedings of the meeting of the Council, held on the 8th March 1926 (Purchase of Vols. I-XX of the Bulletin of the French School of the Far East).

Resolved that an offer of Rs. 300 be made for these volumes, which are required to complete the Society's set of the Bulletin—the price at present quoted by the School (in piastres of Indo-China) amounting, at current exchange, to Rs. 565, as compared with an earlier quotation (in francs), in October 1925, amounting to less than Rs. 200.

6. Considered letter No. 7332-R., dated the 18th August 1926, from the Government of Bihar and Orissa in the Revenue Department on the subject of the printing of Buchanan's Purnea Report.

Resolved that the arrangements proposed in this letter were never contemplated by the Council in connection with the publication by the Society of the Buchanan Reports; and that the Secretary, in his reply, point out that while the Buchanan Journals are being published as part of the Society's Journal, the Reports will be entirely separate publications, which it will be necessary to price at not less than Rs. 10 per volume, and to obtain a good sale for, if the funds available for financing the publication of these volumes are to prove adequate. The total inclusive cost to the Society of publishing the Purnea Report (the first of four similar volumes) is likely to be not less than Rs. 3,000; and the Council earnestly hope that Government will not only accord formal sanction to the printing of the Reports in the Government Press, but will also assist the Society in the work which has been undertaken by purchasing at least 100 copies at the price stated, viz., Rs. 10 per volume.

7. Considered a letter, dated the 10th September 1926, from Mr. Mackenzie of the Government Press on the subject of the supply of paper for the Journal.

Resolved that the sample of Titaghar antique laid paper, submitted with Mr. Mackenzie's letter, be not approved; and that Mr. Mackenzie be asked to obtain further supplies of the paper at present used.

8. Considered two letters, dated the 20th August and the 14th September 1926, from the Joint Secretaries of the Fourth Oriental Conference, requesting the Society to nominate

delegates to attend the conference, which will meet under the auspices of the Allahabad University on the 5th—7th November next.

Resolved that Mr. D. N. Sen and Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh be nominated as delegates of the Society.

9. Considered letter No. 527, dated the 12th August 1926, from the Director of Archæology in the Nizam's Dominions, with reference to an exchange of publications.

Resolved that an exchange of publications with the Archæological Department, Nizam's Dominions, be sanctioned from date; but that back numbers of the Journal can only be supplied on payment at the usual rate.

10. Considered an exchange of publications with the Andhra Historical Research Society.

Resolved that no action be taken for the present.

11. Considered an office note on the subject of the disposal of a Junior Remington typewriter belonging to the Society.

Resolved that the Remington Company be asked what they will allow on this machine and on the Society's other machine (a Yost), if the Society buys from them a new Remington machine.

12. Considered a bill submitted by the newly appointed Oriya Pandit for travelling expenses incurred in coming from Talcher (Orissa) to join his post in Patna.

Resolved that the Secretary ascertain what the Government rates admissible in such a case would be.

E. A. HORNE,  
*Honorary General Secretary.*

# Bhātṭa-Svāmin's Commentary

on

KAUTĪLYA'S ARTHA-ŚĀSTRA

Edited by K. P. JAYASWAL

and

A. BANERJĪ-SĀSTRĪ

भट्टस्वामिनः

प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्

अर्थशास्त्रटीकायाम्

द्वितीयेधिकरणे त्रिंशोऽध्यायः ।

[ Continued from June, 1926 number of this Journal ]

त्रिंशोऽध्यायः

## अश्वाध्याय इति सूत्रम् ।

AS', p. 132

अश्वाध्यायो महाश्वपतिः सोश्वपर्यग्रादीन् लक्ष्यमाणा-  
ननुतिष्ठेदिति सूत्रार्थः । सम्बन्धस्तु पूर्वमहभागं हस्त्यश्वर-  
थप्रहरणविद्यासु विनयं गच्छेदिति हस्त्यश्वादयोभिहिता तदध्यक्षास्तु  
नोक्तास्तेभिधीयन्त इति अयमध्यायत्रयस्याधिसम्बन्धोऽथवा स्वाश्व-  
मात्यजनपददुर्गकोशप्रकृतयोभिहिताः, तदनन्तरं दण्डप्रकृतिर्वक्तव्या,  
सामिधीयत इति । सम्बन्धस्तु तत्रापि प्राधान्यादश्वानामश्वध्यक्षः ।  
तथाचोक्तम्—

शक्यमश्वसहस्रेण वीरारूढेन भारत ।

व्यायसायद्वितीयेन कृत्स्ना जेतुं वसुन्धरा ॥ इति

तमाह अश्वा ध्य क्ष इत्यादि । स प ण्या गा रि कादिसप्त-  
प्रकार म श्व प र्य ग्रां कुलादिषड्विशेषणं प्रत्येकं लेखयेत्, तत्र  
प ण्या गा रि कं दर्शनागतं क यो पा ग तं क्रीतं आ ह व ल ब्धं  
संप्रामादृतमा जा तं स्ववेदवाधातं<sup>1</sup> सा हा या ग तं साहायादनेनलब्धं  
प ण स्थि त मधिकृतं या व त्का लि कं यावत्प्रयोजनं परकीयमानीत-  
म श्व प र्य ग्रा मश्वपरिमाणं कु ले न काम्भोजादिना, व य सा-  
न्तिवत्स<sup>2</sup>चतुर्वर्णादिना व र्णे न श्वेतशोणादिना, पौण्ड्रचिह्नेन प्रोथा-  
दिना पाण्डुप्रोढकालावकलादिना कर्मणा सात्राह्यादिना व र्णे ण  
समुदायेन तद्यथैतावदुभिर्बालभीतामिश्रं काम्भोजादिभिरेतावानयं  
वर्ग इति समुदायोक्त्या ग मे न यतो लब्ध इत्येवं ले ख ये त् । अश्वा-  
ध्यक्षः अप्रशस्तादीन्वा वे<sup>3</sup>दयेत् । अ प्र श स्तं कृष्णं तालुकावर्तादि,  
व्य क्तः काणखज्रादिः, व्या धि तः सरोगः ।

1 पाठदोषः । “निजाश्वोत्पन्न” ‘ग’स्य व्याख्या ।

2 “द्विवर्षत्रिवर्ष” पाठोऽनुमेयः ।

3 सूत्रत “आवाद्” पादो वर्जनीयः ।

को श को घ्रा गा रा भ्या मित्यवच्छेदार्थः कोशाद्धिरण्यं कोष्ठा-  
गाराध्यक्षः स्नेहलवणोर्णादिकं गृहीत्वा मा स ला भं पञ्चत्रिंश-  
दिवसपरिव्ययं गृहीत्वा चा(श्वानां) मंदुरादींश्चिन्तयेत् ।

शालामाह, अ श्व वि भ वे ना य ता मि ति, अश्वसङ्ख्याभिरूपेण  
प्रमाणे ना य तां दीर्घमानेन च, दैर्घ्यस्य नियममाहा श्वा या म द्वि-  
गु ण वि स्ता रा मि ति, अ श्वा या मं वक्ष्यति, द्वात्रिंशदङ्गुलीमुखमुत्त-  
माश्वस्य पञ्चमुखान्यायाम इति तद्विगुणविस्तारं च तु द्वां रा सु पा-  
व र्ते न म ध्या ञ्च प्रवेशनिर्गमयोरबाधार्थं अन्यादिभये यथासन्न-  
द्वारनिर्गमार्थञ्चतुर्द्वारत्वं उ पा व र्ते नं प्रलुठनस्थानं गोकरीषकल्पित-  
तल्पमध्ये तदेतद्देशे<sup>१</sup> यस्याः सोपावर्तनमध्येति केचित् । अपरे  
पुनरुपावर्तनं प्रमाणविशेषं आचक्षणास्तावत् प्रमाणमध्यं पार्श्वपद-  
द्वयान्तरमाचक्षते । तथा च

“केचिदाहुर्यगायामं रथचर्येति चापरे ।

“हयायामं कैश्चिदुपावर्तनमिष्यते” ॥

इति समासकरणं च द्वारस्यापि तावन्मात्रज्ञापनार्थं स प्र ग्री वां  
मुखशालोपेतां प्र द्वा रा स न फ ल कां द्वारोभयपार्श्वसम्प्रशयाः सन-  
फलकयुक्तामादक्षिणामवस्थानार्थं वा न र म यू रा दिभि रा की र्णां  
विषप्रतीकाराद्यर्थं कारयेन्नि वे श ये त् ।

महाशालानिवेशमभिधाय प्रत्येकमाह—अ श्वा या म च तु र-  
श्च श्ल क्षण फ ल का स्ता र मि ति अश्वायामचतुरश्च श्लक्ष्णैः फलकै  
रास्तारो यस्मिन्स खा द न को ष्ठं यवसादिविकरणाधारो वेन-  
यवसादिखादनकोटि[म्ब ?]कोपेतं वा मू त्र पु री षो त्स र्गं किञ्चित्  
अप्रतस्समुन्नतमे कै क शः प्रत्येकमश्वानां स्था नं नि वे श ये त्,  
प्रागुदङ्मुखप्रहणमङ्गुलार्थं दिगन्तरप्रतिषेधार्थञ्च । शा ला व शे न  
वा दि ण् वि भा ग मित्यादि, उत्तरपूर्वभागे कोशो गवाश्वं चेत्युक्तम्

१ पाठसंदेहः अर्थसंदेहश्च ।

२ “०सम्प्रशय०” पाठदुष्टिः प्रतीयते ।

तद्यदि न तत्र ता धानवकाशो महती च शाला कार्या तदा तद्योग्ये-  
सन्निषन्नदिग्विभागे शालां कुर्यादित्यर्थः । ब ड बा प्रसविनी,  
वृ षः सेक्ता, कि शो रः षण्मासादूर्ध्वमात्रिवर्षादिति, एतेषामे का न्ते पु  
अन्यवाजिनां तेषां च परस्परमदर्शने शालां कुर्यात् ।

ब ड बा याः प्र जा ता या इति प्रसूताया स्त्रिंशत् वृ त प्र स्थः  
प्रातः प्रातरच्छ पा नं, तच्च दिनमेकं लङ्घिताया इति द्रष्टव्यम् । अ त-  
स्त्रिंशत्तदूर्ध्वं स क्तु प्र स्थः अपराह्णभोजनं अपराह्णभोजनं स्ने ह-  
मै ष ज्य प्र ति पा नं<sup>१</sup> मिति भोजनानन्तरं स्नेहोक्षितं च मूलादिकं  
वा प्रतिपानन्द श रा त्व म् । त तो दशरात्रादूर्ध्वं पु ला कोऽर्ध्वसिद्ध-  
यवादि य व स भ्रमरितं शुष्कं वा सस्य मा तं व मृतयोग्यमाहारार्थं  
देयम् । द श रा त्ना दूर् ध्वं कि शो र स्य घृ त च तु र्भा गः स क्तु  
कु डु भ्वः चतुर्भागवृतसंयुक्तः सक्तुः कुडुभवः । क्षी र प्र स्थश्चा हा र  
आ ष ण्मा सा दि ति । त तः परं षण्मासादूर्ध्वं मा सो त्त र-  
म र्धे प्र स्थ इति मासमेकं यवप्रस्थः ततो मासे मासेर्ध्वप्रस्थो वर्धते  
आ त्रि व र्षा दि ति त्रिवर्षादूर्ध्वं, द्रो णमेकवर्षम् । अ त ऊ र्ध्व मि ति  
तृतीयाश्च चतुर्थाद्वा वर्षात् च तु र्व र्षः पञ्च व र्षो वा क र्म ण्यः  
सन्नाहादिक्रियायोग्यः पू र्णं प्र मा णो वक्ष्यमाणप्रमाणोपेतो  
भवति ।

तच्चप्रमाणमाह—द्वा त्रिंशद् द्रु लं मुखमाप्रोधमस्तकमुक्त मु च्च-  
मा श्व स्य पञ्च मु खान्या या मो दीर्घत्वं, विं श त्य-  
द्रु ला जङ्घा जानुखुरान्तरं च तु र्ज द्रु उ त्से धः  
अशीत्यङ्गुलः सखुरपृष्ठवंशं उच्छ्रायः, द्वा द्रु ला व रं म ध्य मा-  
व र यौरिति \*मुखाद्युत्सेधान्तमुत्तमाश्वस्य यद्यत्प्रमाणमभिहितं तत्र  
सर्वत्र द्वाद्वङ्गुलाभ्या म व रो म ध्य मः, ततो द्वा<sup>२</sup>ङ्गुलाभ्यामवरोऽधमः  
अवगन्तव्यः । श ता द्रु लः प रि णा हासमार्गमध्रापरिक्षेपः

१ 'स'वृत्त C मूले तथा 'श'—“०पादनं” ।

२ “द्वाङ्गुलं”—“श स-य-गी” नाम् ।

उत्तमस्य पञ्च भा गा व रं म ध्य मा व र यो रिति पूर्ववद्ग्राह्ये-  
याः परिणाह इति वर्तते, पञ्चनवत्यङ्गुलं परिक्षेपप्रमाणं मध्यमस्य  
नवत्यङ्गुलमपरस्येति ।

विधाविधिमाहोत्तमाश्चस्य द्विद्रोणमित्यादि शाल्या-  
दीनामन्यतमस्य, शाल्यादयः प्रतीताः ; प्रियङ्गुः कम्बु अर्धशुष्कं मना-  
क्तिकमिति । अर्धं सिद्धं मनाक्सिक्थम्<sup>१</sup> । सुदृगमाषाणां  
वापुलाकः । स्नेहप्रस्थोच्चपानस्य पञ्चपलं लवणस्य  
मांसं पञ्चाशत्पलिकमिति तावन्मात्रम् मांससंस्कृतस्य  
रसस्याढकं दध्नी वा द्विगुणमाढकद्वयं उक्तवतः पिण्डकले-  
दनार्थः, क्षारः पञ्चपलिको गुडादिपञ्चपलोपेतः, सुराप्रस्थः  
पयसो वा द्विगुणः प्रस्थद्वयः प्रतिपानमापराहिकः । दीर्घपथ-  
भारकलान्ता नाञ्चेति दीर्घाध्वगमनेन भारवहनेन च कलान्ता-  
नामप्यायनार्थं देयं तथा खादनार्थं खादितजरणार्थं अग्निवृद्धये  
देयं, स्नेहप्रस्थोनुवासनं वस्तिदानं कुडुम्बो नस्य कर्मणः  
नासिकादानस्य यवसस्य हरितसस्यादेरर्धभारः, तृणस्य  
शुक्लस्य द्विगुणः, षडरत्निः परिक्षेपणस्तरज्जुपरिक्षेपः पुञ्जी-  
लग्राहो वा तृणस्य भुजद्वयपरिष्वङ्गग्राहः ।

पादावरञ्चतुर्भागहीनमेतद्विद्रोणादिकमध्यमा-  
वरयो र्यथाक्रमम्परम्भवति । उत्तमसम इति, उत्तमविधालभि-  
रथ्यो रथवाहिवृषश्च सेक्तामध्यमः । मध्यमसमश्च रथ्यो  
वृषश्च पादहीनं बडवानामिति विधानामपि त्रिविधं विधा-  
विधानं पादहीनम्भवति पारशमानाञ्च वेसराणां पादहीनमेव ।

ततोर्ध्वमिति बडबविधार्थं किशोराणामित्ययं विधाथोगः  
प्रतिपादित इति ।

विधापाचको रन्धकः सूतग्राहः पारिकर्मिकः चिकित्स-

१ “कृसिद्धम्” पाठोऽनुमेयः ।

२ दुष्टः पाठः । ‘उत्तमाश्वविधासमानविधः’ इति—‘ग-स्य’ व्याख्या ।



कश्च वैद्यः प्रतिसाधन<sup>१</sup>माजो विदां संभाजः । युद्धव्याधिजराकर्मक्षीणा इति । युद्धादयः प्रतीताः कर्म उपवाह्य<sup>२</sup>तैः क्षीणाः पिण्डगोचरिकाः उदरपूरणमात्रलाभिनो न निःशेषविद्यालाभिनः इति ये त्वसमरप्रयोग्याः समरव्यापारासमर्थाः ते पौरजानपदानां प्रसूतज्याः प्रयोजनीयाः ।

प्रयोज्यानां युद्धयोग्यानां उत्तमाः प्रधानाः काम्भोजादयश्चत्वारः, एवं बाह्वीकादयश्चत्वारो मध्यमाः, शेषाः सौराष्ट्रादयः प्रत्यवरास्तत्र सैन्यवा सिन्धुदेशजाः पारशीकाः तद्देशजाः काम्भोजादयस्तु षट् तुरगाकरादेः शविशेषाः ।

तेषामिति काम्भोजादीनां तीक्ष्णादि वशेन तीक्ष्णोत्तितेजस्वी ततश्च सोऽल्पेनाव्याहतेनोद्विजते, भद्रस्तेजस्वोति सत्त्ववांश्च स तथाघातः सत्त्वसदृशश्च चेष्टते, मन्दो निस्तेजाः निस्सत्त्वश्च समहताघातेन कर्म प्रतिपद्यते तद्वशेन तदनुरूपेण सन्नाह्यं सांप्रदादिकं उपवाह्यं<sup>३</sup> क्रीडासु<sup>४</sup> तथानप्रयोजनमेव द्विविधं चतुर्विधं फलं कर्म प्रयोजयेत् तथा च चतुर्विधं फलं दृष्टपुष्ट्याशास्त्रपुरातनैः युद्धक्रीडासु बोधार्थं गमनार्थं<sup>५</sup> तथाध्वनः इति ।

तत्र सन्नाह्यं कर्माहं चतुरस्रमिति । चतुरस्रं युद्धक्रीडासौष्ठवसामर्थ्यलक्षणं कर्मांश्च सन्नाह्यं, भवति तच्च विशेषतः शालिहोत्राद्वनुर्वेदादिभ्यश्चा वगन्तव्यम् ।

सम्प्रति वल्गनादि प्रश्नप्रकारमौपवाह्यमभिधाय स्वयमेव व्याचष्टे ।

१ "सादमा०"—'श-स-य-गा' नाम् ।

२ "साभा०"—'श-य-गा' नाम् ।

३ "सुख०"—३ ।

४ "सा०"—'श-स-य-गा' नाम् ।

त वे त्यादि । उपवेणुकादि षट्प्रकारो बलानमार्गः, औ प वे णु को हस्तमात्रमण्डलः, व र्ध मा न स्तावन्मात्रमण्डलपङ्क्तिपरिपाटिवलानः, य म को गुणपटुभयमण्डलबलानः, वृथाङ्कः<sup>१</sup> पूर्वार्धबलानः, तृ व<sup>२</sup> चाली श्वार्धाबलान इति ।

नीचैर्गतमाह—स ए वे ति बलान एव शि रः क र्णं वि शु द्ध-  
स्तद्विकाररहित इत्येतावता विशेषेण नी चै र्गं तो भवति । स  
षो ङ्ग मा र्गं श्व वक्ष्यमाणः प्रकीर्णकादिषोडशप्रकारगतिः, वाशब्द-  
श्चार्थः । तानेव प्रकारान्दर्शयति प्र की र्ण क इ त्यादि । तत्र प्र का-  
र्ण कः सर्वगतिसंकीर्णः प्र की र्णो त्त रः स एवैकगतिप्रधानः नि ष ण्णो  
निष्कम्पपृष्ठगतिः, पा र्श्वो नु वृ त्तः तिर्यग्गतिः ऊ र्ध्व मा र्गो निम्नोन्नत-  
गतिः, श र भ क्री डितः तत्तुल्यगतिः, श र भ प्लु तः तत्तुल्योत्पतनः,  
त्रितालश्चरणत्रयायी, बा ह्या नु वृ त्तिः सव्यापसध्यबलानगतिः पञ्च-  
पा णि श्चरणत्रयं सकृदवस्थाप्यन्ते द्विरवस्थापयति, सिं हा य तः  
तुल्यगतिः स्वां धू तोऽत्यन्तदीर्घगतिः, क्लि ष्टो विवह्नविस्तब्धो  
यायी, शला घि तो प हताग्रयायी, वृं हि तः उन्नताग्रयायी,  
पु ष्पा व की र्णो गोमूत्रिकागतिरित्यपरे नी चै र्गं त मा र्गाः शनैर्गत-  
प्रकाराः ।

सप्तप्रकारं लङ्घनमाह क पि प्लु त इ त्यादि । तत्र सङ्कुचितपाद-  
त्रयैकेन पादेन यः प्लवते स ए क पा द प्लु तः । संकुचितसर्वपादः  
उरसैव यः प्लवते स उ र स्यः, शेषास्तु कपिप्लुतादयः तद्वदित्यु-  
पमानाद्वाख्येयम् ।

अष्टप्रकारधोरणमाह का ङ्क इ त्यादि । काङ्कचारिका तुल्यगतिः

१ “पृथगः” “श-स-य-गा” ताम् । ‘ग’ “पूर्वग”-कल्पना निरर्थका ।

२ “०क” —ग ।

३ “ब्या०” —स ।

४ “०व०” —स ।

काङ्कः, तथैव द्विगुणयाकरिकः मयूरो<sup>१</sup> र्धमयूरादयोऽपि मयूरादिगतिसाम्यात्साकल्यतो विकल्पनीयाः ।

नारोष्ट्रस्त्वेकप्रकार एव तमाह संज्ञाप्रतीकार इति शिक्षितस्य विज्ञानं संज्ञा तस्याग्रतः कृतसङ्केतस्य प्रतीकारः तदनु रूपं चेष्टितं नारोष्ट्र इति ।

अध्वप्रमाणमाह षण्णवद्वा दशेति । अध्वारथ्यानामिति रथवाहिनामश्वानां त्रिविधानामुत्तमादीनां मध्या तद्वत्पाञ्चाध्वाष्टमानि दशेति पृष्ठवाह्यानां द्विर्योजनग्रहणमुभयेषामधिकप्रतिषेधार्थं ।

त्रिविधगतिभेदमाह विक्रम इत्यादि । विक्रमः शनैर्गमनं भद्राश्वासो मध्यमः, भारवाह्यं द्रुतगमनमिति ।

धाराः आह विक्रम इत्यादि विक्रमं त्रिविधा स्वभावगतिः पुङ्खितं प्लुतं उपकण्ठं प्रथमवेगः उपजवश्च समवेगः धारा इतिसर्वेषां संज्ञा ।

तेषामिति रथपृष्ठवाह्यानामश्वानां बन्धनान्यग्रिमं पश्चिमादीनि, उपकरणाणि यष्टिखलीनतल्पकपर्याणादीनि योग्याचार्याः शिक्षोपदर्शिनः प्रतीयुरूपदिशेयुः । साङ्ग्रामिकं रथालङ्कारमिति ध्वजचामरस्थानकादिमण्डनं च कारादावरणकादिकं च सूताः सारथयः । अश्वानां चिकित्सकाः अश्ववैद्याः शरीरहासप्रतीकारं दौर्बल्यप्रतिविधानं वृद्धिप्रतीकारमिति स्थालुकदर्शनमृतुविभक्तं च यथर्तुयोगं चाहारं प्रतिदिशेयुरिति वर्तते ।

सूतग्राहादयः सप्त कर्मकराः स्वकर्मभिः स्वेन स्वेन कर्मणा श्वानाराधयेयुः, सूत्रग्राहको वेष्टुन-

1 “मयूरोऽर्धमयूरो”—‘श-स’ योः । “मायूरोऽर्धमायूरो” स.धृत-C-मूले तथा ‘य-ग’ योः ।

2 cf. Śiśupālavadhā, v. 60. धोरित, वलित, प्लुत, उत्तेजित, उत्तेरित । cf. स ।

पाथनोद्धर्तनादिना श्व बन्धकः पूर्वापराबन्धः सौष्टवेन, या व सि को यथतुंयवसप्रवेशकारः तथ्येन, विधावाचकः परस्परधारणमूत्र-पुरीषादिशोधनेन केशकारको यथाकालं केशकल्पनैर्जाङ्गलि को विषप्रतीकारेण ।

स्वकर्मातिक्रमे व्यापाराकरणे चैषां सूत्रग्राहादीनां दिवसवेतनस्य च्छेदनं कुर्यात् न दद्यात् । नीराजनोपरुद्धमिति तदर्थः प्रतिपिस्पारोहं<sup>१</sup> चिकित्सकोपरुद्धं वा सिरामोक्षाद्यर्थं<sup>२</sup> वैद्येन निषिद्धं अश्वं वा हयतोद्वादशपणोदण्डः । क्रियाभैषज्ययोश्चिकित्सौषधयोः संगेन व्याघातेनाश्वस्य व्याधिवृद्धौ सत्यां प्रतीकारद्विगुणोदण्डः तत्परिव्ययद्विगुणो दण्डोऽश्वाध्यक्षस्य । तदपराधेन<sup>३</sup> क्रियाभैषज्यदोषेण वैलोक्ये श्वमरणे पलमूल्यं दण्डः ।

तेनाश्वप्रकारेण गोमण्डलादिकं च व्याख्यातं तदपि तत्कर्मकरैरश्वबद्धादिवदाराधनीयं क्रियाभैषज्यप्रसङ्गेन व्याधिवृद्धादित्यादि सर्वं योजनीयम् ।

साम्प्रतमुक्तशेषमपकारमदृष्टभयप्रतीकारमङ्गुल्यञ्चाध्यायप्रान्ते श्लोकाभ्यामाह । द्विरहः स्नानमश्वानामिति शरद्वृष्टीष्मयोर्द्रव्यं गन्धमाह्यञ्च दापयेदिति । सर्वदा कृष्णसन्धिष्वमावास्यारात्रिषु भूतेभ्यः भूतबलिमांसोदनोल्लेपिकाफलादिभिरश्वरक्षार्थं, शुक्लेषु पौर्णमासीपर्वसु स्वस्तिवाचनं ब्राह्मणपूजनाशीर्वादनं, नीराजनं शालिहोत्राद्यभिहितविधानमाश्वयुजे मासि शुक्लपक्षनवम्यां कारयेत् । तथा यात्रा-

१ संदिग्धः पाठः ।

२ [ 'सिरामोक्षाद्यर्थः' ? ]

३ "०द्वरोधेन"—'श-म'योः । "०द्वरोधेन"—शन ।

दाबुद्योगकाले, अ व सा<sup>१</sup> ने यात्राप्रतिनिवृत्तौ व्याधौ वाश्वमारके  
शान्ति कर्मणि र त स्तत्पर इति ।

इति भट्टस्वामिनः प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्

अर्थशास्त्रटीकायामध्यक्षप्रचा-

रिके द्वितीयेधिकरणे

त्रिंशोऽध्यायः ।

अश्वाध्यक्षः आदित एकपञ्चाशोऽध्यायः ।

I. “०या०”—‘श-स’योः ।



एकत्रिंशोऽध्यायः

## हस्त्यध्याय इति सूत्रम् ।

अस्य सूत्रस्यार्थसम्बन्धावश्वाध्यक्षवद्व्याख्येयौ ।

ह स्ति व न रक्षादीन् वक्ष्यमाणान् नु ति ष्ठे त् । तत्र ह स्ति-  
व न र क्षा ह स्ति वनप्रतिषेधादिका द म्या नां क र्मे क्षा न्ता नां  
गृहीतशिक्षाणां ह स्ति ह स्ति न्यौ प्रतीतौ क ल भा नां भालकानां  
शाला हस्तिकटिस्थानं स्तम्भस्थानं श य्या शयनभूमिः क र्मे  
सान्नाह्यादि, वि धा य च सौ प्रतीतौ तत् प्र मा ण मियत्ता क र्मे  
स्वा यो गं दम्पादिक्रियात्यसनं ब न्ध नं ग्रैवेयं वरादिक मु प क-  
र ण मङ्कुशं वेणवादिकं सां प्रा मि कं शालीरजयन्नादिकं अ लं का रं  
शङ्खचामरनक्षत्रमालादिकं चि कि त्स को हस्तिवैद्यः अ नी क स्थो  
हस्तिशिक्षाचार्यः औ प क स्थाः यि क व र्गो हस्तिकर्मकरसमूहः ।

शालानिवेशमाह ह स्त्या या मेत्यादि । ह स्त्या या-  
AS. p. 136  
मो नुपारकिः त इ द्वि गु णो त्से ध वि ष्क म्भा या मा-  
मष्टादशहस्तोच्छ्रायपृथुत्वायामां ह स्ति नी स्था ने न षडरत्नीना-  
धि का मेवं चतुर्विंशतिहस्तां स प्र ग्री वां नवहस्तमुखशालासहितां  
कु मा री सं ग्रहामित्यालानस्तम्भोपरिन्यस्तां तुलाकुमारीं तत्संग्रहात्  
तदुपेतां सुखबन्धनार्थां प्राङ्मुखोमित्यादि कृतव्याख्यानम् ।

ह स्त्या या म च तु र श्रं नवहस्तं चतुरश्रग्रहणं वृत्तादिनिवृत्त्यर्थं  
श्ल क्षण स्त म्भमसृणा ला नः स्तम्भयुक्तं मसृण फ ल का न्त र यु-  
क्तञ्च मू त्र पु री षो त्स र्गः किञ्चिद्गोत्रतः स्थानं शालामध्ये हस्त्य-  
वस्थानं नि वे श ये त् ।

स्थानसमां न चतुरश्रां शय्यामर्धापाश्रयामर्धपञ्चमहस्तोन्नतैक-

I “औपकस्थायुक०”—श । “औपकस्थायुक०”—सू । “औपकस्थाय-  
युक०”—य । “उपस्थायुक०”—ग ।

पार्श्वां दुर्गे दुर्गम्यन्तरे सा ज्ञा ह्या ना मौ प वा ह्या ना अ ब हि-  
दुर्गान्द म्या ना मारब्धदमनानां व्या ला ना अ घातुकानाम् ।

प्रथमसप्तमा वित्यादि प्रतीतं तदनन्तरं द्वितीयाष्ट-  
भागो विधाया भोजनस्य कालः पूर्वाह्णे व्यायामस्य कर्माभ्या-  
सस्य कालः, पश्चाह्णे पराह्णः प्रतिपानस्य कालः । रात्रि वि-  
भागौ द्वौ स्वप्नस्य कालः, त्रिभागः संवेशनोत्थानिकः  
संवेशनोत्थानयोरिति तृतीयमपिकालं त्रिधा विभज्य रात्रौ षड्भागशेषे  
चोत्थापनमिति प्रोष्मे ग्रहणस्य बन्धनस्य काल इति सर्व-  
त्रानुवर्तनीयम् । प्रोष्मग्रहणं क्षीणबलत्वात्सुखग्रहणार्थं नान्यकाल-  
प्रतिषेधार्थम् ।

विंशतिवर्षं ग्राह्य इति विंशतिग्रहणं तन्म्यूनस्याग्रहणार्थं  
नाधिकप्रतिषेधार्थम् ।

अग्राह्यानाह विक्र इत्यादि । वि१ क्रः स्तनन्धयः । ननु विंशति-  
वर्षं ग्राह्य इति अनेनैव विक्रप्रतिषेधे सिद्धे तद्ग्रहणं विषयविभागार्थम् ।  
विक्रः क्रीडार्थमेव ग्राह्यो न कार्यार्थः । मूढो२ हस्तिनोत्प्लवन्तः  
मत्कु३ णो निर्दन्तः व्याधितः पाकलादिग्रस्तः गर्भिणी धेनु के  
प्रतीते हस्तिनी नित्यदृष्टा ।

हस्तिप्रमाणमाह सप्ता रक्षि रुत्सेधः तावत्प्रमाणोच्छ्रायः  
नवायामो नवहस्तिप्रतिमान पेचकान्तरो दशपरिणाहो  
दशहस्तकक्ष्याबन्धः ।

प्रमाणतोऽनेन प्रमाणेनेत्यभूतेन चत्वारिंशद्वर्षः चतुर्थीं  
दशमुत्तरिष्यन्नुत्तमो भवति ।

त्रिंशद्वर्षः तृतीयदशावसाने मध्यमो वक्ष्यमाणप्रमाणो

1 “वि०” ‘स-ग-योः ।

2 ‘स-धृत-०-टीकामूले—“मोढः” पाठो आन्तः ।

3 “०कु०”—‘स । मक्कणोमकूणां निर्दन्तः—श n । ‘स’ धृत-०-मूले मक्कूणः ।

भवति वक्ष्यति हि “यथाहस्तमवशेषषडरत्निः पञ्चारत्निश्चेति,” अनेन चोत्तमप्रमाणात् सप्तभागहीनः ततोऽपि षड्भागहीनः ।

पञ्च विंशतिवर्षावर इत्येवमवसेयम् ।

तयोर्मध्यमावरयोः पादावरो वक्ष्यमाणोत्तमविधायाश्चतुर्भागहीनो मध्यमस्य ततोऽपि अवरस्य चतुर्भागहीनो विधाविधिर्वेदितव्य इति ।

अरत्नौ तण्डुलद्रोण इति, अरत्नावरतो तण्डुलद्रोणमिति । अयञ्च विधिः प्रथमोक्तोच्छ्रायप्रमाणविषय इति केचिदायामप्रमाणविषय इत्यन्ये । प्रस्थाद्वयं तैलस्य, सर्पिषो वा त्रयः प्रस्थाः, दशपलं लवणस्येति प्रतीतमेव । मांसं पञ्चाशत्पलकं तावत्प्रमाणेन मांसेन संस्कृतस्य रसस्याढकद्विगुणो वा दध्नः

आढकद्वयं, भुक्तवतः पिण्डकुदेनार्थं देयं, क्षारं दशप-  
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लिकं गुडादिदशपलोपेता ममद्यस्य सुरादेराढकं द्विगुणं वाढकद्वयम्यसः क्षीरस्य प्रतिपातमापराद्धिकं, गात्रावसेको गात्राभ्यङ्गः तैलप्रस्थः शिरसोभ्यङ्गाष्टभागः अर्धकुडुम्बः प्रादीपिकश्च प्रदीपार्थाष्टभाग एव यस्य स्य हरितस्य द्वौ भारौ शष्पस्य<sup>१</sup> हरिततृणस्य शुष्कस्योभयस्याप्यर्धतृतीयभारः सार्धभारद्वयं, कडङ्करस्य सल्लकीप्रभृतिशाखायवसस्या<sup>२</sup> नियम इत्ययं विधायोगः ।

सप्सारत्नैः तेन सप्सारत्निना तुल्यभोजनोष्ठा रत्निरित्य-  
यञ्चारत्नौ तण्डुलद्रोणमित्यस्यापवादः अत्यरालः इति ।

तस्य स्तज्ञा यथाहस्तमवशेष इति । सप्तहस्तावष्टहस्तावशेषौ द्वौ । षडरत्निः पञ्चारत्निश्च तयोः षडरत्नौ षड्द्रोणः पञ्चारत्नौ । अत्रेत्यादि सर्वं योजनीयम् ।

१ “शिष्ठस्य” — स ।

२ “शाखायवस्य सल्लकीपल्लवादेः” — ‘ग’स्य व्याख्या ।



“विक्रो न ग्राह्य” इत्युक्तम् । असावपि क्रीडामात्रैकप्रयोजने ग्राह्यः ।  
स च क्षी र या व सि कः क्षीरेण यवसेन च उपचरणीयः ।

साश्रितं सप्तशोभा आह, स ज्ञा त लो हि ते त्या दि । तत्र स ज्ञा-  
त लो हि ता त्वगस्थिशेषावस्थितायाः । उपजायमानरुधिरावस्था  
प्र ति च्छ ज्ञा किञ्चिदुपजातमांसलिप्ता स्निग्धत्वगनुबन्धमांसा  
स म क क्ष्या सम्पूर्णमांसा व्यति की र्ण मां सा मांसोपचयातिशयेन  
किञ्चिन्निम्नोन्नता स म त ल्प त ला वंशसमुत्पन्नमांसोदयपाश्वा  
जातद्रोणिका निम्नवंशा ।

इत्यासां शो भा नाम्भद्र [ १ ] णाञ्च वक्ष्यमाणगजविशेषाणां  
विशेषलक्षणविस्तरेण हस्तिशिक्षातोवगन्तव्यः व्यायामकरणं श्लोकेनाह,  
शो भा व शे ने त्यादि । शो भा व शे न छायानुरूपेण व्यायामं  
शिक्षाभ्यासं भद्र मुत्तमगजं म न्द्र<sup>१</sup> ङ्च मध्यमगजञ्च चकारान्मृगमपरं<sup>२</sup>  
स ङ्को र्णञ्च भद्रादिसंयोगोत्पन्नं क र्म सु सन्नाह्यौपवाह्येषु तथा  
ऋ तु व शे न शरद्धेमन्तादिवशेन व्यायामं कारयेदिति ।

इ ति भ द्र स्वा मि नः प्र ति प द पञ्चि का या म्

अ र्थ शा स्त्र टी का या म ध्य क्ष प्र चा-

रि के द्वि ती ये चि क र णे

ए क त्रिं शो ऽ ध्या यः ।

ह स्तय ध्य क्ष आ दि त द्वि प ङ्चा शो ध्या यः ।

१ “अप्यतिक्री०”—‘श-स-या’ नाम् ।

२ “०समो”—स ।

३ “मन्द्रं”—‘श-य-ना’ नाम् ।

द्वात्रिंशोऽध्यायः

हस्त्यध्याक्षे हस्तिप्रचार इति सूत्रम् ।

पूर्वाध्याये शालादयोनुष्ठेया अभिहितास्तेषां शालास्थानशय्या-  
कर्मविधायवसप्रमाणान्यभिहितानि कर्मस्वायोगादयस्तु वक्तव्यास्ते-  
भिधीयन्ते ।

तदाह कर्मस्कन्धाश्चत्वारः इत्यादि । कर्मस्कन्धाः  
क्रियासमूहाः अधिष्ठानभूताः चत्वारः, चतुर्ग्रहणं अवान्तर-  
भेदभिन्ना अपि एते चत्वार एवेति ज्ञापनार्थम् । तानेवाह दम्यः  
सान्नाह्यौ पचाह्यौ व्यालश्चेति ।

तत्र दम्यभेदास्तावदाह, दम्यः पञ्चविध इति पञ्चप्रकारो-  
पस्थाभेदाः तानेव प्रकारान्दर्शयति स्कन्धगत इत्यादि । स्कन्ध-  
गतो विसोढः स्कन्धारोहणः, स्तम्भगतोभ्युपगतालानस्तम्भबन्धनः,  
वारिगतो वारिवन्धाख्यारण्यभागप्रविष्टः, अपपातगतो गर्तगतः,  
यूथगतो हस्तिबन्धकि<sup>१</sup>भिस्सह विहारि<sup>२</sup>तस्येति, तस्य दम्यस्यो-  
पचारादिकर्म चिक्रस्यैव क्रिया क्षोरयवसेक्षुकाण्डशर्करोत्कात्का[?]-  
दिभिरुपचरणं ।

सान्नाह्यमाह, सान्नाह्यस्सप्तक्रियापथः इति ।

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उपस्थादि सप्त क्रियामार्गाः । तत्रोपस्थानं पूर्वावयवानां  
प्रतिमनोन्नमनादिकं तथा ध्वजोल्कावेणुरज्ज्वादिलङ्घनादिकञ्च संव-  
र्तनं शयनोपवेशनरेखागर्तविषमलङ्घनादिकं च संवर्तनं भूमिकर्म,  
संयानं ऋजुवक्रगोमूत्रिकामण्डललाघवादिगतिविशेषः । वधावधौ  
हस्तदन्तगात्रैरश्वरथनरादेस्तत्प्रतिनिषेधे व्याघातः, हस्ति युद्धं

१ “०का०”—स ।

२ “०री”—स ।

इस्तिमिः सह परंङकाप्रान्तरि<sup>१</sup>तैर्युद्धं प्रसिद्धलालापिण्डकाख्य  
ना ग रा य णं गोपुराट्टालि<sup>२</sup>कपरिखासंक्रमादिभञ्जनं सां प्रा मि कः  
प्रकाशयुद्धः सौत्तिकादिः तस्य सान्नाह्यस्यो प वि चारः कक्ष्याकर्म  
कक्ष्याबन्धविज्ञानं ग्रै वे य क र्म प्रीवासंब<sup>३</sup>ङ्कलापकादिज्ञानं  
यू थ क र्म ।

पूर्वापरोदितसमकायादिलिङ्गैर्गिरिचरादियूथतामपगमय्य तदनु-  
रूपक्रियायोजनमाचरणादिकमष्टविधमुपवाह्यमाह, आचरण इत्यादि ।  
तन्ना च र णः पूर्वापरोन्नतमध्यविनीतसमानाङ्गिरिचरादिसर्वहस्तिनां  
गतानुविधायि चेति कुञ्ज रौ प वा ह्यः सन्नाह्योपवाह्यौभयनिःशेष-  
क्रियायुक्तः धो र णः पक्षेण सर्वकर्माणि करोति यो यत्न यकभ्य<sup>४</sup>श्चा-  
धा न ग ति को द्वित्रिपदयायी सर्वगतिसम्पादकश्च य ष्ठ्यु प वा ह्यः  
कण्ठकवर्जितया यष्ट्या सर्वक्रियासम्पादकः, तो लो प वा ह्यः कण्ठकया,  
शुद्धो प वा ह्यः पदादिसंज्ञया, मा र्गा यु को मृगयाकुशलः ।  
तस्यो प वि चारः शारदकर्म<sup>५</sup>, चतुर्विधश्च शारदः स्थूलः  
कृशो लोहितः प्रकृतश्च, तत्र स्थूलस्य कर्शनं कृशस्य ब्रह्मणः लोहि-  
तस्य मन्दार्हेऽपि दीपनं प्रकृतस्य सारोगस्य स्वास्थ्यरक्षणं एतच्चतुर्विध-  
मपि शारदकर्मोपवाह्यस्य कर्तव्यः । ही न क र्मेति व्यायामहीनो  
हीनस्तस्य कर्मणि व्यायामयोजनमुपवाह्यस्य कर्तव्यं, ना रो ष्ट्र क र्म  
संज्ञाप्रतीकारकरणं दम्ब्योपवाह्ये कर्तव्यमिति ।

व्यालमाह व्या लः ए क क्रि या प थ इ ति । ए क क्रि या प थो  
दृष्टैककर्मशास्त्रे समाग्नतातः तस्य व्यालस्योपविचार एव  
केवलो न कर्मभेदः । आ या म्यै क र क्ष इति । आयाम्य मन्त्री-  
षधिभिर्वशीकृत्य बहुधा वा ए[करक्षपि ?]केन यन्त्रा रक्षणीयः, अथवा

१ 'वरणङकाशामिषमन्तरतः कृत्वा'—'ग' स्य व्याख्या ।

२ "०ट्टालक०"—स ।

३ "०संबन्धिकलाकर्मदि०"—स ।

४ दुष्टः पाठः ।

आ या स्यै क र क्षो दण्डैकप्रतीकारः सर्वत्र क र्म शं कि तः शिक्षा-  
काले विसंवादशोल अ व रु द्धो निर्वदपरित्यक्तः कर्मसु निरुद्ध  
इति अपरे, वि ष मो यद्वृच्छया विनीतः, प्रभिन्नो मददोषेण व्यालीभूतः,  
प्र भि न्न वि नि श्च यो त्रिधादिवैषम्यभेदाद्व्यालीभूतः । म द हे तु-  
वि नि श्च यः मदकालकर्मण्यमाचक्षते ।

किम्पुनर्व्यालस्य लक्षणमित्याह—क्रि या वि प न्नो व्या ल इति  
क्रि या वि प न्नः कमणा दूषित इति सामान्यम् ।

तस्य विशेषाः शुद्धादयः चत्वारः, तत्र शु द्धः केवलधातुकोष्टदन्त-  
दोषयुक्तः, \* वि ष मः प्रतिनियतधातनचालनः शुद्ध सु व्र तो दोषै-  
स्त्वयस्त्रिंशतापि उपेतः स र्व दो ष दु ष्टः समुदितचालनादिप्रकृष्ट-  
दोषः स्वदोषैरेकोनविंशत्या पूर्वेश्च त्रयस्त्रिंशता स एव पञ्चाशता  
दोषैर्युक्तः ते षां तद्दोषाणाञ्च विशेषलक्षणं हस्तिशिक्षातोवगन्तव्यम् ।

ते षां हस्तिनां बन्धनमुपकरणञ्चानीकस्थप्रमाणं  
तच्छालनोपदिष्टद्वयमिति वाक्यशेषः । तदाह—आ ला ने त्या दि ।  
बन्धनशब्दः प्रत्येकमा लान बन्धनं स्तम्भबन्धनं, ग्रै वे यं काल-  
पकादि, क क्ष्या कण्ठबन्धनं, पा रा य णं चतुष्पथाचारोपयतामा-  
लम्बनरज्जुः, प रि क्षे पः पादपाशादिः, उ त्तर बन्धनं द्वितीय-  
कक्ष्याकलापादिकं आ दि ग्रहणं वाचिनामनाद्युपलक्षणार्थं अ ङ्कु श-  
वे णू प्रतीतौ यन्त्रं हस्तिनादं दन्तकल्पनादौ यन्त्रणार्थमनेकविधं,  
आयुधागाराध्यक्षाभिहितमित्यपरे । वै ज य न्ती कदलिका क्षुर प्र-  
मा ला नक्षत्रमालास्तर णं गजास्तरणं कु थो वर्णं कबन्त मा दि ग्रहणं

1 'केवलधातुकोऽष्टादशदोषयुक्तः' इति पाठः कल्पनीयः । — 'स-ग'-श्लोः ।

\* 'सुव्रत—केवलं चालकपञ्चदशदोषयुक्तः"—'स'-श्लो-पाठोऽस्मिन्मूले न दृश्यते ।

2 'स'-श्लो- "ताभ्युपेतः" पाठो गरीयान् ।

3 "०षप्रदु०"—'श-स-य-ना' नाम् ।

4 "परा०"—'स-ग'-श्लोः

5 "वर्ण (दण ?) केवलम्"—स । वर्णकम्बलः—'ग'-स्य व्याख्या ।

शङ्खचामरादुपलक्षणार्थं वर्मजयन्तं तोमरः चतुर्हस्तादिः त्रिविध-  
आयुधागाराध्याये व्याख्यातः । शरावः तूणोरो यन्त्रं पाञ्चालिका-  
द्यनेकविधं चलयन्तं, तेषु सम्भवतो हस्त्युपयोगी हस्तिवारताल-  
वृन्तादि चक्रादिकञ्च ग्राह्यं साङ्गामिकः सङ्गामप्रयोजनं  
चालङ्कारः ।

चिकित्सको हस्तिवैद्यः अनीकस्थो हस्तिशिक्षावित्  
आरोहकः शास्त्रज्ञमाहामात्रकः आधोरणः शास्त्रसंस्काररहितः  
क्रियाकुशलः हास्तिपकः मेरुकः औपचारिकः चरणाभ्य-  
ञ्जनाद्यधिकारी विधापाचको रन्धकः यावसिकः घासिकः  
पादपाशिकः पादबन्धकः कुटीरक्षकः कुटीरक्षणशोधनाद्य-  
धिकारी औपशायिकः शय्याशालाधिकृतः हस्तिपरिशायिको वा  
आदिग्रहणं शिखरितूरिकाद्यर्थमित्यौ पस्थायिकवर्गः  
कर्मकरवर्गः ।

चिकित्सकादयः तण्डुलप्रस्थस्यौदनं स्नेहस्य प्रसृतिं  
घृतस्य तैलस्य वा चुलुकं क्षारलवणयोश्च द्विपलिकं  
पलद्वयं हरेयुः प्रत्येकम् ।

हस्तिविधाया लभेत । दशपलिकं मांसस्य दशपलानि  
कुटीरक्षकविधापाचकौ चिकित्सकवर्जेन गृह्णीयाताम् ।

व्याध्यादिभिः पञ्चभिरभितप्तानां व्यथितानां

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चिकित्सकाः प्रतिकुर्युः स्वास्थ्यमापादयेयुः  
व्याध्यादयः प्रतीताः ।

स्थानस्थाशुद्धिरसम्भोजनकुटीरक्षस्य यवसस्य घासस्य  
ग्राहणमनाशत्रं यावसिकस्य स्थले शय्यारहिते स्थलशायन-  
मौपशायिकस्य भागे निर्निमित्ते प्रदेशे वा मर्मादौ घातस्ताडनं  
मेरुककादेः परारोहणमसम्बन्धिजनारोहणं तस्यैवाकाले  
यानमर्धरात्रमध्याह्नादौ प्रचारणमभूमौ विषमप्रदेशे यानमतीर्थ-

ना व त र णं प्रसिद्धमार्गेण नद्याद्यवगाहनं त रु ष ण्डे वा वृक्ष-  
गहने वावतरणं प्रवेशनमिति शब्दः प्रकारे इत्येव अन्यदप्य-  
त्ययस्थानं दण्डनिमित्तं हस्त्यध्यक्षस्य तत्कर्मकराणाञ्च स च  
दण्डो देशकालाद्यपेक्षया स्वयमेव कल्पनीयः । तेषां हस्त्यध्यक्षस्य  
तत्कर्मकराणाञ्च स च दण्डो देशकालाद्यपेक्षया स्वयमेव कल्पनीयः ।  
तेषां हस्त्यध्यक्षतत्कर्मकराणां च दण्डं भक्तवेतनादाददीत गृह्णीयात् ।

साम्प्रतं दृष्टरूपं कर्तव्यशेषमध्यायप्रान्ते श्लोकाभ्यामाह,—  
ति स्मो नी रा ज नाः कार्या इति वर्षाभ्यन्तरे चा तु र्मा स्य तु-  
स न्धिषु पौर्णमासीषु ।

दन्तकल्पनमाह,—दन्त मू ल प रि णा ह मि ति विषाणपरिक्षेपः  
द्वि गु ण मभ्यस्तं प्रो त्स्य मुक्त्वा कल्पयेत् तदधिकं छेदयेत् ।

इ ति भ द्र स्वा मि नः प्र ति प द पञ्चि का या म्

अ र्थं शा स्त्र दो का या मध्यक्षप्रचा-

रि के द्वि ती ये धि क र णे

द्वा त्रिं शो ध्या यः ।

ह स्ति ना मु प चा र आ दि तः त्रि पञ्चा शो ऽ ध्या यः

तयस्त्रिंशोऽध्यायः

## रथाध्याक्ष इति सूत्रम् ।

रथा वक्ष्यमाणा देवरथादयः तेषामध्यक्षो घटनाद्यधिकारी रथाध्यक्ष इति सूत्रार्थः । सम्बन्धस्त्वश्वाध्यक्षवदस्यापि व्याख्येयः ।

तमाहाश्वाध्यक्षेण रथाध्यक्षो व्याख्यात इति । अनेन शालादिनीराजनान्तं रथ्यानां पृष्ठबाह्यानाञ्चाविशेषेणाश्वाध्यक्षे व्याख्यातं, विशेषेणाप्युत्तमसमो रथ्यो बृषश्च मध्यमः । तथा “षण्णवद्वादश-योजनान्यध्वाश्वानामिति” च तदशेषमश्वाध्यक्षोक्तं यथासम्भवं रथाध्यक्षेणापि अनुष्ठेयमिति ।

अनुक्तं तु रथविधानमाह, स रथ कर्मान्ता नित्यादि । स रथाध्यक्षो रथ कर्मान्ता न् पूर्वघटनघटितसंस्कारदक्षिणान् कारयेत्तेषां च विनियोगप्राधान्यात् ।

तद्देमेव तावदाह, देवरथेत्यादि । देवरथो याज्ञादौ देवतासञ्चारार्थं, पुष्यरथमिषेकदिवसमङ्गलादाचारोहणार्थं, सांप्रामिको युद्धार्थः, पारियाणिकोऽध्वगमनार्थः परपुरामिथानिकः शत्रुदुर्गादिनियोगार्थः । वैनयिकोभ्यासार्थः, इत्येव षड्रथान्कारयेत् ।

तेषाम्प्रमाणमाह, दशपुरुष इत्यादि । द्वादशाङ्गलेन पुरुषेण दशपुरुषः पञ्चहस्तोत्सेधः, द्वादशान्तरः षडरत्नविस्तारः सर्वोत्तमो भवति ।

•तस्मादुत्तमरथप्रमाणादेकान्तरावरा इत्येकैकेन वितस्त्यन्तरेणावराः आषडन्तरादित्याषड्वितस्तिविस्तारा त्सन्धा भवन्ति । पवञ्च विस्तारहान्या सामर्थ्यादुच्छ्रायस्यापि वितस्त्यन्तरेणैव हानिर्दृष्ट्या दशभागेनेत्यपरे ।

तथे ष्वा दि कल्पना रथाध्यक्षो विद्यात् । इ षु शब्देन तत्सम्-  
 हाधारस्तूणः परिगृह्यते । अ स्त्रं धनुः प्र ह र णं तोमरादि  
 AS<sup>1</sup>. p. 140 आ व र णं जयनाद्यु प क र णं तुरगादीनां वघ्रावर-  
 त्नादि, तेषां क ह्प ना स्तद्योगानां यथावद्विरचना तथा सा र थे-  
 स्सूतस्य, र थि क स्य योद्धू र थ्या नां रथवाहिनामश्वानां  
 चकारात्तत्पादरक्षादीनाञ्च क र्म स्वा यो गं तात्पर्यं सौष्ठवं सामर्थ्यं  
 वा विद्यात् । आ क र्म भ्यश्च परिसमाप्ति यावद् भ क्त्वे त नं  
 आहूतानामागन्तूनां रथकारादिशिल्पिनां तत्कर्मकाराणाञ्च हृतानाञ्च  
 पूर्ववत्परिगृहीतानां भक्तवेतनं विद्यात् ।

यो ग्या र क्षा नु ष्ठा ना र्थ मा न क र्मेति ये शिल्पिनामतिशयेन  
 योग्याः कुशलास्तेषामरक्षायोग्यारक्षापरोपज्ञापा<sup>२</sup>देस्तेषां रक्षणम् । त द-  
 नु ष्ठा नं तत्कर्म तात्पर्यं अर्थ<sup>३</sup>कर्माद्यादानं मानकर्म वस्त्रस्नान-  
 नुलेपनादिदानेन सत्कारकरणं तत्कस्य कदा कीदृश्या कर्तव्यमिति  
 रथाध्यक्षो विद्यादिति केचित् । अपरे तु योग्याभ्यां अभ्यासस्तद्-  
 ग्रहणेन सा र थिरथिकादीनामश्वहृदयरथचर्यायुद्धादिशिक्षाप्रदायिनो  
 गृह्यन्ते, तेषामारक्षकानुष्ठानमर्थमानकर्म च रथाध्यक्षो विद्यादिति व्याच-  
 क्षत इति ।

इ ति भ द्र स्वा मि नः प्र ति प द पञ्चि का या म्

अ र्थं शा ख टी का बां द्वि ती ये धि क र णे

र था ध्य क्ष इ ति प्र क र ण म् ।

1 “योग्यर०” ‘श-स’-योः ।

2 “The supervision of, and rewards and distinctions for, qualified officials”—य ।

3 “०रोपज्ञपा०”—स ।

4 “अध्वमा०”—‘श-स’-योः ।



## पत्यधातु इति सूत्रम् ।

पत्तयः पदाताः ये पादचारेणैव युध्यन्ति तेषामध्यक्षः तेष्वधिकृतः, स इहाभिधीयते तमाह ए ते न प त्य ध्य क्षो व्या ख्या त इति । ए ते न यथाभिहितरथाध्यक्षव्यापारेण प त्य ध्य क्ष स्य व्यापा-रोपि व्या ख्या त इति । सोपि पत्तीनामिष्वस्त्रप्रहरणावरणोपक-रणकल्पनास्तेषां कर्मस्वायोगमाकर्मभ्यश्च भक्तवेतनमभृतानां हृतानाञ्च योग्यारक्षानुष्ठानार्थमानकर्म चेति विद्यादिति सर्वं योजनीयम् ।

एवमातिदेशिकमभिधाय तस्य वैशेषिकं विधिमाह स मौ ल-भृ ते त्या दि । यु द्ध व्या यो ग म यो ग ञ्च क र्मे सु वि द्या दि ति तत्र कर्माणि पत्तिकर्माणि वक्ष्यति हि “सर्वदेशकालास्त्रवहनं व्यायामश्चेति पत्तिकर्माणीति” तेष्वायोगः तात्पर्यसौष्ठवसामर्थ्यानि । अस्य चातिदेशः सिद्धस्य पुनर्वचनं सर्वेषाञ्च गणान्तरेभ्यः स्वकर्म-स्वायोगः प्रधानमिति ज्ञापनार्थः । अयोगोनुत्थानशीलत्वं तदपि तेषां प्रोत्साहनाय ज्ञातव्यमेव एतत्पत्यध्यक्षो विद्याज्जानीयादिति ।

इ ति भ दृ स्वा मि नः प्र ति प द प ञ्चि का या म्

अ र्थे शा ख्वा टी का या म ध्य क्ष प्र चा-

रि के द्वि ती ये ऽ धि क र णे

प त्य ध्य क्ष इ ति प्र क र ण म् ।

## सेनापतिप्रचार इति सूत्रम् ।

सेना चतुरङ्गम् । षड्विधञ्च बलं तस्याः पतिर्नेता सेनापतिः स च राज्ञः पुत्र एवात्मसंपन्नो यदि लब्धः स एव मन्तव्यः । उक्तं हि, “आत्मसंपन्नं सैन्यपत्ये यौवराज्ये वा स्थापयेदिति,” तदभावेन्योऽपि क्षत्रियजातीयो ब्राह्मणोऽब्राह्मणो वात्मसंपन्न एव भवितव्यः । इति तस्य सेनापतेः प्रचारः सेनाविषयो व्यापारः स इहाभिधीयते इति सूत्रार्थः ।

सम्बन्धस्तु दण्डप्रकृतेश्चतुर्णामङ्गानां प्रत्येकमध्यक्षान् प्रतिपाद्य तदनन्तरं सर्वाङ्गसमुदितस्य दण्डस्य प्रणेतुः सेनापतेः प्रचारोभिधीयत इति ।

तदाह त दे व से ना प ति रित्यादि तद्वृत्तेनात्र चाश्वाद्यङ्गचतुष्टयाध्यक्षविषयं कार्यजातं परामृश्यते । तस्य सर्वस्य सेनापति-नाशयविज्ञाप्यत्वात् सर्वं युद्धप्रहरणविद्याविनीतः, सर्वशब्दो युद्धादिभिः प्रत्येकं, सर्वेषु युद्धेषु निम्नयुद्धादिषु प्रकाशकूटतूष्णींयुद्धेषु च सर्वेषु च प्रहरणेषु धनुर्वर्गादिषु सर्वासु च विद्यासु आन्वीक्षक्यादिषु धनुर्वेदाश्वहृदयादिषु विनीतः शिक्षितः हस्त्यश्वरथचर्यारथसंघुष्टः हस्त्याद्यारोहविनयायोधनेषु प्रसिद्धः । एवंभूतः सेनापतिः तदेव विद्यादिति वीप्सालोपोलद्रष्टव्यः । तत्तदध्यक्षोक्तं सर्वं विद्यादिति । तस्य वेदने विशेषः चतुरङ्गस्य बलस्यानुष्ठापनाधिष्ठानं विद्यादिति । चतुरङ्गबलस्य यदनुष्ठानं हस्त्यश्वरथपत्तिककर्माणीति सूत्रे वक्ष्यमाणानि हस्त्यादिकर्माणीति सूत्रे वक्ष्यमाणानि हस्त्यादिकर्माणि तदधिष्ठानं तद्विषयं तदेव पूर्वोक्तं वेदितव्यं तद्यथा तानि तेषां कर्माणि परीक्ष्य तदनुरूपपरिकल्पितानि भक्तवेतनविधायवसादिदानानि तत्तदध्यक्षाः कुर्युः, सोऽपि तेषां कृत-

महर्हर्विधात् । स हि तेषां कर्मसु विनियोक्ता एवमातिदेशिकमुक्त्वा  
 तस्य साधारणं कर्तव्यमाह । अथ भू मि मि त्या दि—स्व भू मिः  
 स्वसैन्यव्यायामयोग्यो देशः, अर्थकालस्वसैन्यव्यायामयोग्यम् । प्रकाश-  
 कूटमन्त्रव्यायामयुद्धकालञ्च प्रत्यनीकस्पर्धालं तदपेक्षया  
 स्वसैन्यप्रतिव्यूहनञ्चाभिन्नमेदनं परिव्यूहस्य संगतमेदनमन्यो-  
 न्यरक्षिणां शत्रुसैनिकानां दूरीकरणं यथा द्रोणः संशप्तकैरर्जनमभि-  
 मन्योर्दूरीचकार, मिन्नवधः यथातेनैवार्जुनादपकृष्टस्याभिमन्योर्वधः  
 कृतः, दुर्गवधः अवस्कन्दसौप्तिकादिना दुर्गलम्भोपायाभिहितेश्च  
 प्रकारैः शत्रोः स्थानीयस्वन्धावारविध्वंसनं, यात्राकाले मार्गशीर्षा-  
 दिर्विध्यमाणः पतत्सर्वं सेनापतिः पश्येत् जानीयात् । पश्यति-  
 प्रहणं प्रत्यक्षीकृतानामिव स्पष्टतरं विज्ञानार्थम् ।

तस्य कर्तव्यान्तरं अध्यायप्रान्तश्लोकेनाह तूर्ध्वजेत्यादि ।  
 तूर्ध्वणि वाद्यानि ध्वजा ऋषकलशादिचिह्नानि पताकाः बैज-  
 यन्त्याः चित्ररक्तपटादिकृता ताभिर्व्यूहसंज्ञाः युद्धकाले दिने  
 दिने व्यूहीकृतस्य स्वसैन्यस्य सङ्केतनाम्नैकलयेत् स्थापयेत् ।  
 किंविषया इत्याह, स्थानेयाने प्रहरणे चेति तद्विषया इत्यर्थः ।  
 तद्यथा मुष्मिन्वाद्यविशेषे श्रुते अमुकयोर्वा ध्वजपताकादृष्टयोः स्थातव्यं  
 यत्तव्यं प्रहर्तव्यं चेति प्रत्यह-

मन्याः संज्ञाः कर्तव्याः परेषामनभिज्ञानार्थमिति । सैन्यानां स्वयोधानां  
 विनये विविधनयने यथा स्वयं न भज्येरन् परांश्च विजयेरन् तथा  
 प्रवर्तने छिद्रेषु च रक्षणे रतस्तात्पर्येण सदोद्यत इति ।

इति भट्टस्वामिनः प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्

अर्थशास्त्रटीकायामध्यक्षप्रचा-

रिके द्वितीयेऽधिकरणे

तयस्त्रिंशोऽध्यायः ।

रथाध्यक्षः प्रत्यक्षः सेनापतिप्रचारश्चादितः

चतुःपञ्चाशोऽध्यायः ।

१ सेनापतिप्रचारोऽर्थशास्त्रस्य दशमाधिकरणे सांग्रामिके सोपचारं समाख्यातः ।

चतुस्त्रिंशोऽध्यायः

## मुद्राधाक्ष इति सूत्रम् ।

मुद्रा राजकीयं लाञ्छनं तस्याध्यक्षः तत्प्रवर्तयिता इहाभिधीयत इति सूत्रार्थः ।

सम्बन्धस्तूद्देशनिर्देशतोऽथवा कं कुतस्त्या कियत्पण्या क चाभ-  
ज्ञानमुद्रा वा कृतैत्यत्र मुद्रोक्ता तदध्यक्षः तद्व्यापारो वा नोक्तः स  
इहाभिधीयत इति सम्बन्धः ।

तदाह, मुद्राध्यक्ष इत्यादि । उक्तं ह्यन्तर्ष्वन्तपालदुर्गाणि  
जनपदद्वाराणि अन्तपालाधिष्ठितानि कारयेदिति विजिगीषुदेशप्रवेश-  
निर्गमयोरन्तपाला दुर्गाणि द्वाराणि तैरेव प्रवेशनिर्गमौ नियन्तव्यौ  
अन्तस्तेषु मुद्राध्यक्षो मुद्रां माषेण दद्यादिति विशदभ्यो  
निर्गच्छद्भ्याश्च राजभार्यमाणं गृहीत्वा मुद्रां प्रयच्छेत् । किमर्थं  
परावसर्पज्ञानार्थं चोरादिग्रहणार्थं पण्यव्यवहारिभ्यः शुल्कग्रहणं  
माषग्रहणाच्च राज्ञः कोशवृद्धिर्भवतीति च ।

तदाह समुद्रो जनपदं प्रवेष्टुं निर्गमितुं च लभेतेति ।  
सर्वोपि समुद्रो मुद्राध्यक्षाद्गृहीत्वैव मुद्रविजिगीषुदेशं प्रवेष्टुं निष्क-  
मितुञ्च ततो लभेत, नन्वेको मुद्राध्यक्षः कथमनेकेष्वन्तपालदुर्गेषु मदां  
दा स्वयमेकत्रान्यत्र च स्वपुरुषैर्दातुं शक्नोति ।

अमुद्राणाम्प्रवेशनिर्गमे दण्डमाह द्वादशपणमि-  
त्यादि । अगृहीतमुद्रजानपदो विजिगीषुदेशजो द्वादश-  
पणं दद्यात् ।

कूटमुद्राकारिणः कृतकमुद्रां दर्शयतो जानपदस्य पूर्वः साहस-  
दण्डः ।

तिरोजानपदस्यान्यदेशस्य कूटमुद्राकारिण उक्तमः साहस-

दण्डः, अनया कूटमुद्रादण्डवृद्ध्या तिरोज्ञानपदपूर्वत्वापि दण्डवृद्धिः  
कल्पनीया ।

ननु दुर्गाचारिणां कथं दण्डग्रहणमिति चेत् तेषां विधीताध्यक्ष-  
हस्ते पतिष्यन्ति मुद्रादर्शनस्य विहितकार्यत्वात् । वक्ष्यति हि वि-  
विता स्य क्षो मुद्राः पश्येदिति ।

शङ्कितेषु च देशेषु विधीतं वक्ष्यति । भयान्तरेषु विधीतं स्थापये-  
दिति ।

इति भट्टस्वामिनः प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्  
अर्थशास्त्रटीकायामध्यक्षप्रचारि-  
के द्वितीयेऽधिकरणे-  
मुद्राध्यक्ष इति प्रकरणम् ।



## विवीताधाच्च कृति सूत्रम् ।

विवीतं तृणाद्युत्पत्तिस्थानं तदध्यक्षः तद्व्यापारोभिधीयत इति सूत्रार्थः । सम्बन्धस्तद्विशतोऽथवा कृष्यायां भूमौ पशुभ्यो विव्रीतानि प्रयच्छेदिति विव्रीतमुक्तं तदध्यक्षस्तद्व्यापारो नोक्तः सोभिधीयते । यद्वा पूर्वस्मिन्सूत्रे कृतमुद्रादीनां दण्डविधानमुक्तं तच्च तेषां दर्शनाधीनं दर्शनञ्च विव्रीताध्यक्षकार्यमिति तदनन्तरं तत्प्रतिपादनमिति ।

तदाह वि वी ता ध्य क्षो मु द्राः पश्येदिति सर्वत्र पथिकान् दृष्ट्वा मुद्रापरिचयं कुर्यादित्यर्थः । तत्र मुद्रा कृतमुद्राश्च गृहीत्वा मुद्राध्यक्षस्याप्येदेतदण्डस्य तत्कार्यत्वात् अस्य तु दर्शनमात्रमेव विहितमिति ननु विव्रीताध्यक्षो विव्रीतप्रदेशेषु मुद्राः पश्यति विव्रीत-स्थानञ्च नियतमकृष्यायाम्भूमावित्युक्तत्वात् ।

कथमन्यत्र मुद्रादर्शनमिति तत्राह भ या न्त रे षु च वि वी तं स्थापयेदिति । भ या न्त रे षु<sup>१</sup> शङ्कितपरपुरुषादिसन्वा<sup>२</sup>तौ येषु प्रदेशेषु कृष्यायामपि भूमौ षडिति स्थापयेत् इति चो र व्या ल भ या-न्नि स्ना र ण्या नि शो ध ये त् इति । चो राः प्रतीताः, व्या लो व्याघ्रसर्पादयो हिंसास्तत्कृतभयान्नि स्ना नि सोदकान्यनुदकानि बहु-च्छिद्राणि, अ र ण्या नि तरुगहनानि च शोधयेत् चोरादीनन्विष्य ग्राहयेत् ।

अनुदके जलवर्जिते देशे कूपादीन् स्थापयेत् । कूपाः सेतुबन्धाश्च प्रतीता उ त्साः<sup>३</sup> कूपा एव रिथराः क्षुद्राश्च, पथिकानां स्नानपानार्थमेतान्कारयेदिति पृ ष्प फ ल वा टां च मनु-

१ 'भये चोरपरापसर्पचारशङ्का'—'ग' स्य व्याख्या ।

२ 'शङ्कितपरपुरुषादयः सन्ति येषु प्रदेशेषु' इति 'स'स्य कल्पना समीचीना एव ।

३ 'तत्काशिकान् क्षुद्रकूपांश्च' इति 'ग' स्य व्याख्या ।

प्याणामपजीवनीयात्<sup>१</sup> । चकाराच्छायावृक्षप्रमादींश्च तद्रहितेषु स्थाप-  
येत् इति ।

लुं व्य क श्व ग णि<sup>२</sup> न श्चं विवीताध्यक्षप्रयुक्ताः प रि ब्र जे युः  
सर्वतश्चरेयुः किमर्थं योद्योगमपरिज्ञानार्थं त दा हा र ण्य इत्यादि,  
अ र ण्ये तरुगहने ।

त स्क् रा णा म मि त्ता णाञ्च तद्ग्रहणमादविकमप्युपलक्ष-  
णार्थं, तेषां म ण्या ग म आगच्छन्तीति परिज्ञाने शं ख शब्दं दु न्दु-  
मिशब्दं स्वयम प्रा ह्याः तेषामगोचरीभूताः कु र्युः स्वभारतो विषम-  
प्रदेशावस्थिताः कृत्वा वा शङ्खादिशब्दाः सुरङ्गं प्रविशेयुरिति । शङ्खादि-  
शब्दकरणं भन्तपालप्रबोधार्थं<sup>३</sup> शैलवृक्षविरूढा वा दुरारोहान्शैलवृक्षान्  
वाधिरुह्य सु शी घ्र वा ह ना वेति शीघ्रगामिभिरश्वतरादिभिर्वाहनै-  
र्गत्वा वा बोधयेयुरिति यथासम्भवं योजनीयं, राज्ञोपि शीघ्रवेदनो-  
पायमाह मि त्रा ट वी सं चा र मि ति । अमिताणामादविकानां च  
प्रवृत्तिं राज्ञः स्थानीयस्थस्यैव क पो ते न मु द्रा यु क्ते न हारयेत्  
प्रेषयेत् । वक्ष्यति हि विदेशप्रवृत्तिज्ञानं तद्दहरेव गृहकपोतेन  
मुद्रासंयुक्तं नेति तथा हारयेदित्यर्थः । धू मा नि प र म्प र या  
अमितादवीचारं राज्ञो हारयेदिति दिवा धूमपरम्परया रात्रावग्निपरम्परया  
च्वालापरम्परया तद्यथा विवीताध्यक्षपुरुषाः द्विक्रोशान्तरेषु स्थिताः  
प्रथमेन धूमेनौ च दर्शने सर्वेपिस्वेषु स्वेषु स्थानेषु तदानीमेव दर्शयेयुः  
यथा राजा जानीयादिति ।

इदानीमभ्यायप्रान्ते श्लोकमाह । द्र व्य ह स्ति व ना जी व मि-  
त्यादि । आजीव्यत इत्याजीवः यत्किञ्चिदुपादेयमित्यर्थः, द्रव्यवने  
हस्तिवने च कुप्याध्यक्ष हस्त्यध्यक्षः विषयसारदावादि कुप्यद्रव्यं हस्ति-  
व्यतिरेकेण यथाजीव्यं यवसेन्धनाङ्गारादि तद्विवीताध्यक्षः कारयेत्

१ 'मनुष्याणां पजीवनीयान्' पाठः कल्पनीयः ।

२ गोऽध्यक्षं प्रागेवोद्धिखितः ।

३ "बोधनार्थम्"—स ।

उपाददीत व ति नीं<sup>१</sup> दुर्गमप्रदेशेषु मार्गप्रवर्तनं चो र र क्ष णं  
 चोरग्रहणमादविकादीनामप्युपलक्षणार्थम्, तेभ्यो मार्गसंरक्षणं सा र्था-  
 ति वा ह्यः सार्थानाञ्च वणिजां भयप्रदेशेष्वतिवाहनं गो र क्ष्य मेतच्च  
 घातौपलक्षणं कृष्यादिप्रवर्तनमित्यर्थः व्य व हा रं तत्रत्यानां क्रय-  
 विक्रयव्यवहारविवादपदनिर्णयं चकाराद्वाद्भर्तन्यादिभिश्च राजार्थानां  
 ग्रहणं, परप्रयुक्तगूढपुरुषादिग्रहणं च विवीताध्यक्षः कारयेदिति ।

इ ति भ दृ स्वा मि नः प्र ति प द पञ्चि का या म्

अ र्थे शा स्त्र टी का या म ध्य क्ष प्र चा रि के

द्वि ती ये धि क र णे च तु खिं शो ऽ ध्या यः ।

मु द्रा ध्य क्ष वि वी ता ध्य क्ष आ दि तः

प ञ्च प ञ्च शो ध्या यः ।



पञ्चत्रिंशोऽध्यायः

## समाहृतप्रचार इति सूत्रम् ।

जनपदे दुर्गाद्यायस्थानसप्तकाद्विंशतिनां सभ्यक् समन्ततो वाहती  
समाहर्ता तस्य प्रचारः स्वयं गोपस्थानीकैश्च जनपदचिन्तनमिति  
सूत्रार्थः ।

सम्बन्धस्तु द्वे शनिर्देशतोयवैकैकार्थाधिकारिणामध्यक्षाणां प्रचारान्  
प्रतिपाद्य सर्वार्थाधिकारिणः समाहर्तुं प्रतिपाद्यत इति सम्बन्धः । ननु  
समाहर्तुं समुदयप्रस्थापनमित्यस्मिन् सूत्रे तत्प्रकारस्याभिहितत्वात्  
नारब्धव्यमिदं सूत्रमिति चेदुच्यते तत्र हि क्रमप्राप्ते कोशप्रकृतिप्रतिपादने  
सन्निधातृनिचयकर्मन्तरं निचेतव्यस्य समुदयस्य प्रस्थापनं समाहर्तु-  
कार्यमिति तावन्मात्रमिति प्रतिपादितम् । सर्वसमुदायानामुत्पत्तिक्षेत्रभूतस्य  
जनपदस्य चिन्ताप्रकारस्तत्सहायाश्च नोका इति तत्प्रतिपादनार्थ-  
मिदमारभ्यते ।

तदाह समाहर्तेत्यादि । स जनपदं तदन्तर्गतानि  
दुर्गाद्यायस्थानानि चतुर्धा विभज्य चतुरंशान्कृत्वा तेष्वंशेषु  
प्रत्येकं ज्येष्ठमश्वमकनिष्ठविभागेन कुल-  
संख्या न्वादा<sup>१</sup> सारतया च ग्रामाणां ज्येष्ठादिविभागं  
ग्रामसंख्यानियमे तावदिति ग्रामादिषु सर्वेषु योजनीयमिति  
स्वरूपनिर्देशः, एतावदिति परिमाणनिर्देशः, तच्च परिमाण-  
मेकैकस्य ग्रामस्य ग्रामसमुदायस्य च भवति । एवं ग्रामाग्रं  
निबन्धयेत् लेखयेत्तथा परिहारकमिति ग्रामशब्दोपि  
परिहारकादिभिः सम्बन्धनीयश्चकारश्चात्र लुप्तनिर्दिष्टो द्रष्टव्यः एत-  
दुक्तम्भवति परिहारकप्रवृत्तपरिहारकश्च ग्रामाग्रमिदमेतावदिति निबन्ध-  
येत् । परिहारो देयमोक्षः तथा युधीयं दण्डकरन्तथा धान्य-

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ए शु हिरण्यकुप्यविष्टिप्रतिकरमिति । धान्यादयः प्रतीताः प्रतिकरः प्रत्येकं धान्यादिभिः सम्बध्यते प्रत्येकं नियतः करो प्रतिकरो राजदेयः तत्र धान्यप्रतिकरं धान्यभोगं तद्वयं पशुप्रतिक हिरण्यप्रतिकरं विष्टिप्रतिकरमिति धान्यादिष्वपीदमेतावदिति योजनीयं तद्यथामुष्मिन् जनपदे चतुर्धा विभक्ते एतावद्भिरेको भागस्तत्रैकस्मिन्भागे एतावन्तो ग्रामा एतेष्वेव एव सन्त उत्तमाः, एतावन्तो मध्यमाः, एतावन्तोऽधमाः तेष्वप्येतावन्तः परिहारकाः निवृत्तकरास्ते चैतावद्भिरेवायुधीयैरुप-कुर्वन्ति, एते एतावन्तो धान्यप्रतिकराः ते चैतानि चैतानि धान्यानि ग्रीहादीन्येतावन्ति वार्षिकं प्रयच्छन्ति, एतावन्तः पशुप्रतीकाराः ते चैतानेतान् दोहवाहनोपकारिणः पशून्प्रयच्छन्ति एत एतावन्तो हिरण्य-प्रतीकारास्ते चैतदेतच्च हेम रूपं जाम्बूजवशातकुम्भादिकं वा हिरण्यं कोशप्रवेश्यं वा जतुर्भागताम्रं रूपरूपं कार्षापणं वा एतावदेतावच्च प्रयच्छन्ति एत एतावन्तः कुप्यप्रतीकाराः ते चैतदेतच्च कुप्यव्ययमेताव-देतावच्च ददति एत एतावन्तो विष्टिप्रतिकराः ते चैतैरैतैरेतावद्भि-श्च दुर्गादिकर्मोपयोगिभिः पुरुषैरुपकुर्वन्ति एवं स्वकारणितैपिण्डेन कृतनिबन्धस्य जनपदस्य गोपस्थानिकैर्विभज्य चिन्तामाह ।

वत्तापि प्रथमं गोपस्वरूपं तच्चिन्तनप्रकारश्चाह—तत्प्रदिष्ट इत्यादि । तेन समाहृतं प्रदिष्टे निमुक्तो यः पञ्च ग्रामी दश ग्रामी वा चिन्तयति तस्य गोपतिसंज्ञा । तत्र सञ्चग्रामी दशग्रामीमिति सर्वोत्तमसर्वनिकृष्टग्रामसङ्ख्यानिर्देशान्मध्यानां त्वरतम्याक्षेप्या षड्धादि-सङ्ख्या कल्पनीया तेन गोप इति ग्रामाणां पञ्चकं मध्यमानां षट्कं सप्तकमष्टकं नवकं वाऽधमानां दशकं वा चिन्तयेत् निरुपयेद्यथापरि-दृष्टनिबन्धयेत् ।

कथमित्याह सीमावरोधेन नदीशैलवृक्षादिभिर्यथोक्ताभिस्सी-माभिरवस्थाप्यैव ग्रामाग्रं ग्रामपरिमाणं निबन्धयेत् तथा कृष्णदिसङ्ख्यातेन क्षेत्राग्रं क्षेत्रपरिमाणं निबन्धयेत् । तत्र कृष्टं कृष्टपच्यानां ग्रीहादिसस्यानां भवनं क्षेत्रं मक्रं प्रम कृष्टपच्यानां

नीवारादीनां स्थलं जांगलं केदारं शाह्यादिक्षेत्रं पण्डः पूगकं-  
दल्यादिक्षेत्रं वनं ग्रामवासिनामुपजीव्यवृक्षादिस्थानं ब्रह्मसोमारण्यञ्च  
पाटेश्वादिक्षेत्रं वास्तु चैत्यदेवगृहसेतुबन्धश्मशानानि  
प्रतीतानि तत्र सेतुबन्धशब्देन कूपकुल्यादयोपि गृह्यन्ते । सत्रं भक्तदान-  
स्थानं प्रपां पानीयस्थानं पुण्यस्थानं तीर्थाश्रमदेवायतनादि  
विवीतः प्रतीतः पन्थानो महासार्थपथा इदमेतेषां कृष्टानां सङ्ख्या-  
जनेनेदमेतावदिति सङ्ख्याय क्षेत्राग्रं ग्रामसीमांतर्गतक्षेत्रपरिमाणं  
निबन्धयेत् । तद्यथा, अमुष्या नद्या उत्तरतोमुष्माच्छैलादक्षिणतोमुष्या  
घृष्टेः पश्चिमतोमुष्यानद्याः पूर्वतश्च निविष्टोसावमुकनामा ग्रामासौ  
च पिण्डेनैतावत्क्षेत्रमितिपूर्वं निबध्ना पुनरस्मिन्नेतावदकृष्टमित्यादि  
सङ्ख्याय बन्धयेदिति । तेनेति सर्वनाम्नामासात्रिष्वप्य सङ्ख्यान-  
परामृश्यते । सीमां क्षेत्राणाञ्च मर्यादानिबन्धः सङ्ख्यानैक  
कारयेत् तत्र सीमानः नदीशैलादयः क्षेत्राणि कृष्टादीनि  
तेषाम् मर्यादान्योन्यावधयः अरण्यं ग्रामोणैरनुपजीव्यं वनं पन्था-  
नः कृष्टादीनां अन्योन्यप्रवेशनिर्गममार्गाः प्रमाणाणि प्रत्येक-  
परिमाणानि सम्प्रदानं यैर्यैभ्यो यादृशानि दत्तानि विक्रयः  
प्रतीतः तद्यथा इदं क्षेत्रममुनामुष्मादित्थं प्रतिगृहीतं वेत्यनुग्रह-  
परिहारौ प्रागुक्तौ । अनुग्रहपरिहारो चोह्यः कोशवृद्धिकारो दद्यादि-  
त्येवमेषाम्मर्यादादीनां सीमक्षेत्रसम्बन्धिनां यथासम्भवं निबद्धं  
संख्यानेन कारयेदिति । गृहाणाञ्च प्रामान्तर्गतानां करदा-  
करदसंख्यानेन निबद्धं कारयेदिति वर्तते । गृहशब्देन च  
गृहिणो लक्ष्यन्ते । एतावन्ति गृहाणि कश्चान्येतेषु प्रतिगृहं निवासि-  
जनेनैतावद्दमेतेषु च न किञ्चिद्वैयमिति ।

तेषु च गृहेष्वेतावच्चातुर्वर्ण्यमिति तद्ग्रहणमन्तप्रभा-  
वाणामप्युपलक्षणार्थं कर्मकरो भूतकः दासो गृहदासादिः  
द्विपादा मनुष्याः चतुष्पादाः पशवः शेषाः प्रतीताः । एतानपि

पृथक् सङ्ग्रहाय निबन्धयेदिति । इदञ्च हिरण्यादिकमेषु गृहेषु समु-  
त्तिष्ठति राज्ञ उत्पद्यत इति निबन्धयेदिति । हिरण्यादयः कृतव्याख्याः ।

किञ्च कुलानां कुटुम्बानां स्त्रीपुरुषादिपरिमाणञ्च गोपो  
विद्यान्तर्गतादयः प्रतीताः । कर्माणि जात्युक्तान्यध्यायनादीनि  
च रित्रं देशजातिकुलप्रबन्धः आचारः आजीवो प्रत्युपायः आद्य  
अर्थोत्पत्तिः व्ययः कुटुम्बभरणार्थं एवमेतेषां स्त्रीपुरुषादीनां परि-  
माणमियत्नां गोपो विद्यादिति ।

गोपस्थानिकस्थानेष्विति । गोपस्थानिकाश्च यत्र  
यत्र स्थित्वा स्वाधिकारं चिन्तयन्ति तत्र स्थिताः प्रदेष्टारः<sup>१</sup> कण्ट-  
कशोधनादिकृताः कार्यकरणं तत्रत्यानां कण्टकानामुद्धरणं बलि-  
प्रग्रहं<sup>२</sup> गोपस्थानिकनिबद्धानां बलिनां राजभाष्यानां समुदयानां  
प्रग्रहः स्वयमप्रयच्छद्भ्यः प्रसह्योपादानमथवा बलिनां बलवतां ग्राम-  
राष्ट्रमुख्यानां प्रग्रहं नियमनं गोपस्थानिकवशे स्थापनं वाशब्दः  
चाथे एतत्सर्वं कुर्युः इति ।

इति भट्टस्वामिनः प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्

अर्थशास्त्रटीकायामध्याक्षप्रचारिके

द्वितीयेधिकरणे समाहृतं-

प्रचारइतिप्रकरणम् ।

१ "कुलानां" 'श'स'-योः ।

२ cf. धर्मस्थीयम् १, —य ।

३ "The extirpation of evil-doers and the collection of taxes"—य ।

**गृहपतिकवैदेहकतापसव्यं जनाः प्रणिधय इति सूत्रम् ।**

व्यञ्जनशब्दः प्रत्येकं गृहपतिकव्यञ्जनो वैदेहकव्यञ्जनस्तापसव्यं-  
जनश्च संस्थाविशेषा गृहपुरुषोत्पत्तावभिहिताः तेषाम्प्रणिधिमप्रणिधानं  
व्यञ्जनपदे ग्रामादिषु नियोजनमिति सूत्रार्थः । प्रणिधय इति बहुवचन-  
निर्देशः कापटिकादिनामपि प्रणिधानस्योपसंग्रहार्थः ।

तथा च वक्ष्यति "चिन्तयेद्युश्च संस्थास्ता संस्थाश्चान्याः स्वयोनयं"  
इति । यद्येवं संस्थाप्रणिधिरित्येव वक्तव्यं किमर्थं तथाणामुपादानमिति  
चेत्तस्यैव समाहर्तृकार्योपयोगिनि जनपदवृत्तान्तज्ञाने तेषां प्राधान्यात्स्व-  
रूपतोयवा समाहर्तृप्रचारे महतो जनपदस्यैकेन समाहर्त्रा चिन्तयितु-  
मशक्यत्वात् गोपस्थानिकैर्विभज्य चिन्तनमुक्तं ते हि कर्मसु परीक्ष-  
णीया एव, उक्तं हि कर्म स चैवा नित्यं परीक्षां कारयेत् चिन्तानित्य-  
त्वान्मनुष्याणाम् श्वसधर्माणो हि मनुष्या नियुक्ताः कर्मसु विकुर्वन्त  
इति, अपसर्पाधिष्ठितञ्च प्रचारमिति च तस्मात्तत्प्रचारपरीक्षार्थं समा-  
हर्तृप्रचारशेषभूयेतदन्तरमिदमभिधीयत इति सम्बन्धः ।

तदाह स मा ह त्वं प्र दि द्या श्चे त्या दि । समाहर्त्रा प्र दि ष्टाः  
प्रयुक्ताः गृ ह प ति क व्य ञ्ज ना ये षु ग्रा मे षु प्र णि हि ता  
नियुक्ताः तेषां ग्रामाणां क्षेत्रकुलगृहाग्रं विद्युरिति  
क्षेत्रादीनां सङ्ख्यां विद्युः, कथमित्याह मा न सं जा ता भ्यां क्षेत्रा-  
णीति मानेन क्षेत्राणामियता परिच्छेदेन तदुत्पन्नसंस्थादिपिण्डेन  
क्षेत्राग्रं विद्युः क्षेत्राणीति बहुवचनप्रतिकुटुम्बं कृष्टादिविभेदेन विभज्य  
ज्ञापनार्थम् । तथा भो ग प रि हा रा भ्यां गृ हा णी ति करदाकरद-  
सङ्ख्यानेनत्यर्थं वर्णकमाभ्यां कुला नी ति वर्णो जातिः कर्म  
कृष्टादिकं ताभ्याङ्कुला नि कुटुम्बानि विद्युरिति । किञ्च तेषां कुलानां  
जङ्घाप्रमिति जङ्घाशब्देन पादचारिणो मनुष्याः पशवश्च गृहान्ते  
पतावद्विपदचतुष्पदमिति जानीयादित्यर्थः । आ य ध्य यौ चार्था-

णामुत्पत्तिं व्ययं च विद्युरिति । किञ्च प्रस्थिता नागता नाञ्च  
प्रवासावासकारणं विद्युरिति गृहाद् गृहं ग्रामाद्ग्रामं राष्ट्रा-  
द्राष्ट्रञ्च प्रस्थितागतानामिति । सङ्ख्याविगृहीतविपर्यस्तप्रदणं प्रस्थिता-  
नामागतानां प्रस्थितागतानामागतप्रस्थितानाञ्च । तत्र प्रस्थितानामेकत्र  
वसतामन्यत्र वस्तुं गच्छतामागतानामन्यतः तत्र वस्तुमागतानां  
प्रस्थितागतानाञ्च प्रवासावासकारणमितीदमेषां प्रवासे स्थानान्तर-  
गमने कारणमिदमिदमेषां स्थानान्तरादावत्यवासे कारणमिति च विद्यु-  
रित्यनर्थानां च स्त्रीपुरुषाणां नटनर्तकादीनां बन्धव्यादी-  
नामस्त्रीणां पानदारिकाक्षधूर्त्ताविपुरुषाणां वा प्रवासावासकारणं  
विद्युरिति चारप्रचारञ्च परप्रयुक्तानां चारपुरुषाणाञ्च प्रचारं  
विद्युरिति ।

एवं गृहपतिकव्यञ्जनप्रणिधिमाह एवं वै देहकव्यञ्जना  
इत्यादि । यथा गृहपतिकव्यञ्जना ग्रामाणां क्षेत्रकुलगृहा-  
दिषु विजिगीषुदेशानां राजपण्यानां पण्याधक्षोक्तानां खन्यादिषु  
पञ्चसूतपन्नानां तल खनिजानि खन्यध्यक्षोक्तानि शम्भुवज्रादीनि, पत-  
द्याकरजानामुपलक्षणार्थं, सेतुजानि मत्स्यादीनि, उक्तं हि मत्स्य-  
प्लवहरितपण्यानां सेतुषु राजस्वाम्यं गच्छेयुरिति वनजानि द्रव्य-  
वनोत्पन्नानि कुप्याध्यक्षोक्तानि कर्मान्तज्ञानि निखातवप्रादिकर्मान्त-  
क्षेत्रज्ञानि क्षेत्रजानि सीताध्यक्षोक्तानि एवमेतेषां मरिमाणमि-  
यत्तामर्थं मूल्यञ्च विद्युः ।

तथा च परभूमिजानां देशान्तराद्वारिस्थलपथाभ्या-  
मुपयातानां विजिगीषुदेशप्राप्तानां सारपण्यानां श्वन्दादीनां  
फल्गुपण्यानां वस्त्रधान्यलवणादीनां, तल सारफल्गुशब्देन  
श्रेष्ठकतिष्ठमात्रोपरी सर्वपण्योपलक्षणार्थं, तेन रत्नादिशकपर्यन्तसर्व-  
पण्यानां ग्रहणं, तेषां कर्मसु क्रयविक्रयादिषु शुल्कादीनां प्र-

मा णं वि द्यु स्त त्र शु र्कं शु र्काध्यक्षोक्तं व र्ते न्य न्तपालादेय-  
मा ति वा हि कं सार्थातिवाहननिमित्तं विवीताध्यक्षदेयमुक्तं हि  
सार्थादिति बाह्यं गोरक्षव्यवहारश्च कारयेदिति, गु ल्म दे य ङ्चाराद्या-  
देयं त र दे यं नावाध्यक्षादेयं भा ग कं दशभागादिराजभाव्यं सह-  
व्यवहारिणां परस्परदेयभागं वा भक्तपरिचारकपुरुषबलीवर्दादिपरि-  
व्ययम् पश्चात्त ग र भ्रष्टनादिकम्, एवमेतेषां भ्र मा णं वैदेहकव्यञ्जना  
वि द्यु रिति । तथा तापसव्यञ्जना अपि कर्षकादीनां शौचाशौचं  
विद्युरिति यथासम्भवं योजनीयम् ।

पु रा ण चो र व्य ङ्ज ना श्चा न्ते वा सि न इत्यादि । चोरास्ता-  
लोद्घाटनसन्धिच्छेदादिकुशलास्ते बहुशः कृतकर्मणः पुराणचोरास्त-  
द्व्यञ्जनास्तदुपक र्दं संप्रह्णादिकारणं तद्व्यञ्जना तं स्तोमभिः प्रतिसंस्कारार्थं  
स्तेनादयो हि पुराणचोराः अ मि त्र पु रु षाः शत्रुप्रयुक्ताः तीक्ष्णादयः  
प्र वी र पु रु षाः साहसिका ये धू त्यानिमित्तेऽपि वा कलहे पराना-  
त्मानं वा निर्व्यपेक्षं वधापादयन्तीति तेषां स्तेनादीनामनर्थस्त्रीपुरुषा-  
णाञ्च प्रोक्तानां प्र वे श स्था न नि र्ग मा त्प्र यो ज नं चो प-  
ल भे र न् । अनेन मार्गेणामुष्मिन्काले प्रविशन्ति, अत्र देशेऽमुष्मिन्काले  
तिष्ठन्ति, अनेन मार्गेण च काले चास्मिन्निर्गच्छन्ति, इदञ्चैषां प्रयोजन-  
मिह सास्यमिति सर्वमेव जानीयुरिति ।

अध्यायप्रान्ते प्रकरणद्वयशेषं श्लोकमाह । स मा ह र्ते त्या द्ये वं  
यथोक्तप्रकारेण द्वयानुष्ठानेनो त्थि तो नित्योद्युक्तः स मा ह र्तां ज न-  
प द्वा न् चि न्त ये त् स्वयं गोपस्थानीकैस्संस्थाभिश्चिन्तयेत् ।  
चि न्त ये यु श्च सं स्था इति संस्थाश्च समाहर्तुं दिष्टा एवं चिन्तयेयु-

१ पश्याध्यक्षे विचारितम् ।

२ दुष्टः पाठः ।

३ दुष्टः पाठः ।

४ दुष्टः पाठः ।

५ संस्थाः or stations of spies described in विनयाधि-  
कारिकम् ॥—५ ।

रिति तेषामपि प्रचारमन्यैस्तद्व्यञ्जनैः समाहृतं परीक्षयेदित्यर्थः । न्वे-  
वमनवस्था प्रसज्येत सत्यमिदमत्र विवक्षितमाचार्यस्यार्थस्य हि  
स्वादुत्वादर्थ्याधिकारिणां भक्षणमवश्यंभाविदुर्ज्ञानञ्च भवति, उक्तं हि,  
यथा ह्यनास्वादितुमशक्यमित्यादिना श्लोकत्रयेण तेषां च भक्षणाद्वा-  
जार्थो जनपद उभयं वा पीड्येत तत्र राजार्थपीडने स्वाम्यर्थपीडनात् ।  
नरकपातो दण्डश्चानन्तरः प्रजापीडने महानधर्मो राजदण्डः ताभि-  
रेकलोष्ठवधश्चोभयपीडने चोभयं भवति तस्मादुभयमपि यथा न  
किञ्चिदपि पीड्येत सर्वप्रकारं तथा समाहर्त्रा प्रयतितध्यमवहितेनेति ।

इति भट्टस्वामिनः प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्

अर्थशास्त्रटीकायामध्यक्षप्रचा-

रिके द्वितीयेधिकरणे

पञ्चत्रिंशोऽध्यायः ।

समाहर्तृप्रचारो गृहपतिकवैदेहकतापसव्यञ्जनप्रणिधयश्चादित्

षट्पञ्चाशोऽध्यायः ।

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१ 'कर्मकराः प्रायोऽर्थलोभाद् राजार्थे' वा हापयन्ति प्रजा वा परिपीडयन्ती-  
ति—'ग' इत्युच्यते ।

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षट्त्रिंशोऽध्यायः

## नागरिकप्रणिधिरिति सूत्रम् ।

न ग रं स्थानीयं तत्र निगुक्तो नागरिकः तस्य प्रणिधिस्तद्व्या-  
पारानुष्ठानं तदिहामिधीयत इति सूत्रार्थः ।

सम्बन्धस्तु उद्देशनिर्देशतोऽथवा समस्तैरध्यक्षैः सर्वसमुद्याना-  
मुत्पत्तिः प्रतिपादिता । उत्पन्नानां समुद्यानां राज्ञश्च स्थानीय-  
माश्रय उक्तं हि जनपदमध्ये समुद्यस्थानं स्थानीयं निवेशयेदिति  
रक्षितं हि तत्तेषामाशयो भवतीति समुद्यप्रतिपादनान्तरं तदाश्रय-  
भूतस्य स्थानीयस्य रक्षणमभिधीयत इत्ययं सम्बन्धः ।

तदाह स मा ह त्वं व ज्ञा ग रि को न ग रं चि न्त ये दि ति ।  
यथा समाहर्ता जनपदं चतुर्धा विभज्य स्वयं गोपस्थानीयैश्च चिन्तये-  
दिति । तत्र गोपस्य चिन्त्यकुलसंस्थानियमन्तश्चिन्तनप्रकारश्चाह,  
द श कु लीं गो पो विं श ति कु लीं च त्वा रिं श त्कु लीं वे ति ।  
सर्वोत्तमानि दशकुलानि सर्वनिकृष्टानि चत्वारिंशत्कुलानि विंशति-  
ग्रहणस्य प्रदर्शनार्थत्वात्, मध्यमानि सारापेक्षया विंशतिपञ्चदशपञ्च-  
विंशतिमित्यादि नागरिकप्रदिष्टोऽयं चिन्तयति तस्य गोपसंज्ञाविषयश्च  
तस्य तावन्ति कुलानि ।

चिन्ताप्रकारमाह स त स्या इ त्या दि । स गोप स्त स्या  
दशकुल्यादिकायाः स्त्री पुरुषाणां स्त्रीप्रधानानां गणि-  
कानाटकशौण्डिकादिकूलानां पुरुषप्रधानानाञ्च वणिक्कार-  
कर्मकरप्रभृतिकुलानाम्प्रत्येकं जात्यादिभिः जङ्घाप्रं मनुष्यसंख्या-  
मायव्ययौ च विद्या उजात्यादयः प्रतीताः ।

एवं दुर्गचतुर्भागिकं स्थानं चिन्तयेदिति । यथा  
गोपो दशकुलीप्रभृतीनां जङ्घाप्रमायव्ययौ च विद्यादेवं स्थानिकोऽपि  
दुर्गचतुर्भागस्य स्त्रीपुरुषाणां जात्यादिभिर्जङ्घाप्रमायव्ययौ च विद्या-  
दिति । तस्य दुर्गचतुर्भागचितकस्य स्थानिक इति संज्ञा ।

धर्मावस्थिति इत्यादि । धर्मावस्था धर्मार्थाः सभामण्डपादयः  
तदधिकृता धर्मावस्थितिः ते पाषाण्डान्<sup>१</sup> शाक्यभिक्षुकादीन्<sup>२</sup>  
पथि कांश्च वैदेहि<sup>३</sup> कान्वस्तुमागतान् गोपस्य स्थानिकस्य वा निवेद्य  
वासयेयुः प्रतिश्रयं दद्युः ।

स्वप्रत्यया स्वयमेव प्रतीत्य तपस्विनः श्रोत्रियांश्च वा-  
सयेयुरिति । कारुशिलिनश्चेति स्वप्रत्यया इति वर्तते कारवः  
शिलिनश्च स्वप्रत्यया स्वकर्मस्थानेषु स्वकर्मशालासु स्वगृहेषु  
वा स्वजनं सजातीयं वासयेयुरिति ।

वैदेहिकाश्चान्योन्यमिति स्वप्रत्ययाः । स्वकर्मस्थानेषु  
स्वजनं वासयेयुरिति । तेषां स्वकर्मस्थानीयानि क्रयविक्रयस्थानानि  
ये स्वप्रत्यया स्वजनं वासयन्ति ते तद्दोषांश्च भजेरन्निति । किञ्चित्-  
पण्यानामदेशकालविक्रं तारमदेशेऽन्तगृहादावकाले रूपे  
वेलायां विक्रयकर्तारः स्वकरणञ्चानिषिद्धदेशकालेपि कुत इदं  
त्वया लब्धमिति पृष्ठो येन स्वकरणमात्मीयत्वसमर्थनकृतञ्च गोप-  
स्थानीकयोर्वैदेहका एव निवेदयेयुः ।

१ “पाषण्डिणः”—‘श-य-गा’ नाम् । ‘पाषण्डिपथिकान् पाशुपतशाक्यभि-  
क्षुकादीन्’ इति ‘ग’ स्य व्याख्यायां ‘पाशुपत’—प्रस्तावना विचारणीया ।

२ *pāṣaṇḍa*, Kalsi Rock Edict of Aśoka III. 37 = *pāṣaṇḍā*  
Girnar VII. 1 = *praṣaṇḍa* Shahbazgarhi VII. 2. XIII. 4, *nom.*  
*pl. m.*—‘sects’, adherents of creeds.....Skt. *pāṣaṇḍa* appears  
to be a Prakritic form, meaning ‘heretic’; *ṣaṇḍa* said to mean  
*liṅga* only to explain this word, otherwise ‘thicket, multitude,  
group’.....confused with *khaṇḍa*, ‘section’, ‘party’, etc. cf.  
*prakāṇḍa*.—Woolner. Aśoka Text and Glossary Pt. II. pp.  
112-13. Is it a reference to the Buddhist religion? Śākya  
Buddhists are mentioned in III, 20, 20.—य ।

३ “वैदेहिकान्” ‘श-स-य-गा’ नाम् ।

शौ ण्डि का द यः सुरादिव्यवहारिणः रू पा जी वा वेश्याः  
ते प रि ज्ञा नं कुलशीलादिभिः परीक्षणं स्वेषु स्वेषु गृहेषु  
वा स ये युः ।

अ ति व्य य क र्ता र म प्रतिज्ञातायतिं सुरापूपादिष्वतिप्रभूतं व्ययं  
कुर्वाणम त्था हि त क र्मा ण श्च यः प्रसिद्धकृष्यादिलब्धविभवः स्वल्पेन  
प्रनष्टसर्वस्वः अर्थमाहितमारब्धं महापातनदर्शनादिकं कर्म येन तश्च त  
एव शौण्डिकादयो नि वे द ये युः ।

चि कि त्स क इत्यादि । चिकित्सकः प्रतीतः प्रच्छन्नव्रण-  
प्रतीकारयिता र मिति, यच्छस्त्रप्रहरणादिजनितं व्रणं परैरविज्ञातं  
प्रतीकारयति चिकित्सां कारयति । अ प थ्य का रि ण आपथ्यानि  
प्राणिनां व्याधिजननमरणानि वा द्रव्याणि यः पृच्छन्कुर्वन् वा  
दृष्टस्तञ्च गो प स्था नि क यो नि वे द्य मुच्येत् शुद्धः स्या द न्य था-  
ऽनिवेदने तु ल्य दो षः स्वयमपि तत्कारिदोषभाक् स्याद् गृह-  
स्वामी च तौ यस्य गृहे स्थित्वा व्रणप्रतीकारमपथ्यानि च कुर्वते,  
सोपि गृहस्वामी गोपस्थानीकयोर्निर्वेद्य मुच्यते । अन्यथा तुल्यदोषः  
स्यादिति ।

प्र स्थि ता ग तौ च नि वे द ये दिति, गृहस्वामीति वर्तते,  
स्वस्वगृहे वसन्तं प्रस्थितमपूर्वमागतञ्च निवेदयेत् ।

असावस्मद्गृहवासी अमुना कार्येणामुष्मिन्निवसेमुद्देशप्रस्थितः  
असौ चामुष्माद्देशादमुना कार्येणागत इति । अ न्य था तयोरनि-  
वेदने रा त्ति दो षं भ जे त रात्रिवृत्तं चौर्यादिकमेतत् कृतम्भवेदिति ।  
क्षे म रा त्रि ष्वि ति यासु रात्रिषु चौर्यादिकं तद् वृत्तं तास्ववस्थि-  
तागतानिवेदने ति प णं दण्डं द द्या दि ति ।

प थि की त्प थि का इत्यादि । पथिका प्रसिद्धमार्गसञ्चारिणो  
वैदेहकादयः उत्पथिका काष्ठतृणादिहारकाः गोपालकादयः चानुमानाः

१ “वेदेहिका०”—स ।

२ “पालिका०”—स ।

पथसञ्चाराः तद्व्यञ्जनाः पुरुषाः बहिर्नगरस्य समीपस्थेषु देवगृहा-  
दिषु सत्रणादीन्गृहीयुः तत्र देवगृहादीनि प्रतीतानि, सत्रणं शस्त्र-  
प्रहरणादिजनितार्द्रव्रणं अनिष्टोपकरणं काकलीसदंशविष-  
शस्त्रादिधारणमुदुभाण्डोक्तमुद्राद्विभारसंस्थूलदेहमाविर्ग-  
यस्य कस्यचिद्दर्शनात् भीतमतिस्वप्नं रात्रिप्रजागरातिव्यायामा-  
तिगाढनिद्रं अध्वक्लान्तं दीर्घाध्वगमनविघ्नमपूर्वमविज्ञात-  
पूर्वं, वाशब्दादन्यानपि शङ्कनीयान् दृष्ट्वा गृहीयुः स्वयं नागरिक-  
पुरुषैर्वा ग्राहयेयुः ।

एवमभ्यन्तरे नगरस्य शून्यनिवेशादिषु पूर्वोक्तसव्रणादीनां  
विचयमन्वेषणं कुर्युः, नागरिकगोपस्थानिकास्तद्व्यञ्जनैरिति  
वाक्यशेषः । कर्तृशून्यनिवेशाः शून्यगृहाणि, आवेशनं शिल्पि-  
शाला, शौण्डिकादीनाम्प्रत्येकमावासास्तेषां गृहाणि तत्र द्यूतावासो  
द्यूतसभा, शेषं प्रतीतम् ।

AS', p. 145

अग्निप्रतिषेधश्च ग्रीष्मे इति कुर्युरिति वर्तते  
अग्निप्रतिषेधं अग्निनिषेधं ग्रीष्मे कुर्युरिति कथमित्याह  
मध्यमयोरहश्चतुर्भागयोरित्यादिचतुर्धा विभक्तस्या-  
होमध्यमौ द्वौ भागौ प्रहरद्वयं तस्मिन्काले किञ्चिदपि अग्निकार्यं न  
कुर्युरिति तदानीं कुर्वतां पणष्टभागोऽग्निदण्डोऽग्निनिमित्तो  
दण्डः ।

पादः पञ्चघटि'कामिति । तत्रापि मध्यमासु पञ्चसु घटिकासु  
पादः पूर्वोक्तद्विगुणो दण्डः कुम्भादीनामकरणे च पाद इति  
वर्तते । ग्रीष्मे कुम्भादीनि गृहद्वारेष्ववस्थापयतां च पणचतुर्भागो दण्डः ।  
तत्र कुम्भाः प्रतीताः द्रोण्यः श्लक्ष्णफलकघटिता जलाधारविशीषाः  
कुम्भाद्रोण्यश्च जलपूर्णाः स्थापनीयाः, निश्रोणि रुद्धाधिरोहणसा-  
धनं काष्ठादियन्त्रं, परशुः कुठारः वंशादिच्छेदनाय, शूर्पं स्प्रतीतं

I नावध्यस्ति द्रष्टव्यः ।

"वटीनाम्" 'व-स-य-गा' नाम् ।

तच्च निर्वापयतः प्रतिमुखधूमनिवारणायां । कुशः सृणिः इह कृत-  
संस्थानमहाप्रमाणदण्डो दह्यमानदर्वादिकर्षणार्थः कचग्रहणी यन्त्र-  
विशेषः किञ्चित्प्रसृतकुञ्चिताङ्गुलिहस्तसंस्थानलोहवदिताम्रा महायष्टिः  
शत्रूणां केशकर्षणार्थं क्रियते सा तृणाद्यपनयनाय, धृतिः प्रतीता ।  
पवमेतानि ग्रीष्मे गृहद्वारेषु गृहिभिः स्थापनीयानि ।

तृणकटच्छन्ना न्यपनयेदिति । तृणानि फलादीनि  
कटाः प्रतीताः तैश्छन्नानि यानि गृहाणि ग्रीष्मे तानि तेषाम-  
वस्थापयेदित्यर्थः ।

अग्निजीविनः कांस्थायोजीविनः कांस्थायस्कारादिना एक-  
स्मिन्काले निवातप्रदेशे कृतान्निप्रतीकारो सर्वान्समानीय कर्म कारये-  
दित्यर्थः ।

खगृहप्रद्वारेष्विति खेषां गृहाणां प्रद्वारेषु प्रथमद्वारेषु  
गृहस्वामिनः सर्वे गृहिणो वसेयुर्यथासन्निधानं कुर्युः । तत्र  
विशेषमाह—असम्पातिनो रात्राविति रात्रौ त्वसञ्चारिणो  
वसेयूरात्रिसञ्चारस्याशङ्कास्थानत्वात् रथ्यासुकटत्रजास्स हस्व-  
तिष्टेयुरिति प्रतिरथ्यं सोदकाः कुम्भाः बहवः श्रेणीकृताः तिष्ठेयुः ।  
तथा च चतुष्पथादिषु च तिष्ठेयुरिति चतुष्पथाः पथा-  
सन्धयः द्वाराणि नगरराजगृहद्वारि राजपरिग्रहा हस्त्यादि-  
शाला गोष्ठागारादयो बाह्योपकार्यादयश्च ।

प्रदीप्तमनमिधावत इति । यत्र कचिदग्निमुत्थितं द्रष्टुं प-  
हसाऽनमिधावतो गृहस्वामिनो यस्य गृहं तस्य द्वादश-  
पणो दण्डः । षट्पणो विक्रयिण इति । भागकेन वसतो  
नामिद्रवतः षट्पणो गृहस्वामिन अर्धदण्ड इति । प्रमादादनव-  
धानाद् दीप्तेषु स्वेष्वपि गृहादिषु चतुष्पञ्चाशत्पणो  
कण्डः ।

प्रा दी पि को गृहादिष्वग्निदो नि ना व ध्यः तस्मिन्नेवान्नौ प्रक्षेप्तव्यः यदि तदानीमेव गृहीतं कालान्तरगृहीतस्याप्यग्निदाहनं वक्ष्यति विवीतक्षेत्रखलवेश्मद्रव्यहस्तिवनदीपकमग्निना दाहयेत् इति ।<sup>१</sup>

पां सु न्या स इ ति । र थ्या यां गृहावस्करन्यासे वर्णा-  
ष्ट भा गो द ण्डः ।

प ङ्को द क स त्रि रो धे र थ्यायामेव पङ्कोदकाभ्यां सञ्चार-  
निरोधे पा दः<sup>२</sup> । पूर्वोक्तद्विगुणो दण्डः राज मा र्गे महारथ्यायां  
पांसुन्यासे वकोदकसन्निरोधे च रथ्यादण्डो द्वि गु णः ।

रा ज प रि प्र हे राजाङ्कणादौ पञ्च पण इति । मू त्रे ष्वि ति  
तेष्ववस्थानेषु मूत्रकरणे पूर्वोक्ताद्विष्टादण्डाद र्धे द ण्डः ।

भ ष ज्य व्या धि भ य नि मि त्त म द ण्ड इति । भैषज्यादिनिमित्त-  
मेतेष्वव स्थानेषु मूत्रपुरीषकरणे दण्डो न भवति । तत्र भैषज्यः विरे-  
चनादिद्रव्योपयोगः व्याधिः प्रमेहातिसारादिभि र्भ य भ्रंसीतम् ।

मा र्जा र श्व न कु ल स र्प प्रे ता ना म् तच्छवानां ना ग र-  
स्या न्त रू त्स र्गे त्रि प णो द ण्डः । ख रो ष्ट्रा श्व त रा श्व प शु  
प्रे ता नां ष ट् प णाः । म नु ष्य प्रे ता नां पञ्चा श त्प णो  
दण्डः इति सुबोधम् ।

मा र्ग वि प र्या से क्लृप्तमार्गादन्येन मार्गेण द्वारादन्य त श्च  
प्रसिद्धद्वारादन्यद्वारेण श व नि र्ण य ने निर्हरणे पू र्वः सा ह स-  
द ण्डः । द्वा र्थ्या ना मनवतारयतां द्वि श तो दण्डः ।

श्म शा ना द न्य त्र न्या से द ह ने वा द्वा द श प णो द ण्ड  
इति । तत्र न्यासो बालानां चादिशवानां त्यागो निखननं वा ।

वि ष ण्णा लि क मु भ य तो रा त्रं या म तूर् य मिति  
यमनं यामः सञ्चारनिरोध इत्यर्थः । तच्चिह्नतूर् यं या म-  
तूर् यं तदुभयतो रात्रविषण्णालिकं कुर्यात् रात्रे रादितः षट्सु नाटकासु

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१ कालकयोधने वक्ष्यते ।

२ स-धृत-०-मूलं "पदः" ।

गतापक्रम्यान्तेषु शिष्टासु विरमेदित्यर्थः । यामतूर्ये दसो सर्पोऽपि न सम्पतेदिति । तूर्य शब्द इति । तस्मिन् तूर्यवादे वर्तमाने रा जाभ्यां शे न्तर्नगरे स पा द प ण म क्ष ण ता ल न मिति<sup>१</sup> । ता ल नं ताडनं ते न च दण्डो लक्ष्यते क्षणोनुज्ञातः कालः अक्ष णो निषिद्धः तन्निमित्तो दण्डः अक्षणतालनं त त्प्र थ म प षि च म या मि कं प्रथमपश्चिमयामयोरनुज्ञातषण्णालिकावशिष्टकादिष्वयं सपादपणं भवति तद्यथा प्रथमस्यादौ पश्चिमस्यान्ते च षण्णालिका वर्जयित्वा वशिष्टकालमतद्विषयमेतदण्डविधानमिति म ध्य म या मि क द्वि गु ण मिति, मध्यमयामयोरक्षणतालनद्विगुणमध्यधिकपणद्वयं भवति । ब हि ष च तु गु ण मि ति नियमाद्विस्तृतपर्यन्तदेशे च तु गु णं पञ्चगुणम्भवति ।

शङ्कनीये देशे निकंदादौ प्रस्थितस्य चौर्यादिकं शङ्कनीयं लिङ्गे च शङ्कनीया अवगणतकिञ्चिद्गूहनादिके पूर्वापदानेपि च पूर्वमपि तत्कृतचौर्यादिकर्मण्येवमेतेषु दृष्टेषु गृहीतमनुयुजीत,<sup>२</sup> परिरूपलक्षितो यो दृष्टः तं गृहीत्वा वाक्यकर्मभ्यामनुयुजीत वाक्य कर्मानुयोगञ्च कण्टकशोधने वक्ष्यति ।

राजपरिग्रहोपगमन इति । राजपरिग्रहाणां महानसकोष्ठागारादीनामुद्यानादिविहारस्थानानाञ्चानधिकृतस्योपगमने प्रवेशने नगररक्षारोहणे च नगररक्षणानामष्टालप्रतोलिकोशादीनामनधिकृतस्यारोहणे च मध्यमः साहसदण्डः ।

अक्षणसंचारिष्वग्राह्यानाह सूतिकाचिकित्सकेत्यादि । तस्य सूतिका निर्देशास्तथाः स्वयं ममनाभावात् तत्परिकर्मिणः स्त्रीपुरुषाः गृह्यन्ते । चिकित्सका मन्त्रौषधादिभिर्विषरोगादिप्रतिकर्तारः तदुग्रहणं तत्परिकर्मिणामप्युपलक्षणाथं स्मृतं तद्ग्रहणञ्च

१ 'Disregarding the prohibition to stir during the forbidden time entails a fine of १५५ Panas'—य ।

२ अर्थशास्त्रस्य चतुर्थाधिकरणे कण्टकशोधने विस्तारितम् ।

शवनिर्हारिणामप्युपलक्षणार्थमेवैते प्र दी प या ने प्रदीपेनात्मानं  
प्रकाश्य सञ्चरन्तो न प्राह्याः । तथा ना ग रि' क तूर्य्यं प्रे क्षा' नि-  
नि मि त्त मि ति निमित्तशब्दः प्रत्येकं तत्र नागरिकतूर्य्यनिमित्तं  
नागरिककृते सर्वनागरसमवायचिह्नं तूर्य्यनादे सति प्रेक्षानिमित्तं  
राजानुमतमहानसा<sup>१</sup>दिदर्शननिमित्तम् गृहादिषु प्रदीपेषु, उक्तं हि 'प्रदीप-  
मनमित्रजतो गृहस्वामिनो द्वादशपणो दण्डः, षट्पणोपक्रयिण'<sup>२</sup> इति ।  
अग्निग्रहणं परावस्कन्दनादीनाम्भयहेतूनामप्युपलक्षणार्थं मुद्रामिश्र-  
राजमन्त्रिणो नागरिकस्य वा मुद्राभिः पवमेतेषु निमिचेषु क्षणसञ्चा-  
रिणोवप्राह्याः अत्र च ग्रहणप्रतिषेधान्निमित्तानि परीक्ष्यैव मुञ्चेदिति ।

त था चार रा त्रि ष्वि ति अनिषिद्धसर्वजनप्रचारासु च देवो-  
त्सवादिरात्रिषु च प्रच्छन्नवेषा विपरिवर्तिता आज्ञया निष्का-  
सिता यष्ट्यादिप्रहारजनितमूढव्रणाः शस्त्रहस्ताश्च आर्द्रवृता  
पवमेते प्रच्छन्नवेषादयो दोषतो दण्डाः तेषु यस्य यो दोषः  
उपलब्धः शङ्कितो वा तदोषानुरूपं दण्ड्या इत्यर्थः ।

र क्षि णां नागरिकपुरुषाणां म वा र्थं चिकित्सकादिकं  
वा र य तां वा र्थं च महजनं<sup>३</sup> मक्षणप्रचारण म वा र य ता म क्ष ण-  
द्वि गु णो द ण्डः । इत्यक्षचारिणां यो दण्ड उक्तः तद्विगुणो दण्ड  
इति ।

स्त्रि यं दा सी म धि मे ह य तां पूर्वस्साहसदण्डः,  
रक्षिणामिति वर्तते, यां काञ्चित्कस्यचिद्दासीस्त्रीमधिमेहयतां बलाद्-  
गच्छतां रक्षिणां पूर्वस्साहसदण्ड इति । अ दा सीं स्वतन्त्रां गणिकां  
म ध्य मः । कृ ता व रो धां कस्यचिद्गृहिणीत्वेन नियतवर्ति-  
नी मु च्त मः । कु ल स्त्रि यं व ध इति सुबोधं चे त ना स्त्रे(त)नि कं

१ "०गरक०"—'श-य'-योः ।

२ "०प्रेक्षानिमित्तं ०"—स ।

३ "०नटादि०" 'स'स्य पाठो गरीयान्

४ पाठदोषोऽनुमीयते । 'सामान्यजनस्य'—ग ।



प्राण्यप्राणिसम्भवं रात्रिदोषं रात्रौ यदकुशलं नगरे वृत्तं न शंसतः प्रातरेव नागरिकस्य अनिवेदयतः नगरवासिजनस्य दोषानुरूपो दण्ड इति वतन्ते । सर्वेषां प्रमादस्थाने शङ्कितापायकरणे च तत्तद्दोषानुरूपो दण्ड इति ।

नित्यमुदकस्थानेत्यादि उदकस्थानं नदीतडागरूपादिकं मार्गः द्वाराणि भूमिपथञ्जलनिःसरणमार्गः छन्नपथवप्रकाराः प्रागुक्तरक्षाः अट्टालकादय एवमेतेषामुदकस्थानादीनां नित्यमवेक्षणं रक्षणं रक्षिपुरुषैः कार्यमिति शेषः, किमर्थमुदकदूषणादिप्रतिषेधार्थं तन्नष्टप्रस्मृतापस्मृतानाञ्च रक्षणं कार्यमिति नष्टानाम् हृष्टादिना स्वामिनामदर्शनागतानां प्रस्मृतानां मङ्गुचिह्नितानामेव विस्मृतानामपस्मृतानां स्वयमेव पलायितानां दासादीनां पशूनाञ्च रक्षणं नागरिकेनाकर्तव्यम् । नष्टादीनि स्वामिन एव यावद्गृह्णन्ति तावन्नागरिकपुरुषैः रक्षितव्यानीति ।

बन्धनागाराच्च कारागृहात् बालानां वृद्धानां व्याधितानामनाथानाञ्च जातिं नक्षत्रे राशौ जन्मनक्षत्रे पौर्णमासीषु कार्तिक्यादिषु विसर्गो मोक्षः कार्यः इति पुण्यशीलाः समयानुबन्धाः वा दोषनिष्क्रयं दद्युरिति । पुण्यशीला धार्मिकास्तेषामपि यदि कदाचित् केनचिद्दोषेण बन्धनागारप्रवेशः प्राप्तस्तदा ते समयानुबन्धान्न पुनरेवं करिष्याम इति समयानुबन्धं प्रतिभाव्यादिदानेन कृत्वा दोषनिष्क्रयं बन्धनागारप्रवेशनिमित्तस्य निष्क्रयं दोषानुरूपं हिरण्यदण्डं दद्युर्न बन्धनागारं प्रविशेयुः । वाशब्दो निष्क्रियादाने समयानुबन्धाकरणे च प्रविशेयुरेव ।

इदानीमध्यायप्रान्ते श्लोकाभ्याङ्कृतव्यशेषमाह दिवस इत्यादि । दिवसे पञ्चरात्रे दीप्सालोपो द्रष्टव्यः

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1 दुष्टः पाठः । 'हृत्यादिना' इत्यनुसोयते ।

2 "जातो"—श्र-स-थ-गा—नाम् ।

3 "समयानुबन्धान् नपुनरेव" etc. विभागः कल्पनीयः—स ।

दिवसे दिवसे पञ्चरात्रे पञ्चरात्रे वेति तत्र प्रतिदिवसविशोधनं  
जघन्यं द्विरात्रादिषु मध्यममेवं बन्धनस्थानां विशोधनं दोषनिष्कृत्यं  
कायेदिति । कथमित्याह कर्मणेति । हिरण्यदानासमर्थाच्छूद्रा  
न्तरपरिक्षेपे शैर्हिरण्येन हिरण्यग्रहणेनानुग्रहणेन बालपापकारिणम् प्रभूतो-  
पकारिणामनुग्रहं कृत्वा वा पवञ्चतुर्विधं विशोधयेदिति ।

सर्वबन्धनमोक्षनिमित्तमाह, अपूर्वदेशाधिगमे विजिगीषो-  
र्यातव्योच्छेदादिना देशान्तरप्राप्तिः तथा युवराजाभिषेचने  
पुत्रस्य भ्रातुर्वा यौवराज्यप्रतिपादने पुत्रजन्मनि वा राज्ञः  
पुत्रजनने पुत्रग्रहणपौत्रनसोरप्युपलक्षणार्थम् । वाशब्दादश्वमेधादि-  
महाक्रतुदोक्षासूक्तापातभूमिकम्पादिमहोत्पातेषु राज्ञो जनपदस्य वा  
न्याधिदुर्भिक्षादिमहाभयेषु च सचेष्टामपि बन्धनागारास्थानां बन्धनस्य  
मोक्षोभिधीयते । विशालोक्षप्रभृतिभिः पूर्वाचार्यैरिति ।  
एतेषु निमित्तेषु महादोषानपि मुञ्चयेदित्यर्थ इति ।

इति भट्टस्वामिनः प्रतिपक्षप्रतिकायाम्

अर्थशास्त्रटीकायामध्यक्षप्रचार-

रिके द्वितीयेधिकरणे

षट्त्रिंशोऽध्यायः ।

नागरिकप्रणिधिः आदितपकपञ्चाशोऽध्यायः ।

कौटिल्यार्थशास्त्रस्याध्यक्षप्रचारिकं द्वितीयमधिकरणं समाप्तम् ।

श्रियै नमः ।

‘स’-‘सत’ पञ्चरूपतो दुष्टः ।

समाप्तेयं जायसवाल-वन्द्योपाध्याय-योः

संस्करणशोधिका पादटीका ॥

**ABBREVIATIONS IN THE FOOTNOTES TO  
BHATTĀSVAMIN'S COMMENTARY.**

- ५—Shama Sastri, R.—Arthasastra of Kautilya. Mysore 1909.
- ६—Sorabji, I. J.—Some Notes on the Adhyaksha-Pracāra Book II of the Kautiliyam-Arthasāstram.—Allahabad, 1914.
- ७—Jolly, J.—Arthasāstra of Kautilya.—Lahore. Vol. I, 1923, Vol. II, 1924.
- ८—Gaṇapati Śāstri, Mahamahopādhyāya. The Arthasāstra of Kautilya.—Trivandrum, 1924.

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### LEADING ARTICLES

#### [—Relations Between Guptas, Kadambas and Vakatakas

By Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A.

An inscription of the Kādamba King Kākusthavarmma in the Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district, known to epigraphists as the Talagunda pillar inscription of Kākusthavarmma, has been the first document that records relations between the Guptas and the Kādambas. After the usual story of King Mayūrasarmma and his brilliant accomplishments round Kanchi this inscription gives the vamsāvali of the Kādambas till King Kākustha, the donor of the grant. Of this monarch the poet says in bombastic style : " This sun among kings, by the rays, (*viz.*) his daughters, raised up the beds of lotus, (*viz.*) the families of the Gupta and other kings." <sup>1</sup>

Mr. B. Lewis Rice supposed that " the reference is probably to Samudra-Gupta, who made an expedition throughout the South as recorded on the pillar at Allahabad." <sup>2</sup> Again, Mr. Rice, referring to the same passage says later on : " This,

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<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 36, & 31; *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Rice, *Cottg Inscriptions* (Revised Edition), p. 2.

there can be no doubt, as previously said, refers to Samudra-Gupta, who is the only Gupta known to have made an expedition to the South."<sup>3</sup> Evidently the only reason Mr. Rice had for such a suggestion was Samudra-Gupta's expedition into Southern India. Prescinding now from the probability of Monsieur G. Jouveau-Dubreuil's opinion that Samudra-Gupta's conquests were confined only to the East coast of the Deccan,<sup>4</sup> Rice's statement appeared to me ill-founded. Hence I carefully studied all the available contemporary evidence, and the result of my research will be the subject of this paper.

The greatest monarch of the Vakātaka dynasty seems to have been Pravarasēna I. The Ajanta Cave inscription of Prithivisēna II gives him the title of *Samrāt*, and he is said to have performed several sacrifices that prove the claimant's right to paramount sovereignty. One of the achievements was to have conquered "the lord of Kuntala."<sup>5</sup> This seems to have been one of the titles of the Kādamba Kings.<sup>6</sup> In fact Kuntala seems to have been one of the provinces of the Kādamba Empire, and one of the best provinces, too. In the Narendra inscription of Jayakēśim II, 1125, we read the following praises of the province of Kuntala :—"Like the beauty of a tress of hair on the (goddess) Earth who is clasped by the zone of the oceans, the province of Kuntala appears a charm to the mind; in this province, like a glittering forehead ornament, there shines to the delight of the soul, the country of Halasigue, a gem of a country, most exalted and of boundless value. Kundūr, which is a beauty-spot of this charming province, is extolled by all mankind."<sup>7</sup> This province was bounded by the rivers Bhīma and Vedāvati and included Shimoga, Chitaldroog, Bellary, Dharwār, Bijāpur and some adjacent territories.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 6. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XXV, p. 27; *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 58.

<sup>5</sup> Ajanta Cave inscription of Prithivisēna II, *A.S. of W.I.*, IV, p. 125, v. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Bhanu Daji, *Report on Photographic Copies of Inscriptions in Dharwar and Mysore*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 317.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 315, vv. 58-9.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*, I, p. 289 (1897).

Hence the Vakātaka King Pravarasēna I defeated the Kadamba sovereign. But who was the defeated monarch? Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has shown that Pravarasēna I was contemporary with Chandra-Gupta I and not in the last period of the latter's reign indeed, for Pravarasēna's successor is also given by him as synchronic with the founder of the Gupta Empire.<sup>9</sup> Now Chandra-Gupta I's reign runs from 320 to 330-5. Therefore the Kādamba King routed by Pravarasēna I cannot be other but Mayūrasarmma, the founder of the dynasty, perhaps before his establishing his family firmly in the Kuntala country.<sup>10</sup> The grant that mentioned this event was written about a century later; hence when the poet said that Pravarasēna defeated the lord of Kuntala, he most likely meant that he defeated the one who became the lord of Kuntala shortly after, or the representative of the dynasty that were the lords of Kuntala when the grant was written.<sup>11</sup>

Mayūrasarmma's reign in Kuntala lasted till the year 360, viz. till about the middle of the reign of Samudra-Gupta (330-380). This King, nevertheless, had died before Mayūrasarmma's

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<sup>9</sup> S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *The Vākātakas in Gupta History*, Q.J.M.S., XV, p. 158; S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *The Vākātakas and their Place in the History of India, Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, V, pp. 37-9.

<sup>10</sup> Jouveau-Dubreuil, o.c., p. 95.

<sup>11</sup> Prof. A. V. Venkatarama Iyer, in his article *The Vyāghras and their Identification. The New Light on Vākātaka History* in *The Journal of Oriental Research*, I, p. 89-91, intends to prove that Pravarasēna conquered and took possession of the Kuntala country; and speaks of the subsequent Vākātaka aggrandizement in the South. If this is so how could the Kādamba family establish itself there at the same time? Moreover the inscription of Jayakesim II referred to above clearly shows that Kuntala was one of the best provinces of the Kādamba kingdom. It hardly could be so, if this province was under the Vākātakas from the time of the founder of the Kādamba dynasty. I think that the importance of these facts must be well-weighed before relying upon the mere title of Kuntaleśa, that may be an empty boast, as it is customary in such grants. In the aforesaid Ajanta inscription, Prithivisēna (circa 355-400) is also said to have conquered Kuntala, and again his fifth successor Harishena (circa 500-520) boasts of having conquered the same country. Burgess, *Buddhist Cave Temples*, p. 53. This shows that this enterprise was a common boast among the kings of this dynasty.

successor, Kaṅgavarmma whose reign lasted till 385. Now Kakusthavarmma was according to the grants the grandson of this Kaṅgavarmma, who died five years later than Samudra-Gupta. Naturally, then, the opinion of Mr. Rice falls to the ground. The daughter of Kakusthavarmma was most likely not yet born when Samudra-Gupta died.

The son and successor of Kaṅgavarmma, Bhagiratha, reigned from 385 to 410. He was therefore fully contemporary with Chandra-Gupta II (380-414). This is a very interesting detail indeed, as occurring at the time when friendly relations commenced between the Guptas and Kādambas, relations that ended with a family alliance.

In the Sanskrit work *Sṛṅgāraprakāśika* the poet Bhoja relates that the great poet Kālidāsa was sent as an ambassador of King Vikramāditya to a Kuntala King.<sup>12</sup>

Now, we know from Chandra-Gupta II's coins that this King assumed the title of Vikramāditya.<sup>13</sup> Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Ayyar has already identified the Vikramāditya of this passage with Chandra-Gupta II.<sup>14</sup> This embassy seems to be one of the most suggestive events in the history of the Gupta Empire. Putting aside the personality of the ambassador chosen by Chandra-Gupta, the great poet Kālidāsa, it confirms the increasing importance of the Kādamba King in the beginning of the fifth century, as pointed out in Kakustha's grant mentioned above. In fact, we do not know of any embassy of the Kādambas to the Gupta sovereigns. Now, Chandra-Gupta Vikramāditya, the successor of the great Emperor Samudra Gupta, the conqueror of Eastern Malwa, Saurāstra and Gujrat, in whose reign the Gupta Samvāt was

<sup>12</sup> Cf. K. Balasubrahmanya Ayyar, *A Study in Kālidāsa in Relation to Political Science, Madras Oriental Conference*, p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> Allan, *Gupta Coins*, p. 34-7, 49.

<sup>14</sup> "The most widespread at present is the theory that Vikrama is Chandra-Gupta II of the Gupta dynasty ... There seems to be no doubt, at least, that this king actually bore the title Vikramāditya, and that his general character and the splendor of his reign fit well enough the descriptions of our Vikrama." Edgerton. *Vikrama's Adventures*, I, p. lvi.

officially accepted in the kingdom of Nepal, sends an embassy to the lord of Kuntalā, the Kādamba King Bhagīratha.

The *Aucityavicārarcā* by Hemachandra gives some more details about this embassy of Kālidāsa. The author quotes the following verse of Kālidāsa :—

इह निवसति मेरुः श्रेष्ठः स्रग्धराणां  
मिह विनिहितभाराः सागराः सप्तचान्ये ।  
इहमहिषतिभोगस्तन्मविभ्राव्यमानं  
धरणीतलमिहैव स्थानमस्मद्विधानाम् ॥

(Here rests Meru, the crest of the mountains,  
And moreover there are the seven oceans whose burdens  
are put down here ;  
This surface of the earth here, shining on the support,  
viz. the coils of the lord of the serpents,  
Indeed is a fit place for people like ourselves.)

Then Hemachandra gives the following comment upon the poet's quotation :—"In this verse Kālidāsa, though the ambassador of a mighty king, on a mean place, not having got a seat corresponding to the honour and the dignity befitting his own lord, being forced by circumstances seated only on the ground, with ready self-consciousness and depth of mind shows how fitting a place for people like him the very ground is, being the throne of the earth, (which is) immovable on the surface of the coils of the lord of the snakes, because just there the Meru, the overlord of the mountains, has seated himself, and so (did) the seven great oceans. There is a real similarity between them and us."<sup>15</sup>

The fact is that the Kādamba King Bhagīratha did not offer Kālidāsa a seat befitting the sovereign whose representative he was. This seems to confirm the same idea that the Kādamba King's power was then increasing.

Nothing is said of the motive of this embassy. Yet we may guess it after considering the circumstances of Chandra-Gupta

<sup>15</sup> Hemachandra, *Aucityavicārarcā* (N.S.P. Ed.), p. 180-40.



II's reign. This monarch married his daughter Śrī Prabhāvatī-Gupta to the Vākāṭaka King Rudrasēna II, according to the information afforded by several grants of the latter family.<sup>16</sup> This fact shows not only the wish of the Vākāṭaka family of establishing intimate relations with the Imperial Guptas, but also Chandra-Gupta's wisdom of forming family alliances with the dynasties reigning South of his Empire. His sharp eye perhaps foresaw the impending hordes of the Hunas from the North, a source of great harm to the Empire, indeed. Thus this great Emperor allied his family with the sovereigns of the Deccan to secure the southern boundaries during the forthcoming struggle in the North. One of these alliances was the marriage of Śrī Prabhāvatī-Gupta with Rudrasēna II. Another was proposed, we suspect, to the Kādamba King through Chandra-Gupta's ambassador, the poet Kālidāsa.

Moreover, the Talagunda inscription of Kākusthavarmma seems to point to the same auspicious event. It is there said that this King by means of his daughters "raised up the family of the Guptas." This sounds like a favour done to the Gupta family by the Kādamba King. It is also perhaps a hint at a request of a Gupta sovereign for a family alliance with the lord of Kuntala. If that is so, we may suppose that Kālidāsa went to Vaijayantī (Banavasi), the Kādamba capital, in charge of settling this delicate proposal. The daughters of Bhagīratha were most likely all engaged at this time. His eldest son and future successor, Raghu, seems to have died without offspring, since he was succeeded by his brother Kākusthavarmma in 425. One of the daughters of the latter was therefore selected for effecting this union with the Guptas.

Who was the Gupta Prince to whom this Kādamba girl was given in marriage? Before replying to this question, it is necessary to study two other family alliances between the Kādambas and two other neighbouring dynasties.

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<sup>16</sup> Fleet, *C.I.I.*, III, p. 237, vv. 14-5; p. 245-6, vv. 13-6; *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 41, vv. 7-10; *Ind. Ant.*, XLI, p. 216; LIII, p. 48; *A.S. of W.I.*, IV, p. 120, vv. 14-6.

The grant of Kākusthavarmma informs us that this King's daughters were married to the Guptas and other kings. No hint as to who were these other kings is found in the inscription ; but the Balaghat plates of Prithivisēna II come to our rescue. This grant, while giving the well-known vamsāvali of the Vākātakas, says that Prithivisēna II was the son of Narēndrasēna born of the Mahādēvi Ajjhita-bhaṭṭārīkā, a daughter of the lord of Kuntala.<sup>17</sup> Now, Narēndrasēna was the grandson of Rudrasēna II and Śrī Prabhāvatī-Gupta, herself the daughter of Chandra-Gupta II.<sup>18</sup> According to Mr. Vincent Smith and Monsieur Jouveau-Dubreuil, the marriage between Rudrasēna II and Chandra-Gupta's daughter was celebrated about 395.<sup>19</sup> Jouveau-Dubreuil supposes that the marriage of their grandson took place 50 years later, i.e. in 445. Thus we come down to the reign of Kākusthavarmma. Hence we may unhesitatingly affirm that Mahādēvi Ajjhita-bhaṭṭārīkā was one of the daughters of Kākusthavarmma. This fact is also against the opinion of Mr. Rice, for Narēndrasēna was the great-great-grandson of Samudra-Gupta, through the latter's grand-daughter Śrī Prabhāvatī-Gupta. How could two sisters be married, one to Samudra-Gupta and the other to his great-great-grandson ? The record of this marriage in Prithivisēna II's grant shows, moreover, the importance of the Kādamba family. Samudra-Gupta mentioned in his coins,<sup>20</sup> as well as in some of his inscriptions,<sup>21</sup> the Licchavi origin of his mother Mahādēvi Kumāradēvi, and from this fact we deduce that the rank and power of the Guptas was increased by this family union with that famous Kshatriya clan. Pravaraśēna II and his successors also feel proud of their family union with the daughter of Chandra-Gupta II as

<sup>17</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 271, vv. 30-1.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *The Vākātakas in Gupta History*, *Q.J.M.S.*, XV, p. 155.

<sup>19</sup> Smith, *The Vākātaka Dynasty of Berar in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 326; Jouveau-Dubreuil, *o.c.*, p. 100.

<sup>20</sup> Allan, *o.c.*, pl. III.

<sup>21</sup> Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, III

revealed in their inscriptions.<sup>22</sup> And now Prithivisēna II gladly records the name and origin of his mother through whom "the bed of lotus of this family has been raised up", to use the expression of Kākustha's inscription.

Another daughter of Kākusthavarmma was married to a Gaṅga King of Mysore. We gather this information from several Gaṅga grants.<sup>23</sup> According to them, King Avinīta was a nephew of the illustrious Kṛṣṇavarmma "who was a sun in the firmament of the Kādamba family", through his mother who was a sister of the same Kṛṣṇavarmma. Now, Kṛṣṇavarmma was the son of King Kākusthavarmma. Therefore the mother of Avinīta was one of the daughters of the same Kākustha. From this we deduce that Avinīta's father, Madhava II, was a contemporary of Kṛṣṇavarmma of Kuntala, and of the latter's brother Santivarmma. Yet Monsieur Jouveau-Dubreuil, who has adopted for Raghu the dates 410-425<sup>24</sup> gives to his contemporary Madhava II the following: 540-565.<sup>25</sup> I sincerely think that these dates need some correction.

After considering all this, we cannot suppose that the Gupta married to a daughter of Kākusthavarmma was Chandra-Gupta II. If he had been so, he would have become the brother-in-law of the wife (Mahādēvi Ajjhita-bhaṭṭārikā) of his grandson (Narēndrasēna). Such a case may be possible indeed, but it is not probable. We are more inclined to think that Chandra-Gupta II sent the embassy to obtain a princess for one of his sons. Was this Prince Chandra-Gupta II's successor, the future Kumāra-Gupta I? We took for granted that one of the daughters of Kākusthavarmma married Narēndrasēna in 445. Now Kamāra-Gupta I seems to have died about 455 at a good ripe age. Hence, supposing that Kalidāsa's embassy took place in 390, the marriage of Kumāra-Gupta I with the

<sup>22</sup> Cf. note 14.

<sup>23</sup> Rice, *Georg Inscriptions*, p. 51; *Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department*, 1925, p. 85, v. 14; p. 90, v. 7.

<sup>24</sup> Jouveau-Dubreuil, o.c., p. 95.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 107.

Kādamba princess could have taken place during the last decade of the fourth century. It may be objected that there is too long a space between the marriage of these two sisters, one in 391-2 and another in 445. But while considering that the dates are only approximate, as also that the Hindu monarchs had many wives, we shall find it not improbable that the oldest daughter of Kākusthavarmma could be married in 391-2 and the youngest in 445.

Who was this Kādamba princess? Was she Queen Anāntadēvi of the Bhitari seal of Kumāra-Gupta II? <sup>36</sup> In the present stage of research we are not able to affirm it. Let it suffice meanwhile to have proved :—first, that the daughter of the Kādamba King Kākusthavarmma could not be a wife of King Samudra-Gupta; second, that this princess most probably was married to King Kumāra-Gupta I, and third, that there can be no doubt as to the increasing importance of the Kādambas in the beginning of the fifth century.

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<sup>36</sup> Fleet, *The Bhitari Seal of Kumāragupta II*, *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 225, v. 5.

## **II—A Survey of Indian Architecture**

**By Monomohan Ganguly, Vidyaratna, B.E.**

In this age of steel and ferro-concrete, when the stream of architectural development has receded as it were from its original course though the old forms are still being applied more or less consistently with the principles of utility and cost, it will be worth our while to consider the principles of a type or system that has well-nigh disappeared and is struggling to express itself through a medium that is not promising. The work of these human beavers so felicitously expressed by Carlyle, has no doubt brought into prominence the constructive side of the building art ; but its dignity, otherwise called by Ruskin the architectural honesty, has been impaired to a considerable extent.

I look upon Indian architecture not from the standpoint of those who look back to a past age, with some of that wistful regret for what has disappeared and is outworn, as a fit theme for academic discussion prompted by a pious but passing impulse, but as a living art to be practised so as to fit in with our present ideal and necessity, not in the sense of architectural excrescence but as a part of an organic whole.

Inspired by the above idea a petition, signed by more than a hundred eminent men of England consisting of the Members of Parliament, the Institute of British Architects and the Royal Society of Arts, etc. was presented to the Secretary of State for India for following the building traditions of India in reconstructing the City of Delhi.

The study of Indian architecture has entered upon a new era since the passing of the Ancient Monuments Act by Lord Curzon for the protection and preservation of monuments, it

being based on English acts and certain recent legislations in this connection in Greece and Italy, putting a stop to the spoliation of the remains of old ; the passing of the Act has breathed fresh life into the dry bones of architectural information and is destined to bring to a happy termination the dispute *re* Indian Architecture which led Fergusson to write a diatribe against Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra in his *Archaeology in India*. The preservation of some temples, I am sorry, has been done in a very careless way, having no regard to the constructive, decorative and ecclesiastical peculiarities of the temples. It is also desirable to extend the operations of this act by some sort of treaty or agreement so that the monuments which cannot now be touched by the legislations can be brought within its operation.

I shall never forget the wretched condition of the Mandapa of the Chalukyan temple at Honam Kunda near the fort of Warangal in the Nizam's dominions for a visit to which I had to spend two sleepless nights in a dirty musafir khana and a deserted wretched shed. The Nizam's Government, however, takes great interest in the preservation and restoration of ancient monuments.

The State of Mysore, where I have extensively travelled, is also found to display an intelligent interest in this direction, but the carving of the inclined Chalukyan parapet of the twelfth century with its modern raised panels in the temple at Halebid is indicative of a perverted taste not in keeping with the spirit of preservation, which should perpetuate as far as possible the remains which are marked by an individuality which no skill in modernising them can restore. I should refer to the glaring ignorance or inadvertence evinced in the restoration of the temple of Paraśurāmeśvara and Bhaskeraśvara of Bhabaneśvara where the relative position of the Pāśva Devatās has been reversed in their respective niches.

The critical and historical study of Indian architecture has not been crowned with a measure of success commensurate with the amount of labour bestowed upon it. One of the main

reasons for this failure is the destructive effect of some pre-conceived notions about its genesis and development occupying the minds of those who work in this field of research, a spirit quite contrary to that which should guide us in all our methods of enquiry. Regardless of the genius of the nation about its self-contained and exclusive character so clearly manifest from the early dawn of history, a student of Indian architecture is taught to look upon the advent of the Greeks as an agency introducing lithic art and architecture in India.

It has been remarked by Fergusson with reference to the Mauryan Chaitya cave at Bhāja in Western India that the wooden features noticed there, would or could not be used by any one familiar with constructions in stone. This with other observations has led Fergusson to conjure up the hypothesis of the introduction of lithic architecture in India by the Greeks. The Chalukyan Kirtti stambhas belonging to the twelfth century A.C. set up in the fort of Warangal in the Nizam's territory remind one of the Sāñchī gateways belonging to the second century A.D. though they are widely dissimilar. Fergusson himself has observed that their main interest lies in their being the lineal descendants of the gateways at Sāñchī. We thus find a continuity of the wooden form after a thousand years since the Sāñchī gates were set up. No one can, therefore, reasonably think for a moment that the pillars of the twelfth century were the immediate successors of a wooden model. The tracery window in Sidi Sayyidi mosque at Ahmedabad shows distinct wooden features ; if all such works except the one at Ahmedabad were to cease to exist owing to some cause or other, would it be consistent to deduce that such were first reproduced in stone from a wooden model or prototype in the sixteenth century? The existence of wooden features in a style or structure does not warrant the supposition that there is an immediate chronological relation between the latter and its prototype ; wooden features are more or less noticeable in the structures of the present day. What have the advocates of Greek origin got to say to the remarks of Fergusson himself about the Maiji Sahiba tomb at

Junogad built about 60 years ago? Fergusson remarked as follows :—

“All the carving is executed with precision and appropriateness, but it is all wooden, or in other words, every detail would be more appropriate for a sideboard or a bedstead, or any article of upholstery than for a building in stone.”

Would anybody apply Fergusson's remark about the Bhājā cave to the expert stone cutters of Guzerat of the present day who built the above tomb with wooden features, and say that such wooden features would not or could not be used by any one familiar with constructions in stone?

There is another tendency noticeable among the critics of Indian art, which goes to a great extent in accounting for the present attitude. The advent of Gautama Buddha is considered to be the starting point of Indian history : before that, there is an eternal blank ; the references to the period anterior to the birth of Buddha are rejected as interpolations belonging to the later period of culture invented by the wily Brāhman. It does not stand to reason that Buddhist culture sprang suddenly into existence like an Athene fully armed. Buddha was a synthesis of Indian culture, a fulfilment of Indian aspirations in the spiritual field. He was not born to illustrate the repetition of the sequence or order described in the Mosaic cosmogony according to which cosmos evolved out of chaos, light out of darkness at the dictate of an unseen Providence. It will be irrational in this age to accept the advent of Buddha as a phenomenon which cannot be accounted for as being outside the chain of causation and effect forged in the eternal process of evolution.

The humanitarian movement started by Aśoka gave a great impetus to architecture and the rise of the Kushan power had in it sufficient potentiality to maintain and perhaps to augment the *vis viva* created by the Imperial Mauryas ; but it is certainly incorrect to say that Indian architecture emerged full grown from the initiative of Piyadasi.



In the Mahavagga and the Kullavagga which had been written before Aśoka flourished, we find details of architecture indicating elaborations through tedious processes. That the Buddhist art rests upon the well-defined and solid substratum of Brahmanic art is admitted by the Buddhists themselves. In the book called the *Chitralakṣaṇam* one of the four books on art forming a part of the 123rd volume of the sūtra portion of Tanjur, the Tibetan Pitaka on Mahayana Buddhism, Brahma while explaining to Nagnajit the origin of *Chitra* refers to the prevalence of the chaityas in the Vedic period and to the recognition of the importance like the Vedas of the art of drawing, a proficiency in which was required for the construction of the chaityas. Dr. Berthold Laufer, the German scholar, who has translated the *Chitralakṣaṇam* of Nagnajit, the king of Gandhara, is identical with his namesake in the Mahayānist text in which case he thinks that the Indian origin of the Gandhara art can be easily established.

I may very briefly refer in this connection to the so-called Greek and Persepolitan columns noticed by some authorities in India. If we study the technics and details of these columns carefully we shall never call them Greek or Persian; I must admit here that some of the decorative devices of the Greeks and Persians were no doubt borrowed, but if we bestow a moment's consideration upon the technics we are sure to arrive at a different conclusion and cannot but call them Indian in spirit and form. The very presence of acanthus as a decorative device in the capital of the columns or columnar representations noticed at Gandhara has led the advocates of the Græco-Bactrian school to trace their direct descent from the classical sources and thus to pave the way for the theory of Greek influence on Indian architecture and finally to the theory of the introduction of lithic architecture in India by the Greeks.

If we study the form of the column with their base and capital we cannot call them Greek or Roman at all. The shafts of columns even at Gandhara used to be decorated with the

Vedic symbol of the Aisṭhika Vēdī. I have not noticed angular corners in the abacus of a classical column; they are invariably bevelled off; whereas in all the Gandhara examples without exception they are sharply pointed. The columnar representations at Gandhara are all dwarfish and devoid of the sublime proportion and symmetry characteristic of the classical form. I am not aware of double superposed pilasters of Corinthian order of the first and second century A.C. as we notice at Gandhara; nor have I noticed any square-shafted or octagonal pillar of the Corinthian order. I am also not aware of any Greek or Roman building where the architrave is also decorated with the acanthus which is only found in the Corinthian capital.

These and many other considerations have led me to reject the theory of Græco-Bactrian origin of Indian architecture, although I repeat that the craftsmen of those days in the frontier provinces were certainly tinged with the Hellenistic ideas of decoration to some extent which are infinitesimal considering the vastness of the indigenous system as evinced in the details.

Until the Greek plan and elevation of building are discovered we cannot fairly speak of the Greek influence on Indian architecture. The adoption with material alterations of a very few decorative motifs does not justify the supposition of Greek origin or Greek influence. Where is the classical order in the Indian forms? The mere existence of the motif of acanthus or abacus with variation does not identify a column as belonging to the Corinthian order. We come across the prototype of the acanthus form in the temple of Edfu in Egypt. It may be stated very briefly that a Corinthian column has the peculiarities characterising it in its stylobate, base, shaft, capital, entablature and intercolumniation.

Similar is the case with the so-called Persepolitan column, in India, the zoophorus forms of the capitals of which were only borrowed and nothing else. Persia was again indebted to Assyria for this form and other architectural features. As

there is a good deal of difference between the columns of the palaces of Khorasabad in Assyria and in the Chehil Minar, the hall of Xerxes, or the tomb of Darius at Nakhi-Rustom in Persia, the zoophorus Indian column in similarity widely divergent from the Persian one. No one calls the Persian column Assyrian; by a parity of reasoning I do not understand why should the Indian type be branded Persepolitan. It is as much Persepolitan as that at Khorasabad. The Achæmenian column is invariably tapering and generally fluted except in the façade of the necropolis at Persepolis and the column of Cyrus at Pasargadae. All the Persepolitan columns must invariably have a base of peculiar form; this is not the case in India, nor do we find anywhere the complex column with the double bell capital surmounting the Ionic scrolls, or volutes, the second variety of the Persian column. I would ask you to examine the straight zoophorus octagonal column in the caves of Karle, Bedsa, and Nasik or those in the Ananta Gumpha near Bhubanesvar and I am sure you will not find the least resemblance in details. On carefully examining the Amarāvati bas-relief in the Madras Museum depicting columns of the so-called Persepolitan type I could not come to the conclusion generally accepted. I have come across the zoophorus type in the valley of the Nile as well, and I would ask you to compare the pictures of the Egyptian form with that found at Sâfichî. Apart from the linguistic consideration tending to derive Ahur Mazda from Asura Maya and the stratigraphical evidence of the soil, Dr. Spooner has not said anything supporting his theory in his article on the Zoroastrian Period of Persian History about the column exhumed at Kumrahar supposed by him to have been derived from the Persian model; my remarks above apply to this column also which does not show any feature of the Persian model except the decorative device in the capital. I should, however, be glad if any Persian feature be brought to my notice that might have escaped my attention.

Another difficulty in the study of Indian architecture is the incorrect generalisation arrived at by a detection of similarities

noticed in other forms. These isolated similarities without reference to the circumstances such as the climatic conditions the nature of the materials in use, the ethnic peculiarities of the nations practising a particular form and, above all, the psychological unity underlying different minds admitting of the possibility of the introduction of similar styles in different ages and climes cannot be the safe and reliable criteria to fall back upon in tracing the origin or fixing the chronology of a particular style or form.

The wooden architecture found in the country stretching forth from Kashmir to Nepal is similar to that in Scandinavia in many respects. Some German travellers, again, have suggested a Chinese origin; the Perisan features are also noticeable. Would any sane man on the above score establish a common architectural relation between Scandinavia, Persia, India and China? From a similarity of forms between Draupathi's Ratha at Mahavallipuram, a monolithic structure of the Pallavas of the seventh century and the modern Bengal hut called Chanchala, would anybody seriously consider the latter as derived from the former? If so, he would be overriding the fundamental logical axiom that similars in some respects are not similars in other respects. I have found a peculiar projecting decorative device resembling a cross on the plinth of the Brāhmanical and Jaina temples belonging to the time of Hoysala Ballalas at Kikkeri, Sravan Belgola and Halebid in Mysore. Would anybody infer therefrom that these were Christian in origin? From the similarity existing between the images on gold leaves found at the Mycenaean tombs and the Pre-Mauryan funeral mounds discovered by Dr. Bloch at Lauriya to the north of Bettiah, would any archæologist try to connect the two together?

The study of Indian architecture presents a tangle of confusion owing to several causes. The purposes for which the buildings were originally meant had often to be changed by the persons who were in power in different periods of history, or in cases when they were vacated by those who first used them.

Thus we find the ancient Buddhist Chaitya Hall at Ter in Hyderabad appropriated to Vaiṣṇava worship. Similarly also the early Bauddha cave in Junagadh were set apart for the Jainas by the Sah Kings of Surashtra about the end of the second century of the Christian era, or more correctly for those of the Jainas who obtained the knowledge of the Kevalins producing final emancipation. The Katra at Mathura was an important Buddhist site in the time of the Guptas; the Yasa vihara that used to stand here gave place to a Vishnuvite temple dedicated to Keshab Deb, which again was demolished and replaced by a mosque in the time of Arungzeb.

Many Jaina caves or structures, again, were appropriated by the Buddhists and those professing the Brahmanical faith; many temples were converted into mosques and also thousands of temples were desecrated and demolished for a supply of stones with which they were built. The house of Jagat Singh and Duncan's Bridge near Benares have been built with materials obtained from the ruthless spoliation of the ancient Sarnath buildings. The marble slabs lining the memorable stupa at Amarāvati belonging to the second century A.C. were in the last century seized upon and utilised by a local zemindar for feeding his lime kiln. An improper use of many old buildings has rendered the study of Indian architecture difficult. The mosque of the Gol Gumbuz at Bijapur was converted into an office of the Irrigation Department by an addition of two ugly bath-rooms at the two sides and a provision of a back door at the Mirab not to speak of numerous partition walls. The mosque of Dai Angah at Lahore, turned into a powder magazine by Ranjit Singh, was subsequently used as the office of the Railway Traffic Superintendent of Lahore. Lord Curzon has laid us under a deep debt of gratitude by passing a legislation which has recovered many old buildings from their pitiable condition owing to their being used for purposes other than those for which they were meant. I quote what Lord Curzon said in 1900 at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

“ When I was in Lahore in April last, I found the exquisite little Moti Musjid, or Pearl Mosque in the Fort, which was erected by Jehangir exactly 300 years ago, still used for the profane purposes to which it had been converted by Ranjit Singh, viz. as a government treasury. The arches are built with brickwork, and below, the marble floor had been excavated as a cellar for the reception of iron-bound chests of rupees. I pleaded for the restoration to its original state of this beautiful little building, which I suppose not one visitor in a hundred to Lahore has ever seen. Ranjit Singh cared nothing for the taste or the trophies of his Mahomedan predecessors and half a century of British occupation with its universal paint-pot and the exigencies of the Public Works Engineer has assisted the melancholy decline. Fortunately in recent years something has been done to recover the main buildings of the Moghul Palace from these two insatiable enemies.”

Again, owing to repeated restorations the original form can hardly be ascertained with precision in the case of many temples. The Jaina temple of Rishabha Nath on the summit of the Satrunjay Hill at Palitana in Gujrat as it stands at present has been restored seven times and it is difficult, nay impossible, to trace the vestige of the old temple of the tenth century and to determine its original appearance. The present temple of the Sungod at Konarka is a restoration of the thirteenth century of the old temple existing on this very site. Again, the restoration has been done of late in some ancient buildings in such a way as to spoil their original nature wholly. I may quote the apposite remark of Mr. Longhurst illustrating my point in connection with the restoration of a Vishnuvite temple at Khorad in the Bilaspur district. He stated as follows :—“ The temple has been so extensively repaired and altered that it ceases to be of much interest.” I have noticed the relative position of the Prākara Mandapas tampered within the temple of Rameswaram by the Nattu Kotti Chettis, the rich bankers and merchants of Southern India. This reminds me of a well-known passage in the description by Victor Hugo of Notre

Dame de Paris. He says :—" Three sorts of ravages to-day disfigure Gothic architecture—wrinkles and warts on the epidermis—this is the work of time; deeds of violence, brutalities, contusions, fractures—this is the work of revolutions from Luther to Mirabeau; mutilations, amputations, dislocation of the joints, restorations—this is the Greek, Roman and barbarous work of professors, according to Vitruvius and Vignole. "

From the above quotation it may not be presumed that I accept without reservation the principle of the anti-restorationists enunciated by Ruskin, William Morris, etc. in the last century. It is not always sacrilegious and harmful to attempt at restoring a structure left in a ruinous condition when it is impossible to protect it. I do not, accordingly, accord an implicit obedience to the dictum of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments published in 1877 condemning all attempts at restoration as breaches of the inviolable canons for the preservation of beauties embalmed by years. The plea of the Society to substitute Protection for Restoration is not justifiable in all cases. I quote below what Sir John Marshall remarked in this connection : " Saracenic structures, in particular, as I pointed out in a previous report, defy the simple methods advocated by Ruskin. For, once their domes or arches have become cracked, and heavy masses of brickwork displaced, nothing short of the most radical treatment will avail to secure their permanent safety; nor will mere surface patchwork suffice to avert decay which has penetrated to the core of the rubble walls."

Before I pass on to the next point, I should state that both the restorationists and the anti-restorationists are at one in thinking that the modern accretions or additions acting as eyesores should be removed ensuring thereby the unblemished beauty of the original.

There is none but appreciates the restoration under the directions of the Archaeological Department of the Tajmahal at Agra, the Lal Darwaja at Jaunpur, Jahangir's tomb at Sahdara, Lahore, the Jagamohan of the temple of the Sungod

at Konarka, the Ekalakhi tomb and the Adina and the Qutabsahi mosques at Pandua and a host of others, but none would tolerate for a single second the tampering with the ornament noticed in the restoration of the *pietra dura* mosaics in Shah Jahan's throne or of the gilding of a portion of the ceiling in Akbar's tomb at Sekandra, or of the lotus buds and other decorative devices of the Jehangiri Mehal within the fort at Agra, or of the female figures flanking the arch of the *torana* in front of the temple of Muktesvara at Bhubanesvara. The very sculptor who executed the above work in the temple of Muktesvara and for which he was rewarded by Sir John Woodburn, the then Lieutenant-Governor in Bengal, spoke to me about his work as not approaching the original either in the graceful flow of its outlines or in the beauty of design ; he told me in his own simple way that none could reproduce the work of Viśva Karmā, the master mason, a great truth expressed in a different way by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments in their manifesto "to show no pretence of other art and otherwise to resist all tampering with either the fabric or ornament of the building as it stands" ..... and "to treat our ancient buildings as monuments of a bygone art, created by bygone manners, that modern art cannot meddle with without destroying."

There are many people who for the dearth of authentic data seem to despair of constructing an architectural scale for India ; no serious attempt was made up till recently to explore and unearth the relics of the past.

We quote below what Dr. Bloch wrote in connection with the funeral mounds at Lauria, going back to the Pre-Mauryan epoch: "The ancient citadel now called Nandangarh, accordingly is likely to date from a period anterior to Mauryan rule in India and a careful and systematic excavation of this very important site appears to hold out promises of antiquarian discoveries that may carry us back to a state of civilisation not ~~very~~ remote from and intimately connected with the Vedic Period of India."



The vases of a peculiar nature discovered from a mound of the pre-Christian era in a small village in the Jhalwan district in Beluchistan bearing no resemblance to any of the six classes into which the antique vases have been divided by Dennis in his *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* have not yet been examined carefully. They are calculated to throw some light on the connection existing between the artistic traditions of the pre-Christian, or the pre-Buddhist India, Persia, Sumer and Akkad and Egypt.

We have just a few years ago started the excavations of Sarnath, Pataliputra and Taxila on a scientific method. The cyclopean masonry remains of Rajgir have not as yet been explored. Nothing has been done to bring to light the history of the remains of the old Rajagṛha or the inner city of Rajgir built long before the modern city of Bimbisāra, the contemporary of Buddha. We quote below what Dr. Spooner wrote about it in the *Express* a few years ago :—

“The beginnings of this older city are quite lost in the impenetrable mists of the earliest antiquity, but as the ‘modern city’ outside the gates dates from at least the sixth century B.C., it seems safe to assign the rude but massive masonry of the inner one to a period much anterior.”

### III—Exorcism among the Oraons of the Palamau District

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

In a previous paper (*J.B.O.R.S.*, March, 1923) I described the art of exorcism as practised among the Oraons of the Ranchi district (Chōtā Nāgpur *proper*). In the present paper I proceed to give an account of exorcism as practised among the Oraons of the Palamau district of Chōtā Nāgpur.

Although there are differences in details in the rites of exorcism as practised by the Oraons in the Ranchi district and those of the Palamau district still the conception of spirits and the process of exorcising them are substantially the same in the Chōtā Nāgpur plateau as in the Palamau district of the Chōtā Nāgpur division. There is the same conception of spirits as semi-material entities with appetites and propensities like those of man, who "possess" human beings to obtain the gratification of their appetites and who may be tickled by the "wise man" (the *Matī*, *Sokha* or *Bhāgat*) into self-revelation, and successively pursued from one part of the patient's body to another until completely expelled from the body, and forthwith seized and confined in the *sing* tube, and finally left or buried at a safe spot out of harm's way. The help of higher spirits, too, is requisitioned to detect, subdue and expel the mischievous spirits. Although the invocations and the details of the rites clearly point to the strong influence of Hindu spirit-doctors over the Oraon spirit-doctor—and, in fact, in many cases Hindu spirit-doctors are called in by the Oraons for purposes of exorcism, and Oraon spirit-doctors in most cases derive their training from Hindu teachers (*gurus*)—yet the borrowed elements do not differ in their essentials with similar elements of genuine Oraon culture but fit in with Oraon ideas and ideals and have

thus been easily assimilated and become an integral part of the Oraon system.

### The Mati's Procedure

The procedure followed by the spirit-doctor in the Palamau district is as follows :—

The *verāṇḍā* or a room of the patient's house is cleaned with a coating of *gōbar* (cowdung). There, about  $\frac{1}{4}$  lb. of *ārua* rice and two or four pice are placed on a *sūp* (winnowing fan), and an earthen lamp is placed by its side and a little oil in a small cup, and a little *ghee* on a leaf, and some fire. The *māti* sits there on a mat or on the ground, and the patient is made to lie down by his side. The *māti* first feels the pulse of the sick person, but, even if asked what he finds, does not say as to whether it is a case of spirit possession or natural sickness. Then the *māti* first makes *hōm* by throwing *ghee* on the fire and saying, *Hē Dhartī Mai, hē Sūruinārāin, hēhē dhartī uprē Parmeswar, bichmē Panch ho kar, dūdh ke dūdh pāni ke pāni bicharnā chāhi. Gauke jaisa āgtu dhār taisa pāchhla dhār samjhnā chāhi. Gauke mās kūṭṭā khāe, kūṭṭā ke mās gāi nehi khāi. Aisā hi dohal burhimaḍ dūdh ke dūdh pāni ke pāni bichārna chāhi. Jhūṭṭa kisi ganpar palang nehi bhirna chāhi. Naihār kā hō, sasurār kā hō, yanē gharkā deṭā bigrā hō, yanē kōi, bāhārbāt mē dhūt miṭ lāgāya hō, kōi dahe bidāhe bhej bhejao kia ho yanē nasan pangan kia hō, uskō dūdh ke dūdh pāni ke pāni bichārna chāhi. Jāhākā hōē huā bhejnā chāhi. Agar āsthān (i.e. tree or land or other fixed locality) ka deō hō, to uskō āsthān (i.e. seat) dengē, aur kōi pinr kā bhūt hō usko pin (body) badal pinr dengē; rāhi ka hā rāh dengē. Deota hōkarkē āgpākh karnā nehi chāhiē. Ban bharal pātāi, des bharal bhūt, sekarkhaji nehi, sirip khūnikā khōji hai Satjūgkē satkhāri, Kalijūg pānch khāri eklāhosi pāncho birā dena chāhi. Agpāch nehi karnā chāhi. Agpāch karēsē pāchhūākē janmal-Bāg-mānē hānk, ghōrā-mānē chābhūk, hāthi-mānē ākūsh, deota-mānē jābān, bhūt mānē bāchia. Iohākā bānd khūlē to ~~khūlē~~, bāchheā kā bāndhā nehi ~~chhūlē~~. Sītākā ānchar khūlē, Mahādeo kā jāṭā ṭūṭē, tō-bhi bāchheākā bāndh nehi chhūṭē.*

Now, as the *Hôm* proceeds the *deotas* are invited. All these, *Dharti Māi* and other *deotas* are invited to come and sit as *panch* and make *bichār* (judicial award). The *māti* in a sing-song tone invokes all the spirits and deities he can think of. Thus he chants—

*Būrhi Māi, Kālī Māi, Raukālīn Māi, Jagthārin Māi, Bindhā chālī Māi, Sorsoia Māi, Bhairō Bābā, Dānk Bābā, Ranth Bābā, Mahādeo Bābā, Sōkha Bābā, Durga Māi, Nand Lal Bābā, etc. etc Sātōsae Devīnkā pranām. Sātōsae Indrāsankā Parikhā pranām. Ei deōkā nāmkarē Sātōsai deō ākar Dharam jāṇā chāhiyē. Dharmikē dharam jāṇol chāhi. Pāpāke chhāi karnā chāhi. Konnrūka masān, Kaunrūka jōgin, kōunrūkā nātin, Delhikā Gorea, Kanhārkhā Bhainsāsūr, Tānroūka Bhairo, Rimika Chhattar, Donkika Chhattar, Patanka Ghaṭoaria, Nagpurkē Dārkhā, Kokhoka Dārkhā, Hardikā Dārkhā, Saneākā Chenṛi, Makka-ka Chenṛi, Badamkā Chenṛi, Chetmakā Chenṛi, Kolhuākā Ko'sarin Mai, Calcutta-ka Kālī Māi Aghorighāt kā Aghori Bābā, Kumnikā Kōroā, Harsukā Baram, Dipoukā Baram, Ruhelajin, Kounru Guru, Ad Guru, Bau Guru, Ahō Gura, Pāhō Guru, Dahram Garu, Sunu Guru, Sidh Guru kē bande pāo.*

When the *Hôm* is over, the *māti* takes rice from the *sūp* and places the rice on the ground in the shape of an arc of a circle almost complete except for leaving an opening at its north-western (*bhīndār*) corner.

Now oil is put into the lamp and the *māti* begins by singing *mantras*, in honour of the *Gūrūs* or preceptors invoking their aid in his operations. These are known as *Guruaont* or obeisance to the *Gūrūs*. Here is a specimen of *Guruaont* songs :—

*Bajar baiqr bajar keoār, bajrē bāndhō naras duār.  
Hāt chaltē hāt bāndhō, bāt chaltē bāt bāndhō,  
Māiā-dhiā Dāin bandhō, bāpāputā Ojhā bāndhō,  
Ojhākē ojhāi bāndhō, dāinikē gūn bāndhō,  
Chalatē masan bāndhō, bandhō apon kaya,  
Pāi lōk-kē Pāthābi bāndhō, Gorakhānath kē dayā,  
Tarsikā uparkillā bajar-tal bajar-kiwar,  
Mar-deo thokkar chhinlēō bhūt.*

*Arār bāndhō gārār bāndhō, Karikā māriā,  
 Andhāriā rāt, Sātdia sāt bāti,  
 Jādē sikkab Mangar ké rāt  
 Sidhgūrūkē bandé pāō ; Mahamāiya khābardār*

After this follow *Bhūm-bāndhnā* songs or *mantras* in order to prevent witches (*dains*) etc. or other *mātis* and the evil eye (*najar*) from causing any hindrance, etc. to the ceremony and preventing its success ; thus warding off all counteracting influences from the spot (*bhum*) where the ceremony goes on.

*Bhūm bandhō bhūm bāndhan bandhō  
 Māiā-dhiā dain bāndhō. Bāpū-putā ojhā bāndhō  
 Ojhāko-ojhāi bāndhō, Dāinkē chakkar bāndhō  
 Mūr chālē mūr bāndhō karej chālē karej bāndhō  
 Pānjar chālē pānjar bāndhō. Jīb chālē jībā bāndhō  
 Kē bāndhē ? Gūrū Dhanattar bāndhē  
 Mahādeoji bāndhē, Goura Parbatiji bāndhē  
 Unkē biddiya sé hām bānaki.  
 Hāmār bāndhan bārā bars, terāh jūg,  
 Jūg ūllē jabān pāltē, Ghōṛā mathē sing jamē,  
 Tarhāttē bar jamē,  
 Sesh Nag pandōlē, Shōālakh Pirthibi dōlē, ...taiō na mōr  
 bāndhal bāchkeā chūlē.*

The *mati* next chants *Pinr Bandhna* songs or *mantras*, a specimen of which is given below. By reciting these *mantras* the *mati* is supposed to "bāndho" (tie up, i.e. make invulnerable) his own body so as to be able to resist malicious influences of other *matis*, witches, etc. that may be lurking unseen in the place.

*Jāng bāndhō Jageswari, Kalej bāndhō Kālikā, piṭh bāndhō  
 Sakal mati, Bhūt dūt bandikhan, Dōdō machhar Kharwē khar  
 dha bhūta satō. Assi dūar, sōné kūthli rūpē peṭian, sémē rakho  
 pinr pradhan. Bajarban bajar bān, nisāhai jalim-kē. Agūar-sē  
 piekhūār bāndhō. Hāt-sē bāt bandhō. Nadi-sē nāl bāndhō.  
 Korē-kō kar bāndhō. Bārō kōt deōtā bāndhō, battis kōt deōtā  
 bāndhō. Hāthi-kē tālāo bāndhō, hāt-kē tarwēr bāndhō, tir-kē  
 dhār bāndhō, barchhi-kē hān bāndhō, Sāhebkā gōssā bāndhō, chō-kē  
 chandāl bāndhō, Dākin-sē kichin bāndhō, muā-sē mūjkir bāndhō*

*ōjhā-ké gūn bāndhō dāini-ké gūn bāndhō, Pirdās pir-ké ; hūliya hai mūskiké ; nirmal hai pariharké.*

Then follow *mantras* required for lighting the magic lamp.

- (1) *Kāli Kāli mad-mās, karo biāri*  
*Khan-Kali khan Bodhi. Indran-ké-Sāri*  
*Niksār hāi, paisār néhi,*  
*Lāgal hāi bajar keōar,<sup>1</sup>*  
*Hanké marō bhūt dūt, bhajnik pūt dōhai, Hanuman bir.*
- (2) *Sāsam sūsa bhitar kichmich, bāhār chhāga,*  
*Chōr lābar, Tar Bhairō tū sāmhar etnā jabaniā, dehū*  
*Jagdamba Puṭtar baithal hāi tōhar.*
- (3) *Chātārā Dārkhā-oā sambhāri bhūtāoā bāndhihé,*  
*Aisānā bāndhāniā bāndhié, suārīké bānd,*  
*Juga nahi ūlaṭé bāchea nehi pālaṭé*  
*Sītā-ji-ké ānchar khūlē Mahādeo jiké Jaiā tuṭé.*  
*Taiō na mōr bāndhal bāchchea chhūṭé.*

After reciting these *mantras*, the lamp is lighted. Then the *mati* dips his middle finger in the oil of the lamp and turns it round and round on the ground in a circle around the lamp and sings the following dialogistic song as he moves his (oil-dipped) finger on the ground round the lamp:—

(Goddess Jagdamba *Ūṭhi diārā bārō beṭā sewakā,*  
to her servants.) *Kaṭiké gharaoā andheroā.*

(Servants' replies.)—*Naikhé telaōa gharani hé Jagdambā*  
*māiā,*

*Naikhé telaōa bhāndāoa.*

(Mati says.)—*Delioṭw telaōa gharanié Jagdambā māi*  
*Delioṭw bhāndāoa telāoa hō*  
*Ūṭhi diārā bārō beṭā sewakā,*  
*Kasati Gharāoa unjārōa.*

(Servant says.)—*Kathikera diāra é Jagdambā māi*  
*Kathi lāgal bātia hō*  
*Kathikera telāoa é Jagdambā māi*  
*Jārāei sārī rāt.*

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<sup>1</sup> i.e., because the earth and Pir have been closed by the *bāndhi* mantras.

(Māti says).—*Matikerā diārā é Jagdambā māi*  
*Resem lāgal bātié.*  
*Rāi-sarsōker telōa é Jagdambā māi*  
*Jārāi sāri rāt.*  
*Aginkūṇḍké janmal é ranthābābā,*  
*Rasōō charhi baithi-ha.*

The *Ranth*<sup>1</sup> (or other deity, according as the *mati* chooses) is made to sit on the flame. Now the *mati* plucks a hair from his *jaṭā* (matted coils of hair) or (if he has no *jaṭā* then from his) *chūṇḍi* (topknot) and burns it in the flame, and then he picks a little earth from the ground and throws it into the flame. The hair is supposed to be given to the *deotā* as food (as a substitute for human flesh, i.e. human sacrifice) and the bit of earth by way of *kiriṃyā* or adjuration (so that the *deotā* may make the *bhūt* causing the trouble to crumble to dust (*māṭi mē milāye deō*). After this the lamp is placed in the centre of the circle made of *aruā* rice, and the remaining rice in the *sūp* is taken by the *mati* and put down on the ground before him. Then the *mati* searches for the *bhūt* as follows: He first invites (*sumiran*) all the *deotas* thus:—

*Pahlē tō Sūmirō māi,*  
*Bhumā hō dharatiā*  
*Tabātō Sūmirō māiā*  
*Ugātē Sūrujua*  
*Tabātō Sūmirō māiā.*  
*Guru dil sādhaḥōā*  
*Tabātō Sūmirō māiā*  
*Harāsu Baramhōā,*

<sup>1</sup> Every powerful *deota* (e.g. *Dēvi*, *Sokha*, *Mahadeo*, etc.) has a *ranth* and a *dank* which are minor *deotas* serving the latter as *sipahi* or bailiff to arrest and bring any *bhūt* wanted. *Burhi mai* or *Devi* is the *Malik* of all *deotas*. *Ranth* is a male spirit whose duty is to *insafkarna* either by sitting on a lamp or by giving *daras* to the *Bhagat*. *Dank* is the *sipahi* *deota* whose duty is to call *bhūts* to the *deota* on the flame, *Bhairō*, etc. If the *Mati* wants to get the help of any *deota*, he must first invoke *Devi Mahā*. Different *matīs* invoke different deities and the *mantras* too are partly or largely different with different *matīs*.

*Tabātō Sūmirō māiā*  
*Chhatārā Dārāhaoā*  
*Tabātō Sūmirō māiā*  
*Gasē daka Chenṛi*  
*Tabātō Sūmirō māiā*  
*Dewā manā jilāoā*  
*Tabātō Sūmirō māiā*  
*Kulhūa Kūlsaran māi*  
*Tabātō Sūmirō māiā*  
*Palamau-ka Chaur-dhār*<sup>1</sup>  
*Tabātō Sūmirō māiā*  
*Geṇḍārā*<sup>2</sup> *Dārākā-oā*  
*Goṛā hāmā girālī*  
*Māiā-gē Dharatiā*  
*Binaiṛi je lāwālī.*  
*Jāgāhū jāgāhū, māiā mōr Dharatiā*  
*Katar mūdā-sūtē māiā mōr Dharatiā.*  
*Kāsātike pinriā Dharati māiā*  
*Sewā bhātā karihē.*  
*Tabātō Sūmirō māiā,*  
*Māiā mōr Būṛhia māiyā*  
*Tharē gōṛōa girālī,*  
*Etāni ke berīā.*  
*Khūni badi bhūtā-oā ē māiā*  
*Dehu bāṇḍi khān*  
*Ehi pinṛi paret-oā, hānkiē nā manehāwār*  
*Ehi pinṛi paret-oā ririā machāmālai.*

Now the *māi* takes up with two or three fingers a few grains from the handful of rice kept in front of him and says,—

“*Eh Mahārāj, āgar Dākin bhūt i pinṛi mē hō, tō panchō birā ek lahasi de*’ . *Jhūṭ bichār karnā nehī chāhiyē. Heṭhē Dharti ūprē Parmesōr bichmē (Deotānke) Panch-rūpi hōkarkē bichār karnā chāhiyē. Deotānke sabhā hai. Dūdhkē dūdḥ pānikē pāni bichār nā chāhiyē. Gaukē jaisa āglā dhār taisā picḥhlā dhār.*

<sup>1</sup> *A dacta* in the deserted garh of Raja Churaman Rai of Palamau.

<sup>2</sup> Name of a place.



Gaukē mās *kuttā kāhe*, *kūṭṭā khāi-kē mās gau nehi khāe*. Ban bharal pāt, des bharal bhūt, sekar khōji nehi. Khunikā khōji hai." Saying this, the grains of *arua* rice in his fingers are placed on the ground. Then he counts the grains thus placed, by twos, if there is any left over, the process is repeated four times more to see if each time there is one grain extra, in which case it is declared that it is the *Dākin bhūt* which has caused the illness. If the number of grains is even, any of these five times, and there is no extra grain, the *māti* pushes back these grains into the handful of rice kept in his front and again takes up a few grains similarly, saying " *Dōhāi Sabhāit-kē*, (*Purbiā* or *Barāndā*, as the case may be), *bhūt hāi?*" and he again places the rice on the ground, and counts them two by two. If there is one left over, *Purbiā* is declared to be the bhūt who has caused the illness. If there is no extra grain, the process is repeated naming another bhūt till there is one extra grain found on counting. When in the name of any particular bhūt one extra grain is found five consecutive times, then that bhūt is declared to have caused the illness.

If the bhūt cannot be found out, that is to say, if there is no extra grain left over in any of the several

#### Rajhana

consecutive countings, it is believed that the bhūt is playing truant (*bhāg jāta hāi*). In such a case the *māti* will go on rubbing with his hands *arua* rice on his *sūp* while singing songs like the following :—

(1) *Kathikerā tāngāōā eh' Asurā, kathi lāgal be?*

*Sonekerā tāngāōā eh' Asurā, rupē lāgal be.*

*Chāli bhailē re Asurā, banarē birinduāhō ;*

*Ēko Kosi gele Asurā duo kosōā gaili hō*

*Kātāho nā milē māiyā, Brinda kē bānd.*

*Ēko pherā pherāli, dusarā pherā pherāli.*

*Mili gelou Asurā re bhāiā chandanki gach.*

*Jeri jaba kaṭa lērē Asurā kanreri bhālā bhangihē.*

*Majudharē Asurar' bhāiā lēlē, algai*

*Chanaua kati kāt, koilā bhālā lāgāōāli*

*Garkhē jābā lāgāōā re Asurā*

*Sōnē mōnē rē Singiā.*

*Barē barē bhulāoāke jagāh bhālā debāi,*

*Chhoṭē chhoṭe bhutāoāke Singia mē ṭhonkābar.*

*Ab kāka c'alābbēgē chiuāri Dākiniā.*

*Jumālāē bāpoa tōhar.*

*Roē jābā lagālaire Dākiniā, māiya, sari rat,*

*Chhōṛābē rē chōṛābē Dākiniē,*

*Ehi Kasṭikē pinṛ*

*Khōji khōji Asurarē bhāia.*

*Bhutāoakē bandhālai.*

(2) *Jirhīri jirhīri bahale Pawānoa gē Kālīka māiya.*

*Ehi tōrē banoa mē bhutoa bhāgal jāi,*

*Jirhīri jirhīri bahālē Pawānoa.*

*E Dānk bhāia, jhāl-rē utārihē.*

*Ehi pinṛ bhutāoā.*

*Gharāoā jhālīhē, kōrō bātī jhālīhē.*

*Jhāl rē utārihē, ehi pinṛ paret-oā.*

After singing a few such songs, the *māti* declares that the spirit has been attracted by the songs

**Khariana or  
examining  
grains of rice**

(*bhūt rasgiya*) and come again to the place ; and the *mati* again examines the grains by twos (*khariyatē hai*). And at

length the identity of the *bhūt* is ascertained by an extra grain being left over in each of the five consecutive countings.

Then the *mati* takes up one grain of rice with the tips of two fingers and with one end of this grain

**Bahi pakarna**

takes up one or two or more grains of rice which somehow stick vertically to

the grain thus held with one end between the tips of his fingers. The grain or grains so sticking to the grain in the hands of the *mati* are supposed to represent the *bhūt* taking hold of the arm of the *mati* by way of swearing that from that time he (the *bhūt*) leaves the sick man. The *mati* says :— ‘ *Dek, āj tārīk se ghar bāri kē chhōr-dē, kasti ke pinṛ chhōr dē, pōsh poran sab chhōr dē. Bahut māir kaile mardān kailē. Khāṭiā sé bhuiā lōtāulē. Sāng barchhi chāloulē, lōha jāgoulē kasti apnē nandē*

*sātē, apē nindūā jagē tub tōr satyā jānab. Ann khāi pāni piyē, sārđi, khāsi, pāir-bathā, miṛbāṭhā ehi ghari urādēl chāhi.* The fact that the *bhūt* (rice) has thus seized the *ārua* (rice) of the *māti*, only indicates that the *bhūt* promises to leave the sick man. But there is no trusting in mere promises made by the *bhūt*. So to wheedle (*phuslāo*) it to actually leave the sick man, songs like the following are sung by the *māti* :—

*Jiiri hiiri nāari tōrā bahijē gelōu,*

*Ekāli kūār.*

*Sātōsai salehār machhāri.*

*Bahi je gelou ē kāli Kūar.*

*Naihārā sé bhāi-oā tōrā*

*Ailōū gé bahini*

*Sasura-sé Deour.*

*Ohhori dehi ge bahini*

*Manakē khirodhōā ;*

*Chalahū Koūrū des.*

*Nawā rangā dulia kē bahini*

*Pawana Kāhār*

*Toṛa jōgē barawa hau kuār*

*Cholū Koūrū des.*

Now the *māti* makes a *singi* with *sāl* or other leaves, and a sort of brush called (*mūsela*) with tattered cloth, and dips that brush in oil and with it draws on the ground a human figure. Then he takes a pinch of salt and places it on the ground near the lamp ; then takes a pinch of *sindūr* and places it near the salt ; then he brings out from his bundle (or from one end of his *dhoti*) a thing of magic potency called *bānk* which consists of a bit of rag in which there are small bits of mysterious roots and which is supposed to have been saturated with milk of the breasts of a virgin (human or animal), and places it by the side of the *sindūr* and the salt. Then the *māti* pricks either his own left little finger or left ring-finger with a needle so as to draw a little blood. The grains of rice which were employed in finding out the name of the *bhūt* are tinged with this blood. The brush with which the

human figure has been drawn on the ground, is now lighted as a torch. The *mati* then says, "*Dōhai Nāṭnāṭin*<sup>1</sup> [a deity whose *āsthān* or seat is said to be at Kouru (Kamrup ?)] *Dōhai Nāṭnāṭin ke is pinr kē jō pret hai kahi bhāgal parail hō chanē chapri lukāil hō, hājir kail chāhi.*" "We pray O! Ye Nāṭ-Nāṭin, if the *bhūt* in the body (*pinr*) of this patient has fled or concealed itself, do ye bring it out." The lighted torch (into which it is believed the *bhūt* has now been conducted with the help of *Nāṭ-Nāṭin*) is placed on the earthen lamp. Then the *mati* seizes the right hand of the patient, and names all the *deotās* he can think of—*Burhi māi, Kāli mai, Jagthūrani māi, etc., etc., etc.* Thus having invoked all the *deotās* so that they may help him in confining the *bhūt*, he sings—

*Kārē lādāḍlē Nāṭōa bāns bārha hō !*  
*Kārē lādāḍlē bhāṇr jāl !*  
*Bhainsney lādāḍlē Nāṭōa, bāns bārkhā hō !*  
*Nāṭōa bāns bārkhā hō !*  
*Bahini lādāḍlē bhāṇr jāl !*  
*Ehijā gārāihē Nāṭōa, bāns bārha hō !*  
*Nāṭōa bāns bārha hō !*  
*Ehijāg bājhāihē Nāsal bhūt.*  
*Ehijāg gārāihē Nāṭōa bāns, bārkh hō !*  
*Nāṭōa bāns bārkhā hō !*  
*Ehijāg bājhāi hē Pesal bhūt*  
*Ehijāg gārāihē Nāṭōa, bāns bārkhā hō !*  
*Nāṭōa bāns bārkhā hō !*  
*Ehijāg bājhāihē Dākin Kichin bhūt,*  
*Chāt mōḍē Keṇṇin betia,*  
*Ghūmāri Sāinhāri bigai jāl*  
*Hō ! ghūmāri sāmāri bigai jāl*

<sup>1</sup> It is said that Nāṭ Nāṭins are the tutelary deities of the tribe of *Nāṭe* (wandering acrobats) who perform tricks or feats with bamboo poles, e.g. get up on and stand at, and suspend their bodies from the top of three or four bamboo poles fastened one on top of the other. The seat of *Nāṭ Nāṭin* is said to be at Kouru (Kamrup in Assam ?)

*Ghūmāri sāmāhāri bigai jāl,  
 Bājhālā-ōe dāini nāsai bhūt.  
 Ghūmāri sāmāhāri bigai jāl, ho !  
 Bājhālā-ōe oḥa pesai bhūt  
 Ghūmāri sāmāhāri bigai jāl ho !  
 Bājhālā-ōe dākin kichin bhūt.*

Now the *mati* takes out the torch from the lamp and puts a plain wick on the lamp and lights the wick with some other light (not of the torch). Then the *mati* turns the flame of the torch round and round over the *sindūr*, saying—

*Naō man sindūr naō man kaiar sorhō singār battisō lahangar dengé.*

Then the *mati* tramples the torch under his left foot and thus puts it out (or sometimes puts it out by placing the *sūp* over it). Then the torch is again lighted with the flame of the lamp-wick. This lighted torch is now turned round and round over the human figure that has been drawn on the ground with oil ; and the *mati* mutters as follows :—

*Tumkō pinṛ badal pinṛ detehai, āj tarikṣē tomko telāk hāi,  
 āg pāch neḥ karnū chāhiyē ; āg pāch karesē pachhūake janmal.*

The torch is again similarly trampled upon and put out. And again the torch is similarly lighted. The *mati* then spits on the ground, and turns the flame of the torch on the salt saying—

*Nimak khākē nimak hārāmī neḥ karnū chāhī ;*  
 and then turns the flame on the spittle saying—

*Thukal thūk neḥ chālnū chākī* [i.e. I have given you 9 maunds *sindūr*, 9 maunds *kajar*, 16 kinds of ornaments, 32 kinds of silk thread, salt, etc., and sent you away ; don't come back (as that would be behaving) like a man flicking his own spittle.]

The *mati* now raises one side of his left foot on the ground so as to place the leaf *singhi* under it, and then inserts the *musel* with the flame of the torch into this *singhi* and at once closes the mouth of the *singhi*. saying—

**Bhut-bandhan or  
 confining the bhut**

*Dohāi Nāgpurkē Dārkhā,<sup>1</sup> tūmkō bhūt jimmā défé-hē; bhūtke jamma lé-leō. Mās khāihē hār jogāihē. Jis rōj hām khōjengē ūs rōj deō-gē. Chhao mahinākē bisekh (time) mangtēhē; tāb bhāli bhātisē pūjā dé-kār, jāhā kē hō tākhā-par baithāe denge. Aur nehi khōjengē tō māṭṭi misāl kar dihé.*

The *mati* will then put the leaf *singhi* in his own bundle (*mutri*).

**Dispersing the assembly of the gods**

Now the *mati* breaks up the assembly of *Deotās*, saying :—

*Ab purabkā deō pūrāb jāe, pachchim kā deō pachchim jāe, uttarkē deō uttār jāē, dākhkhin kē deō dākhkhin jai. Deō-āsthān, bhūt bandi-khan.*

The *mati* then gathers together all the things used at the ceremony, i.e. gathers together the rice at one spot, puts the lamp and lampstand, *sup*, etc. on one side, and says—

*Har-Pārvati ke dānā hai, koi khāi, lāg kisipar nehi karnā chāhiye* (i. e. The rice belongs to Mahadeo and Durga. Should anyone eat it, no harm should be done to him by you *bhūts*.)

The place is then *lipaoed* by people of the house and the leavings thrown away.

A few days before the expiry of six months, some one of the family goes to enquire of the *mati* what sacrifices will be required for the *bhūt*. The *mati* asks him to collect the five fowls (*pach dan* for all the *bhūts*), namely, one white cock for *Sūrāj* (*Surjāhi*), one red goat for *Ranth* (to expel *rantā*), one pig for the deity (*Dārkhā* or other deity) in whose custody the *bhūt* has been given, one red cock for *Dānk*, one goat of any colour for the *mati*'s own *sādhak* or *bākia* (familiar) *deota*, one chicken (the smallest) for *Dharti*, one goat or pig for the presiding god of the village *Gāoa-deoti* (so that he may stand surety *jamni* and prevent the *bhūt* from returning to the village). The patient's people are also required to procure an iron *singi*, one bundle of silk tassel, one or two *iklis*, some *sindur*, *kurthi* grains, *churi* (lac or brass wristlet). When these are ready, the

<sup>1</sup> In this way the *Dārkhā* or other deity may hold *bhūts* in custody (attachment *Jābād*.)

*mati* is called. He comes on an appointed evening, goes through the same procedure of *diā baiṭhānā* as on the previous occasion (*Dharti-jāgānā*, *Deḍāt-bolānā*, *Gūrū-āont*, *Bhūmi-bāāḍhānā*, *Piṇr-bāndhānā*, *diābārānā*), and assembles the *deḍtās* (*Sabhūt* and *Sumiran*) and then goes on singing *rijhāon* songs almost the whole night. Early next morning, the *mati*, the patient and some members of his or her family, and some men of the village, with some utensils, go with the sacrifices, etc. outside the village to some spot where drinking water is available.

Arriving there, some one fetches water in some brass or other utensil (not earthenware) and places it on a bit of level ground. The *mati* takes up a brass *thāriā* (plate) and with this in hand stands facing east, and begins turning the *thārā* round and round in his hand, reciting the following *mantra* :—

*Kānsbāndhō Kānseswari, dhrūpāndhō ehē ghari,*

*Kekār haī māri masān, kekār hāē deḍgan ghāt.*

*Sidh-guru kē bandē pāō, Māhā-māiyā khabardār.*

Saying this, the *mati* presses the plate against his own chest, and takes off his hands from it so that the plate may stick to his chest. This is a sign that the *kāns* has been tied (*bāndhā gegā*).

Then he takes down the *thāri* from his chest and places it by the side of the utensil filled with water. The water of the other utensil is now poured into this *thāri* (plate). The *mati* now takes up a few whole grains of *kūrthi* on the palm of his left hand and presses them round and round with the palm of his right hand, saying as he does so—

*Dohāi Sādhak; Sāt hōibē gūrūkē-del Sādhak, ē ghari pār,*  
*hamār mūh kē pāni rākhbē. Hām ānkhī dekhī, nā pānti-baiṭhi.*  
*Tōhār jān hāi. Hāmār ānjān hāt, hām nā jānab. Hāmār nindā*  
*nehi hoi, tohār nindā hoi. Jāhā gel hōibē, hānkāl dākal, qwārē*  
*darbārē āhāsē ākar bhūt kē kāns mē hājir karnā chāhi.*

Saying this, the *mati* with a leaf doubled up takes up the *kūrthi* from the palm of his left hand and puts the *kūrthi* into the water on the *thāriā*.

It is believed that the *mati* can recognise from the nature of the shadow of each *kūrthi* grain as to what *bhūts* are there. The *mati* looks intently on the *kūrthi* grains floating on the water, and makes those grains sink in the water of which shadows do not indicate the presence of any *bhūt*. He names the *bhūts* he sees in the floating grains, and declares that only the guilty (*khūni*) *bhūts* of the former occasion, i.e. the *bhūts* he saw on the previous occasion (six months ago) are alone present and that no new *bhūt* has troubled the patient since. The *mati* now takes the *sindūr*, *kajar*, *chūri*, silk-tassel, etc. and places them near the *thāria* in which the *bhūts* (in the *kūrthi*) have been seen. A little *sindūr* is now mixed with the water of the *thāria*. The *mati* then takes out from his bundle the leaf *singhi* in which the burnt *musel* or torch with the *bhūt* in it was confined on the previous occasion, and takes a little cinder from the end of the *musel* and puts it into the water of the *thāria*. Now the smallest of the chickens is grazed on *ārua* rice in the name of *Dharti* and then set at large (without being sacrificed). Then the white cock is made to eat some *āruā* rice and is sacrificed in the name of *Suru*, saying *He Suruj Nārāin* (so and so) *ādmi kē ughār tāṭi ughār berā rahē kākhi dēs bides jangal ihār lotāl paṛāl rahē kākhi kāthēā chehri nehi lagna chahiya*.

Now the *panchdan* or five fowls will be fed together on *ārua* rice put down on the ground near the *thāria* of water. The *bhūt* will then be addressed by the *mati* as follows :—

*Dekh ajkē tariksē, kasṭike pina chhuṭatḥ hāi. Falna* (names) *gāonkā aīsā jāgāh* (names) *chhūtātḥ hāi. Tūmkō falna jaga mē* (names) *āsthān deta hai*.

Saying this, the five fowls are sacrificed, and one drop of the blood of each fowl is dropped into the water of the *thārā*.

Now the pig is sacrificed to the deity in whose custody the *bhūt* was kept these six months. As the sacrifice is offered, the *mati* says—

*Dekh, tūmkō sai martabē kām karāongē tō ek martabē pūjā dengē. Dekh, jāha hāk dāk karab tāhā hājir hōbē.*



Then the red cock is fed on *ārūa* rice and sacrificed to *Dānk*, saying—

*Dekh, gharī gharī ke chōwki pāhārā par khabargiri karihé. Jō admi dhelā chālāō uské gharmé pāththal girā deōgé. Aūr jō admi pāththal chālāō uské gharmé bajjar girā deōgé.*

Then the red goat is grazed on *ārūa* rice and sacrificed to *Ranth*, the *mati* saying—

*Dōhāi Rānth bābā, tōmaré bharōsé, etnā doūrté hāi. Aūr tōmaré bāl sé etnā kuohh kar rahé hāi. Ismé koi kisim kā khārāb honé se hāmārē nindā nehi hōgā tōmaré hōgā.*

Then the *mati* takes out the *kurthi* grains floating on the water of the *thāriā* and puts them into the iron *singhi*. The torch which had been enclosed in the old leaf *singhi* is also put into the new iron *singhi*; and the lid of the iron *singhi* is now fastened on to its mouth by hammering. Two persons now take up the remaining *kūrthi* grains, the *sindur*, silk tassel, wristlets, etc. and also the *singhi*, and one man leads the pig or goat meant for the *Gāondeoti* with a string, and there three men and the *mati* and two or few more persons leave the place and go to some ant-hill. The rest of the party are left where they were. The wristlets, silk tassel, *sindur*, *kurthi*, etc. are all put into the cavity of the ant-hill. Then the pig or goat meant for *Gāondeoti* is made to eat some grains of *ārūa* rice, while the *mati* mutters as follows:—

*Dekh, tūm gāonka raja hāi; yah bhūt tūmkō jimma dété hai. Tūm bārō baras terō jug, apné naukar bānā karké rākhōgé. Belā tūmhārā hūkūmkā bhūt kastika pinr mé nohsani dené nehi pāōé. Ulaiké dekhé tō ankh phūté, pōlatké jāi tō pheōna tūté.*

The pig is now sacrificed, and its head along with the iron *singhi* is put inside the hole beneath the ant-hill. Then a little liquor is poured into the hole. The mouth of the hole is now completely closed up with stones.

The *mati* and his companions return with the trunk of the pig or goat sacrificed to *Gāondeoti* to the place where the rest

of the party are awaiting them. Arrived there, the *mati* sacrifices a goat to his own *sādhak bhūt*, saying—

*Dekh tūmhārā hām ianam bhārké bhār uṭhāiā hāi. Tūmhārā balsé hām itnā karté hé. Jāhā bālāo-é tāhā jumnā chāhi. Aur ek deōka nām karé ūha sahasar deo-ke anā chahi. Aur ek deo ko pūjā dey ūha sahasar deokō bāt karke khānā chāhi. Tūmhārā jūṭha khāi hām mith wasté. Hamara mūh-ka pāni rakhna chāhi. Dāhinā hāth kā pūjā, hārām (treachery) nehi karna chahi.*

Now the flesh of the sacrificed animals and fowls are cooked and rice is boiled and a feast follows. No person of the family may partake of any of the meat of animals and fowls thus sacrificed, though meat of the goat sacrificed to the *sādhak bhūt* of the *mati* may be eaten by them. Then they all return home. None of the utensils is taken to the former patient's house on that day. Even those of the utensils that belong to the family of the patient are kept in some other house that day and can only be taken to the patient's house on the following day.

The *mati* follows the same procedure and recites the same *mantras* and sings the same songs as he did on the previous occasion up to the *rihānā*. This is done to see if the *bhūt* is still confined, or has been released (*ūṭhāna*) by the counter-charms of some other malicious *mati* or sorcerer.

If there has been any trouble (illness, etc.) during these intervening six months the *mati* tells the people of the patient to procure a seer and a quarter of *dhūna* and make a powder of it, and also half a seer of *ghee*, and appoints a day when the *mati* will visit the house.

On his arrival, the *mati* repeats the procedure followed before (namely, *diya baiṭhana* by *Dharti-jāgānā*, *Deotā-bōlanā*, *Guru-āont*, *Bhumi-bāndhna*, *Pinr-bāndhna diā-bārṇā*, and *sabhāit* and *sumiran* and *rijhāon* as before.) He then examines grains of rice (*khariyātā hāi*) to see which of the *bhūts* that had been confined (*bāndho*) on the former occasion has got loose from the *bāndhan* and is making mischief. Then the *mati* sings *bhājans* (see *post*) to get a vision (*daras*) of some *deotā*.

When he has the vision (*daras*) of the spirit, his head begins to shake. Then some one asks him, "Who art thou, Mahārāj?" He says, "I am so-and-so (names) *deota*." Then the *deota* (through the *mati*) says, "Get the incense (*dhūp*) ready at once." An earthen bowl is filled with burning charcoal and on it *dhuan* and *ghee* are sprinkled. When flames issue out of the bowl, it is placed on the palm of the *mati*'s left hand. The patient is made to stand face to face with the *mati*. Someone, broom-stick in hand, stands by the side of the patient. The *mati* takes a handful of *dhuan* with his right hand and throws it forcibly on the fire on his left hand, so that the flame may reach the patient's body. The man with the broom then passes (*jhāro*) the broom over the patient's body from head downwards to the feet, several times, and repeats the process from all sides of the body.

Then the patient walks backwards and thus passes out of the house and again walks forward into the house. The *mati* now puts his own closed fists on the ground, and the patient stands placing his feet one on each closed fist of the *mati*. The *mati* lifts up the patient on his closed fists, another person catching hold of the arms of the patient from behind so that he may not fall down. The *mati* thus takes up the patient on his own closed fists up to his own shoulders, and then the patient climbs down the *mati*'s back and gets down on the ground behind him.

After this, *kōns-bāndhnā* and sacrifices, etc. are performed as before. Even if shortly after this, the patient again gets sick, *dālīā* will be sent to a *Bhagat* (who is of an order superior to the *mati*.)

In cases of illness in a family or epidemic in a village, *dālīā*  
**Dali-Bhulana** (*ārua* rice and four pice in three *sāl* leaves tied up in a bundle) is taken to a *Sokhā* or *Bhagat* and the bundle is placed on the ground before him. The *sokhā* unties the bundle and takes up one leaf in his hand from the bundle. He takes out a little rice and sprinkles the rice on the leaf and then gazes intently on the leaf in his hand, and then names the *dāin* (witch) not by name

but by signs (e.g. some tall old woman living east of your house or west of your house). If the man or men do not approve of the declaration (thinking the person indicated innocent) they go to another *sokhā* with the bundle (including the leaf in the hand of the *māti*, other two leaves and rice and four pice). The same process is repeated. If two, three or more *sokhās* give the same prognostication by examining the same (first) *dālā*, they are convinced that the person indicated is the *dāin*. They return to the village and call upon the family of the suspected (or declared) *dāin* and tell them that "so-and-so has been declared to be *dāin*." If the *dāin* and her people confess to the charge, the *dāin* is required to sacrifice a black fowl and appease the *bhūt* by such offerings as the *mati* has named. If they dispute the imputation, they go for "nām-ṭipi" or "nām-dhāri" (discovery by names); the villagers supply the *dālā* of Rs. 1-4-0 and *āru* rice in three *sāl* leaves tied up in a cloth.

As the subtle working of a *bhūt* on a person, family, or village, are detected and stopped by the *sokha-mati*, so the working of the subtle poison of the serpent kind is stopped and expelled by another class of *matīs* known as *Nāg-mati*. Although his methods are in some respects different from those of the other *sokhā-mati*, he too has his "bandhni" *mantras* by which the subtle poison of a snake is tied down, i.e. rendered stationary and powerless. In fact, the poison of the serpent, the *najar* or "evil-eye" of the witch, the mischievous potency of the *Langhan*, and the subtle working of a spirit or *bhūt* are all conceived of as belonging to the same category.

Every disciple of a *mati* goes to the master's hut after the evening meal. The *Nāg-mati* sits down with an earthen lamp (in which a wick is lighted with *karanj* oil) lighted before him and in his hands a *sūp* and a whip made of *sabāi* grass (*Ichæmum angustifolium*) before him. Every disciple has his own *sūp*, and while squatting on the ground with his legs interlaced he goes on, like his preceptor, slowly turning the

palm of his right hand on the *drua* rice on the *sūp* which is placed on his own knees, and singing 'song after song. As singing and turning the rice on the *sūp* goes on, someone or other of the disciples generally gets possessed (*bharnā*) and begins to shake his head violently. If he does not naturally recover after a while, the *Nāg-mati* brings him round by his *mantras*.

The *Nāg-mati* and his disciples sacrifice fowls to the goddess *Mansā* once in the month of Jeth, once in Asar, once in *Deothan*. The *mati* and his disciples all remain fasting the whole day and in the evening, one fowl is sacrificed on behalf of the *Nāg-mati* and each of his disciples. Songs like the following are sung in chorus, every one clapping his hands as the songs proceed.—

*Dhūpā charāoāté toké Mansā debō pūjā,*

*Hōhōgé bhangul jāl*

*Tōharā gharā ketek dūr ?*

*Hōhōgé bhangul jāl*

*Tōharā dūrā ketek dūr ?*

*Belpatar charāoāté toké Mansā debō pūjā,*

*Hōhōgé bhangul jāl*

*Tōharā gharā ketek dūr ?*

*Hōhōgé bhangul jāl*

*Tōharā dūrā ketek dūr ?*

*Chirui charāoāté toké Mansā debō pūjā,*

*Hōhōgé bhangul jāl*

*Tōharā gharā ketek dūr ?*

*Hōhōgé bhangul jāl*

*Toharā dūrā ketek dūr ?*

*Dūdā dharāoāté toké Mansā debō pūjā,*

*Hōhōgé bhangul jāl*

*Tōharā gharā ketek dūr ?*

*Hōhōgé bhangul jāl*

*Tōharā dūrā ketek dūr ?*

*Dhāu dhāu Mansā-dhāu dhāu Mansā,*

*Koi dé koi dé āgam jānīki bhāt,*

*Koi dé koi dé āgam jānīki bhāt.*

At first the poison will be sent upwards by the following *mantras* in which all known species of snakes are named :—

*Dhanetar gūrū, Gurur gūrū, Kownrū gūrū, Sōnrū gūrū, Lūgū gūrū, Sidha gūrū, Dōmba gūrū, Kōrwa gūrū, Bārkhō Bāngālin, Sōlhō chitour, ke dōhāi. Konrūkā masānke dōhāi.*

*Naō sup naō kūni bārā chiti ritā gaṇḍā jāle pāwa ohā mōhā ūgū dūgū sāt-petāri kañchimati simi risi ōdō lōlē jāhār būḷi-tahā ṭeré māi biāni ekā dūā nāphar geā sāt pūtrā sahassar geā. Bhitar āmbé chuhchū hāi. Ambā lōte barmhā lōté karkambarmé ghāouni rāi. Hiā phāṭé dōrū bat. E bhik ṭo kōn jar. Thoṭhom été chour-sāup. Balbhadrā khāṇḍā sōn-karāita ekulāne tōmār māi. Tin bhuwanné, tinikkhito chowthi-khilo ākas. Aisanō khilō sārphār nāthū nā chalé bātās.*

With this *mantra* the poison is sent up. Then the poison is sent down (*ihārṇā*) by the following *mantra* :—

*Chār sūp mé koni bini bārā gaṇḍā chitir bitir. Ek nār dāmdām bik-dhar sūp. Arāit gorāit ārdhar sankar būḷar bāj. Kātbik-jhār. Ohban sokban chalé masānban dekh inrār pinrār nadi pokhar bāt mé dhūria kādō. Ghārpūt maitra kōn kōn bik chhār. Ghāté sé ghātā jhāro—Dhartimāhā mārō. Hāmār hāthé chhuō hō bik māti.*

## IV—The Pictorial Motif in Ancient Indian Literature

By Mr. N. C. Mehta, I.C.S.

The extent to which a picture has been used by Indian writers—dramatists and story-tellers—to further the course of a narrative or a tale, is perhaps unparalleled in any other ancient literature. Bhāsa has perhaps made the most effective use of it in several plays of his, such as *Dūta-vākya*, where the scene begins with Duryodhana engaged in examining the *pictorial roll* depicting the episode of Draupadi's disgrace before the Kaurava court. In *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa* (Act IV) the chamberlain suggests that the marriage of Vatsa-Rāja and Vāsava-dattā has been celebrated in the absence of the pair by using their combined portrait as a symbol. The wedding was thus celebrated, as the pair had eloped to the capital of Vatsa-Rāja, namely Kauśāmbī. This incident is again referred to in *Svapna-Vāsavadattā* (Act VI) when Vatsa-Rāja is presented in presence of his wife Padmāvatī the same portrait by the old nurse of Vāsavadattā as a souvenir—gift from his mother-in-law Āṅgārā-vatī. The picture is used as a device for disclosing the identity of Vāsavadattā who had been left in charge of Padmāvatī under the name of Avantikā by Yaugandharāyaṇa disguised as a Brāhmaṇa. The interesting thing from the standpoint of the history of pictorial art is the critical remarks made by the various *dramatis personæ* on these pictures. I have quoted the very interesting words of Duryodhana in *Dūta-Vākya* in my book *Studies in Indian Painting*. In his great play *Pratimā*, Bhāsa makes Bharata visit the royal museum of memorial statues and enlightens him about the course of events which have taken place during his absence at Ayodhya.

and resulted in the banishment of Rāma to the forests. From a number of stray references found in the old literature there can be no doubt that the art of verisimilitude had early reached a high state of development; for in all these portraits the important point which is emphasised is invariably the accuracy of the likeness. One only has to see the marvellous figures on the walls of Ajanta to realise with what unerring fidelity the old painters translated on the walls their impressions of men and women and their action on the stage of life.

The pictorial *motif* persists throughout Sanskrit literature right up to its decline after the advent of the Musalmans. The Chitra-sālā appears to have been a normal feature of aristocratic households, and if we are to interpret the famous Prakṛt story of *Taraṅgaratī* by *Pādalipta Āchārya* which was edited and abridged during the mediæval period, the practice of holding *pictorial exhibitions* does not seem to have been unfamiliar to ancient India; for the heroine exhibits the pictures of her beloved in the window of her house so that the lost beloved may chance to see them and find her.

Our dramatic literature teems with references to painting. No dramatist of importance has ignored the use of the pictorial motif. The picture plays an important rôle in *Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarśanā* by Harsha. The action of Bhavabhūti's *Uttara Rāmacharita* really begins with the inspection of a pictorial roll painted by one Arjuna. The use of the picture motif becomes even more frequent during the mediæval period and the poetical as well as the dramatic literature of the period abounds with references to it. In *Prasanna-Rāghava* by Jayadeva (circa 1200 A.D.) Rāvaṇa is given by Prahasta a picture sent by Mālyavān showing the details of the enemy's attack and the bridge. In *Karṇa Sundarī* by Bilhana, said to have been written out of compliment to Karṇadeva Trailokya Malla of Anhilwād (1064—1094) the story of the love of the king begins by his first seeing her ladylove in a scene and then in a picture. Romances like the *Bṛhat-Kathā-Mañjarī*, *Kathā-Saritsāgara* and *Daśakumāra-Charita* frequently refer to



the art of painting and use the picture as one of the instruments of love and match-making. In the Māgadhi romance *Surasundarī Kahā* by the Jaina writer Dhaneśvara Muni, written under the orders of his preceptors Jineśvara Sūri and Buddhi-sāgara Sūri in Uhhaddivallipuri in Vikram Samvat 1095=1038 A.D., we get numerous examples of the use of the picture-motif. In chapter III of the romance we have a brief description of a *symbolic picture* done by a lady with a view to console her lover. The lady says that she drew the lotus plants and depicted a bee solely occupied with a solitary lotus and totally indifferent to the rest of the blossoms. Below the figure of the bee was inscribed a couplet of appropriate lines by the painter. In chapter XI we have a reference to a *painting done on a board*—possibly of wood. Most of the literary references to painting indicate the vogue of paintings done on cloth, paper and wooden boards. The size appears to have been comparatively large but small albums (*Pustikā*) of paintings were certainly not unknown during the time of Somadeva and Kṣemendra (circa eleventh century). Somadeva also refers to the practice of hanging the pictures on the walls (see Taraṅga V of Kathā-Saritsāgara and reference in Taraṅga XVI to the palace walls of Māgadha having been painted with a whole series of Rāmāyaṇa pictures).

In a Bhāṇa by Śyāmila entitled Pādatāḍitakam <sup>1</sup> there are some extremely interesting references to fresco painters from Lāṭa—modern Gujarat. After some uncomplimentary remarks about the painters from Lāṭa not being very different from devils the Vidūṣaka goes on dilating on some of the unpleasant traits by which the whole of the Lāṭa country can be distinguished. People bathe naked and wring their own clothes, brush their hair and get to bed without washing their feet. They eat anything and everything while walking and wear torn clothes (See page 16). :—

काटुकिं विनो नामते नादिभि न्नाः पिशाचैभ्यः

<sup>1</sup> See a volume published by D. G. Sarma and Krishna, Bakerganj, Patna, under the caption *Chalukyaśāhān*.

"These are Lāṭas and Dimḍins by name, not much different from the Piśāchas."

Further on, the Vidūṣaka sees the temple dedicated to Pradyumna being painted and says that verily the painters are not very different from monkeys (see page 22) :—

एष खलु प्रद्युम्नदेवायतनस्य वै जयन्तीमभिलिखति। एतद्दिण्डिमां नामभोः।  
दिण्डिनो हि नामैते नातिविप्रकृष्टावानरेभ्यः। भोः किञ्चतावदस्य दि-  
ण्डिकेषु प्रियत्वम्। दिण्डिनो हि नाम-आलेख्यमात्मलिखिभिर्गमयन्ति-  
नाम्रं सौधेषु। कुर्वन्कमसीमलमर्पयन्ति आदायतीक्ष्णतरधारमयोर्विकारं  
प्रासादसुमिषु धुण्किययाचरन्ति ॥

"Here is he painting the banner of the temple of Pradyumna. Lo! this sheer *dimḍishness*. Dimḍins by name are they, not much superior to monkeys. Why again, Oh! his love for the Dimḍikas? The Dimḍins are truly spoiling the painting with their own daubs, putting the ink-filth of their hair brushes on the whitewashed building; taking their (misshaped) iron tool with very keen edges, they are roaming round the palace grounds, active like vermins."

In the verse above we have a description of the way in which the pictures were painted on the palace walls.

This is the only reference so far as I am aware to fresco-painters of any distinctive tract of territory in this country. Tāranāth the Tibetan historian, writing in the sixteenth century, refers to the pictorial school of the ancient West. Is it possible that we have here a more emphatic and explicit reference to the renown of the painters of the West? The date of the Bhāṇa cannot be exactly determined but is not probably earlier than the tenth or the eleventh century. If so, it would appear that Lāṭadeśa was still famous for its painters and it is possible that the painters of Gujarat may have been responsible for the immortal frescoes of Ajanta and those of Ellora and elsewhere which have vanished.

In the old Tamil classic Maṇi-Mekhalai by the poet Śittalai Śattanār—a Buddhist work attributed variously between the first and the sixth century after Christ—"There is mention of

a temple of the most beautiful workmanship in some city (Puhar?) built by the Gurjjars." There appears certainly to have been a considerable movement of population from Lāṭa southwards and oceanwards and the considerable number of Saurāstras still flourishing in Madura are one of the colonies abroad of the older stock. It is however a fact that the traditions of fresco painting lived long in Gujarat and we still possess in the old palaces of Kathiawar and some of the Rajputana states good examples of wall-painting dating from the fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries. It would appear that what has hitherto been termed as Jaina painting was only a transitional phase between the older school of fresco-painters and the latter schools of Moghul and Rajput miniatures. There are several chapters on painting—its methods and subject matter in Volume II. of Bhoja's *समराङ्गण सूत्रधारः* published in the Gaekwar Oriental Series. The work abounds in obscure technical terms, portions of which deserve detailed consideration.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Professor K. H. Dhruva for the references to Chaturbhāṇi and Maṇi-Mekhalai.

## V—Asura Institutions

By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

### I.—Position of Women in Greece—Iran—Vedic India.

Genesis II. 18, 21, 22 roughly correspond to the Indo-European, specially the Vedic Indian Aryan's conception of male and female relation in the schema of creation. Man is all-important,<sup>1</sup> woman merely a side-issue.<sup>2</sup> Known Indo-European data, heroic as well as historic, only emphasise woman's inferiority.

Homer<sup>3</sup> depicts Penelope's pathetic helplessness during Ulysses' absence. In his cynical observation to Marie Louise of Austria—"In marrying you, madame, I expect from you not advice, but an heir to the French throne"—Napoleon was anticipated by Demosthenes in his speech against Neaera,—“Mistresses are kept for pleasure, and housekeepers for daily attendance and personal service; but a man marries a woman that he may beget legitimate children, and have a faithful guardian in the house.” The married woman was to have one master and no friend. Demosthenes mentions an instance where a friend asked for help did not venture in as the master was away. “She does not appear at dinner except among relatives;” says Cornelius Nepos,<sup>4</sup> “she stays in the inner part of the house where no one is admitted but her nearest kinsmen.” In answer to Socrates' question “Is there any one to whom you talk less than to your

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<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew word for woman means *virago*; *Vir*=man, *ago*=to act: “the power of man” is the main idea.

<sup>2</sup> The German translation gives the real meaning—*Man wird sie männlich wissen.* (Gen. II. 23.)

<sup>3</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, Books xviii.—xxi.

<sup>4</sup> *Vitas Excellentium Imperatorum.*

wife?" Aristobolous<sup>1</sup> says "No one, or at least very few." In Aristophanes' *Regiment of Women*,<sup>2</sup> Blephyrus<sup>3</sup> admits a female friend to his wife, but Euripides<sup>4</sup> vehemently opposes it—"Never, never—for I do not say it only for this one occasion—ought intelligent men, who are married, to allow other women to visit their wives, for they are the teachers of wickedness. One corrupts the marriage because she gains something by it, another wants a companion in sinning."<sup>5</sup> Greek marriages were made, not in heaven,<sup>6</sup> but on earth, and for very earthly reasons. Principally two: (1) dowry and (2) reclamation from a life of vice. Plautus<sup>7</sup> details both in his *Trinummus*.<sup>8</sup> Lesbionicus regards his sister as a burden and unable to marry for want of a dowry. But Lesbionicus, himself a noted libertine, is forced to marry and comments philosophically on his betrothal "I will have her, this one or that one, any one you like."<sup>9</sup> And the father-in-law simply improves on him when he says "A hundred wives would not be punishment enough for his sins!"<sup>10</sup> In vain Plato<sup>11</sup> pleaded for a previous acquaintance between man and wife. His angry denunciation—"no free-born Athenian ever married for love"<sup>12</sup> fell on deaf ears. And Sophocles<sup>13</sup> sums up

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Socrates and Glaucon, *Republic* v. 455. Jowett, *The Dialogues of Plato* Vol. III. 1892, p. 148. *Timaeus*, 42. Jowett, III. p. 461.

<sup>2</sup> Goll, *Kulturbilder aus Hellas und Rom*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Euripides, *Andromache*. The Orestes myth shows the Greek attitude in an extreme case of matricide. Sophocles regards the matricide as a simple duty involving no pollution and requiring no expiation. Aeschylus chooses between two avenging Erinyes, the father's claim for vengeance and the mother's claim to live and decides in favour of the father. Euripides sought to temper the myth with the morality of contemporary Athens.

<sup>5</sup> Euripides, *Andromache*.

<sup>6</sup> Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

<sup>7</sup> T. Maccius Plautus, author of the twenty-one Varronian plays.

<sup>8</sup> *Trinummus* was taken from the Greek original Philemon.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Dialogues of Plato*.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Goll, *op. cit.*

the youthful *debutante*—"But when, light of heart, we reach the time of maidenhood, we are cast from the house and sold, far from the home-gods and mother and father; and yet when the wedding is over, we must sing praises and believe that it is right as it is."<sup>1</sup> Plutarch's<sup>2</sup> Callias<sup>3</sup> and Terence's<sup>4</sup> Pamphilus<sup>5</sup> are exceptions that serve to bring out the low status of women who ask in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*<sup>6</sup>—"If we are an evil, why do you marry us, and allow us neither to go out, nor to be caught looking from the windows, and insist on guarding the evil with so much care?"<sup>7</sup> To this inordinate self-love as mere man came the climax as Narcissus<sup>8</sup> who sought to banish women altogether from his conception of things! Alcaeus and Sappho of Mitylene, the two female poets of Lesbos<sup>9</sup> enjoyed an opportunity for self-development justly described as "without parallel in Greek history."<sup>10</sup> Hipponax<sup>11</sup> of Clazomenae sums up the opinion of the sixth century B.C. Greece in his oft-quoted remark "that the two happiest days in a woman's life were that of her marriage and that of her death."<sup>12</sup> Archilochus<sup>13</sup> of Paros, Homer's equal<sup>14</sup> in the estimation of Greeks,<sup>15</sup> amused the seventh century B.C. Greeks with his venomous lampoons on Neobule<sup>16</sup> and her sister. While his contemporary

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Parallel Lives*.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *op. cit. Lives of Cimon and Lucullus*.

<sup>4</sup> Terence, *The Mother-in-law*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Composed during the Oligarchy.

<sup>7</sup> Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*.

<sup>8</sup> *Frœu. Gk. narchê; Fr. assoupissement. Cf. Erotika Biblion by Comte de Mirabeau, p. 62.*

<sup>9</sup> Alcaeus and Sappho. Horace describes Sappho as *muscula*.

<sup>10</sup> *C.A.H.* Vol. IV, p. 99.

<sup>11</sup> Welcker, Göttingen, 1817.

<sup>12</sup> *C.A.H.* *op. cit.* p. 487.

<sup>13</sup> *I.G.* xii. 5, 455.

<sup>14</sup> Greek tradition makes him the inventor of both iambic and epic poetry.

<sup>15</sup> Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*.

<sup>16</sup> *C.A.H.*, *op. cit.* p. 484.

Semonides<sup>1</sup> of Amorgos classifies women by their resemblance to animals—"the sow, the vixen, the ass, the weasel, the mare, the ape"<sup>2</sup> and concludes "that women are the greatest evil that Zeus created."<sup>3</sup>

Ancient Iran shared in this Indo-European view of woman.

### Women in Iran

Zoroaster in advocating institutions once obtaining in the kingdom of Ormuzd under Jemshid<sup>4</sup> is not in favour of monogamy.<sup>5</sup> And polygamy places the woman under the man. The Iranian pantheon is a further indication. Roughly speaking Iranian theism is (a) Pre-Zoroastrian, (b) Zoroastrian and (c) Pre-Zoroastrian re-introduced with Egypto-Babylonian-Assyrian modifications.<sup>6</sup> (a) Herodotus (latter half of the fifth century B.C.) says nothing of Zoroaster and describes a non-Gãthic nature-worship of Sun, Moon, Earth, Fire, Water, Wind.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps Zoroaster was yet unrecognised. He could not be a contemporary, as some Greek writers of the fourth century B.C. and Xanthius the Lydian (fifth century) and Diogenes Laertius (fourth century A.C.) place him 5,000 or 6,000 years anterior.<sup>8</sup> The Bundahish tradition assigns him to 660—583 B.C.<sup>9</sup> (b) Taking a mean of about 1000 B.C. as the epoch of Zoroaster, Herodotus' silence can be explained by the fact that Media or Bactria and not Persia proper was the scene of early Zoroastrian activities.<sup>10</sup> Hystaspes, Darius's father, was probably Vishtaspa the patron not actually of Zoroaster the man who might have lived, preached and died long ago, but his spritual descendant. In any case the Zoroastrian Avesta (Gatha-Yasht-Vendidad) under the royal

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 486.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Haug, *Religion of Zoroaster*.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. Hist. World*. Vol. II. p. 638.

<sup>6</sup> Assyrian Ashur becoming Avestic Ahura. *C.A.H.* Vol. III. p. 91.

<sup>7</sup> *C.A.H.* Vol. IV. p. 205.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 207.

<sup>9</sup> Jackson, *J.A.O.S.* xvii. (1896). cf. Charpentier, *B.S.O.S.* 1926. (III. pp. 747ff.)

<sup>10</sup> Meyer, *B. Brit.* xxi. 205b.

patronage of the Achamænides long transferred their monotheistic preaching of Ahura-Mazda<sup>1</sup> from Media and Bactria<sup>2</sup> to Persia. Gaumata broke the houses of gods<sup>3</sup> evidently built for worship by the followers of Pre-Zoroastrian possibly Egypto-Babylonian-Assyrian cults. It is this Avestic outlook otherwise different from polytheistic Greek and polytheistic Vedic (both Greek and Vedic polytheism being essentially monotheistic in conception) that makes

**Assyrian influence on Zoroastrian Iran**

woman a possession for man<sup>4</sup>, praised for her fertility<sup>5</sup> and domestic virtues.<sup>6</sup> But the Egypto-Babylonian-Assyrian outlook, as well as Darius' own broadened by foreign conquests<sup>7</sup> stood in the way of Zoroaster's aim "to convert all living men."<sup>8</sup> The greatest of the gods, Ahura-Mazda (polytheism in monotheism) was Darius' faith.<sup>9</sup> (c) Pre-Zoroastrian was re-introduced along with Zoroastrianism strongly modified by Egypto-Babylonian-Assyrian view-points under Darius' successors.<sup>10</sup> And there was a corresponding change and advancement in feminine states. "They have learned from the Assyrians and Arabians," says Herodotus,<sup>11</sup> "to sacrifice also to Urania." "May Ahura-Mazda, Anahita and Mithra protect me" prays Artaxerxes II.<sup>12</sup> "Artaxerxes II," attests Berosus,<sup>13</sup> "set up the image of Aphrodite-Anaitis at Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, Damascus and Sardes."<sup>14</sup> From an article of poly-

<sup>1</sup> Jackson, *The Religion of the Achaemenian Kings*.

<sup>2</sup> Sayce, *The Medie Origin of Zoroastrianism*, Academy, 1880, Nos. 17, 18.

<sup>3</sup> Darius, Beh. I. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. Hist. World*, Vol. II. p. 687.

<sup>5</sup> Darmsteter, *Zend-Avesta*, S.B.E.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Casartelli, *La religion des rois achéménides d'après leurs inscriptions*.

<sup>8</sup> C.A.H. Vol. IV. p. 208.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 208.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* p. 210.

<sup>11</sup> Herodotus, *Historiae*, Bks. i-vi.

<sup>12</sup> C.A.H., Vol. IV. p. 211.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> C.A.H. Vol. IV. p. 211.



gamy<sup>1</sup> in a patrilineal<sup>2</sup> Indo-European society, woman rose to be an object of worship, and Anahita, the goddess of fertility, the mother-goddess was the lasting contribution of Babylonian-Assyrian influence<sup>3</sup> on Zoroastrian Iran, an influence "for long wider and deeper than the teaching of Zoroaster."<sup>4</sup>

### Vedic Arya Society : Partilineal

*Patriarchal.*—Coming nearer home, Vedic India starts in the same Indo-European key. Her social and political institutions are arrogantly patriarchal.<sup>5</sup> The only important female deity in the R̥g Vedic hymns is Uṣas.<sup>6</sup> All else are male. Heroic sons are needed.<sup>7</sup> Daughters are a curse.<sup>8</sup> Forms of marriage and its nomenclature are equally<sup>9</sup> significant. *Patī*,<sup>9</sup> or "lord" sums up Vedic marital relations. Rv. x. 85 insists on the bride's going to her husband's house, and the ensuing cohabitation. The whole Vedic literature (Rv. i. 91, 20; 92, 13; iii. 1. 23; x. 85, 25, 42. 45; Av. iii. 23. 2; v. 25. 11; vi. 11. 2, etc.) emphasises the necessity for women to produce children in order to continue the *father's* line. And the child must be a *son*, not a *daughter*.<sup>10</sup> Av. vi. 11. 3<sup>11</sup> asks for a son. But the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa describes a daughter as a misery *kṛpaṇam* as against a son "a light in the highest heaven"<sup>12</sup> *jyotiḥ ka putrah parama vyoman*." Tait. Sam. vi. 5. 10. 3; Maitr. Sam. iv. 6. 4 : 7; 9; Kāthaka Sam. xxvii. 9;

<sup>1</sup> Rv. i. 62. 11, etc. Delbruck, *Die indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen*, 539, 340.

<sup>2</sup> Delbruck, *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *C.A.H.*, Vol. III. p. 91

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV. p. 211.

<sup>5</sup> *Ét. Br.* ii. 5. 1. 13. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, 76, 80.

<sup>6</sup> Macdonell, *Skt. Lit.*, p. 103.

<sup>7</sup> Rv. iii. 18. 5 *avirotā* is equal to *amati*.

<sup>8</sup> Av. viii. 6. 25. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 319-20.

<sup>9</sup> Rv. vi. 55, 2; Av. xiv. 1. 51, etc.

<sup>10</sup> Max Müller, *A.S.L.*, p. 409.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. also Av. viii. 6. 25.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. also Rv. x. 183. 1; Av. vi. 81. 3 : xi. 1. 1.

*Sāṅkhyayana Śrauta Sūtra*, xv. 17. 12 ; *Nirukta*, iii. 4, etc. have led Zimmer<sup>1</sup> and Delbrück<sup>2</sup> to imagine even an exposure of female children.<sup>3</sup> If the husband has no issue he employs his brother to beget children with his wife.<sup>4</sup> *Niyoga* was also applicable in the case of a dead man's widow and his brother.<sup>5</sup> And after the death of the Patriarch, the wives had to accompany him on the funeral pyre.<sup>6</sup> An old custom this, from a notice in the *Atharvaveda* (xviii. 3. 1). The custom of *Suttee*, as an assertion of the patriarchal system, is essentially Indo-European.<sup>7</sup> Herodotus mentions it among the Thracians (*Herod.* v. 5), among the Scythians. Macdonell<sup>8</sup> quotes *De Bello Gothico* ii. 14 of Procopius<sup>9</sup> and mentions Bryhild and Nanna as instances in Germany.<sup>10</sup> *Rv.* x. 85, 43 and *Vārttika* 2 on *Pāṇini* iii. 2. 8. confine the woman's highest being in her husband's world."

*Polygamous*.—Patriarchal societies are almost always polygamous. Vedic Arya India was no exception. *Manu* of the *Maitrayani Sam*<sup>11</sup> had ten wives. *Rv.* i. 62. 11 ; 71, 1 ; 104, 3, etc. allow more than one wife.<sup>12</sup> The *Taitt. Br.* iii. 9. 4. 4 ; *Śat. Br.* v. 3. 4. *Pañohavimasa Br.* xix. 1. 4, etc. regard four as regular minimum<sup>13</sup> *Mahīṣī*, *parivṛāktī*, *vāvātā* and *pālāgalī* are different wives vouched for by *Rv.* x. 102. 11 ; *Ait. Br.* iii. 22 ; *Taitt. Br.* iii. 9. 44 ; *Taitt. Br.* i. 7. 3. 3, etc.<sup>14</sup> The picture becomes complete if it is realised that widow-remarriage is not

<sup>1</sup> Zimmer, *Alt. Leben*, 319-20.

<sup>2</sup> Delbrück *Die indog. Ver.* 575. Contrast Bohtlingk, *Z.D.M.G.*, 44, 494-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Kāth. Sam.* xxvii. 9. Weber, *Indische Studien* 5, 54, 210.

<sup>4</sup> *Rv.* x. 18. 8 ; 402.

<sup>5</sup> *Rv.* x. 18. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Roth, *Z.D.M.G.*, 8, 463.

<sup>7</sup> Jolly, *Recht und Sitt.*, 67-9.

<sup>8</sup> Macdonell and Keith, *Ved. Ind.*, Vol. I. pp. 488-9.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Weinhold, *Altnordisches Leben*, pp. 475ff.

<sup>11</sup> cf. *Av.* xiv. 1. 64.

<sup>12</sup> *Maitr. Sam.* i. 5. 8.

<sup>13</sup> Bloomfield, *Z.D.M.G.*, 48, 561.

<sup>14</sup> Weber, *Ind. Stud.* 5, 220.

<sup>15</sup> *Kāth. Sam.* x. 10 ; xv. 4.

practised in the Vedic days<sup>1</sup> (Rv. vi. 49. 8 is an ambiguous exception).

*Antifemale.*—The social and political organisation of this patriarchal system “so strongly dominated by the male as was the Vedic”<sup>2</sup> is best viewed from the daughter,<sup>3</sup> wife,<sup>4</sup> mother<sup>5</sup> and *sītā*<sup>6</sup> or woman as opposed to *pumāms* “man” or *Vṛṣan* “male person.” And everywhere her inferiority is manifest.<sup>7</sup> Arrian (23.9) describes girls married at seven. Rāmāyaṇa makes Rāma marry Sītā at six.<sup>8</sup> Manu (ix. 88, 89; ix. 94) is scarcely better. The R̥gveda makes the daughter dependent first on the father, then on the brother.<sup>9</sup> (Ait. Br. iii. 37. 5) Her lot was harder in the absence of a brother.<sup>10</sup> She might be appointed *putrikā* to get a son for her father, and not for her own husband or herself<sup>11</sup> (Rv. iii. 31. 1). Tait. Sam. vi. 5, 8, 2, Maitr. Sam. iv. 6, 4, Śat. Br. iv. 4. 2. 13 show her incompetence to inherit.<sup>12</sup> While even her earnings as courtesans would be taken by her nearest male relatives.<sup>13</sup> Śat. Br. ii. 5. 1. 18, Sāṅkhyāyaṇa Gṛhya Sūtra i. 9, Chhānd Up. vii. 15. 2. state the precedence of the father over the mother.<sup>14</sup> Amongst crimes the R̥gveda does not know of *pitṛhalyā*, “killing the father.” Only the Atharvaveda Paippalāda version (ix. 4. 8) notes it and the Atharvaveda contains much that is not

<sup>1</sup> Rv. x. 40. 2 is hardly a marriage. It is union of widow with husband's brother *devr*, cf. Yaska, Nirukta, iii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Taitt. Sam. vi. 5. 1. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Weber, *Ind. Stud.* 10, 33.

<sup>4</sup> Śat. Br. ii. 5. 1. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Rv. i. 164, 16.

<sup>6</sup> Sāṅkh. Gr. Sūtra, i. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Rapson, *C.H.I.* p. 292.

<sup>8</sup> Rv. i. 124, 8.

<sup>9</sup> R. v. iv. 5. 5. Nirukta iii. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Geldner, *R̥gveda Kommentar*, 22, 48, 49.

<sup>11</sup> Śat. Br. iv. 4. 2. 13.—*nātmanascanesate na dāgasya* : “(Women) own neither themselves nor an inheritance.”

<sup>12</sup> Śat. Br. iv. 4. 2. 18. Maedonell and Keith, *Ved. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 486.

<sup>13</sup> Sāṅkh. Gr. Sūtra, i. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Böhtlingk, *Dictionary*.

Aryan.<sup>1</sup> *Per contra*, *mātrvadha* "matricide" is mentioned as a great crime by the Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad (iii. 7) — "but as one that can be expiated by the knowledge of the truth."<sup>2</sup> The Sūtras equate a woman's wergeld with a Śūdra's.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the climax is reached in Hiraṇyakeśin Gr̥hya Sūtra, i. 14. 2 where she is regarded much as is the slave around whom, when suspected of estrangement, urine is poured from a horn to keep him magically at home."<sup>4</sup>

### Asura Influence on Arya Womanhood

Another influence was slowly at work transforming the original Indo-European institutions in India. The Vedic Arya's assertive male cult<sup>5</sup> begins to feel less certain, more uneasy. The ubiquitous Manu admits that a girl need not marry at all unless a suitable bridegroom is forthcoming.<sup>6</sup> But his uneasy Aryan conscience forestalls such a contingency by advocating infant marriages.<sup>7</sup> The same Aitareya Brāhmaṇa that defined "By an adjudicator and arbitrator, they meant their father"<sup>8</sup> indirectly admits the growing importance of the wife in III. 37. But his plaintive expostulation against this yet exotic privilege is unmistakable in Prāsahā's reply to the gods who asked her a question — "I will give you an answer to-morrow, for women ask their husbands, (and) they do so during the night."<sup>9</sup> The mother becomes the father's equal and able to inherit in default of sons (Manu ix. 217). But had not Baudhāyana and Āpastamba<sup>10</sup> denied woman's, specially widows', right to inherit?<sup>11</sup> So the Arya in Manu, while yielding to the newer notions that women

<sup>1</sup> *J.B.O.E.S.*, Vol. XII, pp. 269-82.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell and Keith, *Ved. Ind.*, Vol. II. p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> *C.H.I.*, p. 135.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 239.

<sup>5</sup> *Rv.* x. 85. 43; *Av.* xiv. 1. 64.

<sup>6</sup> *cf.* *Rv.* i. 117, 7, etc. *Ghṛ̥ṣā*.

<sup>7</sup> Manu, ix. 88-89.

<sup>8</sup> *cf.* Delbruck, *Die Indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen*, 576.

<sup>9</sup> *Kāth. Sam.* xxxi. 3.

<sup>10</sup> *Āpastamba*, II. 14.

<sup>11</sup> *C.H.I.*, p. 293.

are no longer chattel<sup>1</sup> makes up by prescribing her divorce for barrenness<sup>2</sup> and death for unfaithfulness<sup>3</sup> and lack of independence throughout life (ix. 2f.)<sup>4</sup>. More serious still was the challenge to the male's monopoly<sup>5</sup> in marital infidelity. Weber<sup>6</sup> and Ludwig<sup>7</sup> have pointed out the prevailing laxity from Tait. Sam. v. 6. 8. 3. and Maitr. Sam. iii. 4. 7. The R̥gveda knew prostitution<sup>8</sup> (Rv. i. 124. 7; iv. 5. 5.; ii. 29. 1. The Vājasaneyī Sam. regards it as a profession, *atishkadvarī*, *atitvarī*, *vijarjarā*, Vāj. Sam. xxx. 15. Pischel<sup>9</sup> and Geldner<sup>10</sup> have credited the R̥gvedic Hetairai to the Indian Arya princes and their ways. Winternitz<sup>11</sup> and Jolly's<sup>12</sup> attempt to explain them away does not realise the psychology behind such expressions as *abhrātaraḥ*,<sup>13</sup> *pumscalī*,<sup>14</sup> *upapati*,<sup>15</sup> *jāra*,<sup>16</sup> *bhrunahaytā*,<sup>17</sup> *rahasū*<sup>18</sup> *sādhāraṇī*,<sup>19</sup> *hasrā*,<sup>20</sup> *mahānagnī* (Ait. Br. i. 27), *kumārēputra* (Vāj. Sam. xxx. 6; Taitt. Br. iii. 4. 2. 1), *agrū*<sup>21</sup> (Rev. iv. 19. 9; 30, 16. 19; ii. 13. 12; 15. 17) etc. But the anti-Arya influence turns the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Manu viii. 77.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Attic *epikleros*.

<sup>5</sup> Taitt. Sam. v. 5. 8. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Stud.*, 10, 83.

<sup>7</sup> Ludwig, *Rigveda*, 5, 573.

<sup>8</sup> Vāj. Sam. xxx. 15. Taitt. Br. iii. 4. 7. 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Ved. Stud.*, i. xxv. 96, etc.

<sup>10</sup> cf. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, 48.

<sup>11</sup> Winternitz, *Geschichte*, *op. cit.* Vol. I.

<sup>12</sup> Jolly, *op. cit.*

<sup>13</sup> Rv. iv. 5. 5.

<sup>14</sup> Vāj. Sam. xxx. 22.

<sup>15</sup> Taitt. Br. iii. 4. 4. 2.

<sup>16</sup> Vāj. Sam. xxx. 9.

<sup>17</sup> Maitr. Sam. iv. 1. 9.

<sup>18</sup> Rv. ii. 29. 1.

<sup>19</sup> Rv. i. 167. 4. According to Max Muller *usar communis*.

<sup>20</sup> Rv. i. 124. 7. Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* i. 196, 198. Max Muller *S.B.E.*, 32, 277 takes *mahānagnī* to refer to polyandry.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *atitvarī*, *atishkadvarī*, *rajayitri*, etc. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, 334-5.

table with the ritual of Varuṇa-praghāsa,<sup>1</sup> where the wife claims her own share of infidelity and names her lovers.<sup>2</sup> Yājñavalkya's<sup>3</sup> *paraḥ-puṃsā* confesses the entity of a female apart from a male.<sup>4</sup> Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad iv. 7. 5 witnesses a challenge even to the precedence of the father over the mother.<sup>5</sup> And the final intrusion of the matriarchal polyandrous institution is recorded in the uncertainty<sup>6</sup> of the father altogether in Maitrāyaṇi Sam. i. 4.11 and Rv. i. 167.4.<sup>7</sup> Pāṇchālī<sup>8</sup> typifies this in her matriarchal *svayamvara*<sup>9</sup> and polyandrous<sup>10</sup> marriage. Time had come for an adjustment of these two outlooks—the patriarchal polygamous Arya and the matriarchal polyandrous Asura. And the same Kuru-Pāṇchāla conflict that evolved the Arya-Asura-Dāsa body-politic<sup>11</sup> also produced a more composite Arya-Asura womanhood that in time produced teachers and thinkers from Lopāmudrā to Lakṣmidevī (commentator of the Mitākṣarā in the eighteenth century) and gifted the Arya-Asura-Dāsa pantheon with some of its noblest and most significant female deities. An analysis of a few of these deities will help in appraising their influence and source.

#### Ashur (Assyria)—Asura (India) Female Deities: Vedic Arya (India) counterparts

Uṣas, the goddess of dawn, is "the loveliest creation"<sup>12</sup> of the Vedic hymns. But is she Vedic Ārya? As shown above,<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Maitr. Sam.* i. 10. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Delbruck, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *Śat. Br.* i. 8. 1. 21. Cf. Gautama xii. 39. "Animals, land, and females are not lost by possession of another."

<sup>4</sup> Delbruck, *op. cit.* 577.

<sup>5</sup> Contrast Macdonell and Keith, *Ved. Ind.*, Vol. I. p. 480 note 61.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *MBh.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* contrast *Jaiminiya Br. Upa.* iii. 12-2.

<sup>9</sup> *Rv.* x. 85, 37. 38. *Av.* xiv. 1. 44. 52. 61; 2. 14. 27 "husbands mentioned in relation to a single wife".

<sup>10</sup> *MBh.*

<sup>11</sup> *J.B.O.E.S.*, Vol. XII, pp. 275-82.

<sup>12</sup> Macdonell, *H.S.L.*, p. 81.

<sup>13</sup> *J.B.O.E.S.* Vol. XII, p. 359.

the Vedic pantheon contains sages, heroes and deities that originally might have been exclusively Ārya, Asura or Dāsa. But they were absorbed in a common transformation.<sup>1</sup> Only traces of their initial individuality are still discernible at the earliest stage. Such traces in Uṣas have puzzled students<sup>2</sup> who

**Uṣas and Vedic Ārya deities (Parjanya, Vata, etc.) mutually exclusive**

start with a negation of the Asura element. (a) To begin with, what is the *locus standi* of Uṣas amongst the male Ārya deities.<sup>3</sup> (b) Why the distinctive<sup>4</sup> charm in the hymns to Uṣas and Varuṇa, that is lacking<sup>5</sup> in those addressed to the other deities (c) Why again is the association of Uṣas with Varuṇa closer<sup>6</sup> than with Indra, Agni and Soma. (d) Uṣas and the rest of the Aryan atmospheric divinities are mutually exclusive.<sup>7</sup> "The strife of the elements, the stress laid on the phenomena of thunder and lightning and the bursting forth of the rain from the clouds"<sup>8</sup> do not belong to the Punjab. But the phenomena of dawn most emphatically do.<sup>9</sup> (e) Lastly, after the Aryans had secured their foothold in the Punjab against the Asuras<sup>10</sup> and marched eastward, i.e. "after the R̥gveda she vanishes swiftly from the living gods of the pantheon."<sup>11</sup> An answer to the above lies in a recognition in Uṣas of a pre-Āryan foreign element that did not admit of the predominance of the male element. The following may be noted in support of this suggestion. (a) Uṣas is "the only one goddess with a real character,"<sup>12</sup> the rest are

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *C.H.I.*, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> *C.H.I.*, p. 109.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *C.H.I.*, p. 79.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XII, pp. 260-62,

<sup>11</sup> *C.H.I.*, p. 104.

<sup>12</sup> Macdonell, *H.S.L.*, p. 103.

reflexions of their husbands. (b) She unquestionably belongs to the earliest<sup>1</sup> part of the R̥igveda, and is presumably a deity whom the Aryans found in India on their advent. (c) As already<sup>2</sup> pointed out, Uṣas is typically of the Punjab, while the Aryan deities are as typically not so.<sup>3</sup> (d) The later Vedic literature as aggressively Aryan completely ignores Uṣas.<sup>4</sup> (e) After the Arya-Asura-Dāsa synthesis in the Madhayadeśa<sup>5</sup>, she resumes her historical<sup>6</sup> character. She is even represented in human form as the daughter of Bāṇa-Asura.<sup>7</sup> The Harivaṃśa<sup>8</sup> and the Viṣṇupurāṇa<sup>9</sup> see her only as a female proper name without any connection with her prototype. But the name and lineage are not without significance. In any case if Uṣas pre-, or non-Aryan Vedic, has she any prototype elsewhere. - Not that it is either necessary or inevitable. Human ways of thinking are infinite and may congenially coincide across continents apart. And yet the arresting similarity between Vedic Uṣas<sup>10</sup> and Egypto-Assyrian Isis<sup>11</sup> is too striking to be ignored. (a) Both Isis and Uṣas represent the passage of time.<sup>12</sup> (b) Both are described as active<sup>13</sup> women. (c) Most important of all, both Isis and Uṣas further agriculture<sup>14</sup> — “the ruddy mother-cows”<sup>15</sup> (Rv. i. 92.1.) and few will deny that the Vedic

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<sup>1</sup> C.A.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> C.A.H., p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> J.B.O.E.S., Vol. XII. p. 232.

<sup>6</sup> MBh. Sabhā P. 60. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Harivaṃśa, 2, 118.

<sup>9</sup> Viṣṇu Purāṇa, v. 32.

<sup>10</sup> Rv. iv. 51, etc.

<sup>11</sup> Diodorus.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. Rv. i. 113. ii.

<sup>13</sup> “Arousing all the world, she shows us riches : Dawn has awakened every living creature.”—Rv. i. 113. cf. Diodorus on Isis.

<sup>14</sup> Kuntze, *The Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilisation in India*, p. 45.

<sup>15</sup> Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V. p. 185,



Aryan was predominantly a warrior class.<sup>1</sup> (a) The Tait. Sam. divides dawn into *Uṣas*, *Vyūṣṭi*, *Udeṣyat*, *Udyat*, *Udita*, *Suvarga* and *Loka*. Very similar is Isis who with Osiris " \* \* \* divide the year into three parts (that is to say, spring, summer and autumn) by an invisible motion, perfecting their constant course in that time."<sup>2</sup> Rv. i. 113.10 emphasises the eternity of *Uṣas*. "For how long a period is it that the (*Uṣasaḥ*) dawns have arisen? For how long a period will they arise? Still desirous of bringing us light, *Uṣas* pursues the functions of those that have gone before, and, shining brightly, proceeds with the others (that are to follow)."<sup>3</sup> And Isis, according to Diodorus "being interpreted, signifies Ancient, the name being ascribed to the moon from eternal generations."<sup>4</sup> (b) "Like an active woman, *Uṣas* advances cherishing all things" (Rv. i. 48. 4. 5. 6.<sup>5</sup>) "(Osiris and) Isis govern the whole world cherishing and increasing all things."<sup>6</sup> (c) Morning is the best part of the day amongst an agricultural population<sup>7</sup> and *Uṣas* is their presiding deity<sup>8</sup> and she is likened to a "ruddy mother-cow"<sup>9</sup> (Rv. i. 92. 7). Compare this with the symbols and sacrifices of Isis who has horns "representing a sickle \* \* \* and an ox among the Egyptians is offered to her in sacrifice."<sup>10</sup> The *Ashur* in Assyria and the *Asura* in India may have sprung from the same cultural stock.<sup>11</sup> But each developed an individual civilisation<sup>12</sup> of its own in Asia Minor and India for countless generations.<sup>13</sup> And this amply accounts for slight discrepancy in name as well as for

<sup>1</sup> Macdonel, *H.S.L.*, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Tilak, *Arctic Home*, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> cf. Rv. i. 92.10: "Again and again newly born though ancient."

<sup>4</sup> Diodorus.

<sup>5</sup> cf. Rv. i. 113. "Wakening up the world" etc.

<sup>6</sup> Diodorus.

<sup>7</sup> Kunte, *op.cit.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Diodorus.

<sup>11</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. XII. p. 39.

<sup>12</sup> Marshall, *Illustr.* *Lond. News*, September 1904.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

more serious differences in functions between *Isis* and *Uṣas*. The incoming Indo-Aryan revered Asura<sup>1</sup> and adored *Uṣas*.<sup>2</sup> In the ensuing conflict<sup>3</sup> he dropped both.<sup>3</sup> But the Asura idea of female supremacy (relative in Assyria, fundamental in India) had worked its way into the Vedic 'Aryas' patriarchal absolutism and in course of time and synthesis, and along with other factors, brought about marked modifications in Indian institutions as a whole.<sup>4</sup>

Among such factors must be reckoned the pre-Aryan agricultural sense and symbols that had infiltrated into and got established in the country's village life. They often took the form of minor female deities obstinately ignored<sup>5</sup> by the Vedic

**Vasini the Pre-Aryan Mother-goddess**

Arya and as tenaciously worshipped by the villagers.<sup>6</sup> One such, *Vasini*<sup>7</sup> is specially striking. She is the "ruling-goddess"<sup>8</sup> of village life. *Hiranyakeśin Gṛhya Sūtra* i. 2. 6. 5 mentions her along with other bucolic divinities. "She is probably the *mother-goddess*," says Hopkins, "who despite all Vedic influence always was the chief spiritual village-power identified with Śiva's<sup>9</sup> wife in various forms."<sup>10</sup> *Vasini* is essentially (a) agricultural and (b) pre-Aryan. (a) She is derived from *vasā* with *ni* in the sense of possession.<sup>11</sup> And in the *R̥gveda* (ii. 7. 5 ; vi. 63. 9 ; x. 91. 14) and later<sup>12</sup> (*Av.* iv. 24 ; 4. x. 10. 2 ; xii. 4. 1) means a "cow." The Vedic Arya commentators tried to whittle it

<sup>1</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XII, pp. 135-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 252-55.

<sup>3</sup> *C.H.I.* p. 104 (*Uṣas*); *Rv.* ii. 32. 4 ; vii. 99. 5 (*Asura*.)

<sup>4</sup> *Supra.*

<sup>5</sup> *C.H.I.*, p. 238.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Durgā*, *Kālī*, etc. are all described as Śiva's wives.

<sup>10</sup> Numerous forms, but now worshipped mainly in the East and South of India, erstwhile strongholds of Asura influence.

<sup>11</sup> *Pāṇ.* III. 2. 78. *Śūpyajatan pinistācchīlye.*

<sup>12</sup> *Tait. Sam.* ii. 1. 4. 4. 5 ; *Kāṭh. Sam.* xiii. 4.

down to a "barren cow."<sup>1</sup> They pointed out two passages from the Atharvaveda. (i) Av. vii. 113. 2 says—"Rough art thou, a rough one; poisonous, a poisonous one art thou; that thou mayest be avoided, as a *vasī* of a bull;"<sup>2</sup> *vasā* is sought to be explained as *vandhyā gauḥ* "barren cow."<sup>3</sup> Av. xii. 4. 15—"She may go about until the space of three years, being of unrecognised speech; should he know the cow (*vasā*), O Nārada, then the Brahmans are to be sought."<sup>4</sup> This attempt is ingenuous but utterly unconvincing. Lanman<sup>5</sup> is constrained to confess the obscurity<sup>6</sup> of his attempted translation.<sup>7</sup> No such obscurity is imaginable in the other instances.<sup>8</sup> *Vasā* decidedly means a mother-cow. cf. Av. xii. 4.—"I give the cow (*vasā*) to the priests that ask for her; that brings progeny, descendants."<sup>9</sup> Av. xii. 4. 11. "They who come to the winning of her, theirs is the god-made cow (*vasā*)."<sup>9</sup> Av. xii. 4. 37. "Being impregnated, the cow (*vasā*) goes about angry at her master, etc."<sup>10</sup> This incrimination about *vasā* indicates that *Vasīnī*'s fruitful influence on village life created a sense of grievance amongst the Vedic Aryas who accepted her only under protest. *Vasā* still remained the mother-cow. The Tait. Sam. ii. 1. 5. 4 describes her *sūta-vasā*.<sup>11</sup> But the idea of fertility is extended also to "mother sheep", "ewe" in the Tait. Sam. ii. 1. 2. 2 and the Tait. Brāh. i. 2. 5. 2 (*avi + sūtiā*).<sup>12</sup> (b) The Vedic Aryan's efforts to introduce Parjanya and Indra at

<sup>1</sup> Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharvaveda*, 555, 555.

<sup>2</sup> Lanman, *H.O.S.*, vol. 7, p. 468.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> "This is obscure"—Lanman, *H.O.S.* vol. 8, p. 696.

<sup>5</sup> Lanman, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* vol. 8, p. 696.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Av. xii. 4.

<sup>9</sup> "There is no indication that *vasā* means a barren cow" in Av. xii. 4. *Ved. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 273.

<sup>10</sup> Lanman, *op. cit.* vol. 8, p. 699.

<sup>11</sup> *Tait. Sam.* ii. 1. 5. 4.

<sup>12</sup> *Avi = Sheep*. Rv. viii. 34. 3; 66. 8. Av. v. 8. 4.

the "furrow-sacrifice"<sup>1</sup> and the "threshing-floor sacrifice"<sup>2</sup> were later (Gobhila *Gr̥hya Sūtra*, iv. 4. 22ff.) but Vasiṇī (Hiranyakeśin *Gr̥hya sūtra*, ; 2. 6. 5) was already established and the *mother-goddess* idea spread farther afield, under different forms.<sup>3</sup>

More important than either Uṣas or Vasiṇī is Nṛtū.<sup>4</sup> Rv.

### Nṛtū

i. 92. 4 mentions her along with Uṣas.<sup>5</sup>

She is the Goddess of Dancing.<sup>6</sup>

Nṛtū is mentioned only once,<sup>7</sup> in the R̥gveda. In the eyes of the Vedic Arya, her position is distinctly equivocal. She is a Hetaira.<sup>8</sup> A polygamous and patriarchal Vedic Arya could hardly see a female dancer in any other light. But Nṛtū is associated with Uṣas.<sup>9</sup> So Pischel and Geldner have to regard even Uṣas the Goddess of Dawn as "the characteristic Hetaira".<sup>10</sup> Jolly<sup>11</sup> points out many more passages in support of this curious character of Uṣas. In fact, both Nṛtū and Uṣas, the Goddesses of Dancing and Dawn, are pre-Aryan deities whom the Vedic Arya had to accept but under protest. Nṛtū was perhaps a representative of a matriarchal and polyandrous society and as such was easily confused for a mere courtesan.

This pre-Aryan Nṛtū in India seems to have travelled north as Tacitus' *Nerthus* in North Germany and Scandinavia. Their similarity is striking. The Uṇdivrätti<sup>12</sup> explains Nṛtū as Mother Earth: *Nerthus* is the same according to Tacitus. (ii) Both Nṛtū and *Nerthus* are derived from the root *nṛt*: Nṛtū being the weak form and *Nerthus* the guṇa form of the

<sup>1</sup> Gobhila, *Gr̥hya Sūtra*, iv. 4. 28f.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 30f.

<sup>3</sup> *C.H.I.*, p. 288.

<sup>4</sup> Rv. i. 92.4—Nṛtū Rv. x. 18.3 Nṛtī.

<sup>5</sup> Uṣas is compared to a dancer.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Rv. i. 92.4.

<sup>8</sup> *Ved. Ind.*, vol. I. p. 481.

<sup>9</sup> Rv. i. 92.4.

<sup>10</sup> *Vedische Studien*, i. xxv. 196, 278, 299, 309; 2.120, 154, 179.

<sup>11</sup> Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, 48.

<sup>12</sup> *Upadishūtra*, 94. *nṛtiśṛdhyoh Kūh. nṛturnartakāh.*

base. (iii) The main characteristics of their festival are identical. Under *Nrtū* and *Nrti*, Macdonell<sup>1</sup> points out that a joyful celebration is meant (like the Irish "wake" or the old-fashioned feasting in Scotland after a funeral).<sup>2</sup> According to Tacitus,<sup>3</sup> "they (the seven Germanic tribes) all worship Nerthus, i.e. Mother Earth and believe that she takes a hand in human matters and mixes with people \* \* \* she drives out drawn by cows. Then follows merry days and feasts at places which she deigns to visit."<sup>4</sup>

Konow<sup>5</sup> has sought to draw a parallel between Nerthus and Indian Durgā and claims both to be Indo-European. His arguments are singularly inadequate. (i) Tacitus' evidence<sup>6</sup> has no bearing on Nerthus being an indigenous Germanic deity. Tacitus lived in the latter half of the first and the early part of the second century of the Christian era through the reigns of Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan. Many pre-Indo-European waves<sup>7</sup> had passed over Europe long before that. (ii) Nerthus in Northern Europe (Njord in Norway) might have been the remnant of an earlier stratum of customs and beliefs. As a parallel may be mentioned serpent-sacrifice stories pointed out by Edouard Ille,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ved. Ind.* Vol. I. P. 457.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 45—78.

<sup>3</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, ch. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Tacitus, *op. cit.* *De Moribus et Populis Germaniae*.

<sup>5</sup> *J.A.S.B.* Vol. XXI. 1925, No. 3, pp. 315—324.

<sup>6</sup> Tacitus was little older than the younger Pliny; the latter was born A.D. 61.

<sup>7</sup> *C.A.H.*, Vol. II. 20-24. Konow forgets the fine inscription on an Etruscan tomb—

‘Appena i segni

De l’alte sue ruine il lido serba.

Muoiono le città; muoiono i regni:

Copre i fasti e le pompe arena ed erba:

E l’unom d’esser mortal par che sis degni.

Oh nostra mente cupida e superba.

<sup>8</sup> Ille, *Zeitschrift d. Vereins für Volkskunde*, viii. 1898, p. 325.

Meyer,<sup>1</sup> Grohimann,<sup>2</sup> Hegl,<sup>3</sup> Gonzenbach<sup>4</sup> and Schönbach.<sup>5</sup> And Fergusson<sup>6</sup> justly refuses to confuse an accidental or historical habitat with origin—"This is a favourite annual ceremony for the inhabitants of Luchon (in the Pyrenees) and its neighbourhood, and local tradition assigns to it heathen origin."<sup>7</sup> (iii) The characteristics of Nerthus and Durgā are far from being similar. Durgā is the goddess of War, holding the weapons of destruction in her ten hands and destroying Evil personified.<sup>8</sup> Kālī is actually engaged in war.<sup>9</sup> Not so Nerthus; "they do not begin war," says Tacitus,<sup>10</sup> "they do not take up weapons, all iron is shut up. Peace and quiet are the only things they care about. \* \* Slaves are in charge, and they are drowned in the same lake. Hence the vague terror and the pious ignorance as to what it may be that can only be seen by people who must die." The last line reminds one strongly of *Nṛtū* or *Nṛtī* at "the funeral ritual."<sup>11</sup> (iv) Durgā and Kālī are admittedly conceptions born out of a pre-Āryan depth stirred by later and adopting Āryan currents in the period of Āryan-Asura-Dāsa fusion. Konow fails to note that in the predominantly Āryan tracts, e.g. the Indus valley, their worship is unknown.<sup>12</sup> It is the pre-Āryan and pre-Dravidian<sup>13</sup> East of India, Lévi's Kāmarūpa,<sup>14</sup> Tamluk in Vāṅga,<sup>15</sup> etc. that are still their strongholds.<sup>16</sup> In analysing

<sup>1</sup> Meyer, *Essays und Studien*, 1885, p. 237f.

<sup>2</sup> Grohimann, *Sagenbuch von Böhmen und Märchen*, 1863, I. p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> Hegl, *Volksagen aus Tirol*, 1897, pp. 156f.

<sup>4</sup> Gonzenbach, *Sizilianische Märchen*, I. pp. 214f.

<sup>5</sup> Schönbach, *Analecta Grasciensia*, 1898, p. 38.

<sup>6</sup> *Tree and Serpent Worship*, 1873, p. 29 n.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Tacitus, *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> Macdonell and Keith, *Ved. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 488.

<sup>12</sup> They are practically unrecognised even in the United Provinces.

<sup>13</sup> *J.A.*, 1923, Juillet-Septembre, 1923, pp. 1-57.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* p. 47.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* p. 49.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* p. 46.

the socio-religious background of ancient India, the real difficulty lies not so much in finding out purely pre-Aryan (Asura), Dāsa or Vedic Aryan contributions separately, but in appreciating the process of transubstantiation each submitted to and out of which emerged Neo-India or Hinduism and its composite civilisation. In this the initial conflict and ultimate compromise of rival Arya, Asura institutions—one patriarchal and polygamous, the other matriarchal and polyandrous played their part. *Uṣas*, *Vasini* and *Nṛtū* reflect this part in the Arya's records. Durgā and Kālī are the same reminiscences viewed in a different—now Arya-Asura-Dāsa—setting. The Hetaira<sup>1</sup> of yesterday had evolved into the Mother<sup>2</sup> of the morrow.

The Vedic Āryan society was distinctly patriarchal<sup>3</sup> and polygamous.<sup>4</sup> Who then furnished these matriarchal<sup>5</sup> institutions?

## II.—Asura Institutions

*Matriarchal*.—Who were the Asuras? Sylvain Lévi<sup>6</sup> has discussed the culture-sequences of India in his *Pré-Aryen et Pré-Dravidien dans l'Inde*, J.A., 1923.<sup>7</sup> The Harppa and Mahenjo-Daro finds were still unnoticed. His main materials are (i) geographic and (ii) linguistic. Under (i) have been examined couples of names like Kosala-Tosala, Aṅga-Vaṅga, Kalinga-Tilinga, Pulinda-Kulinda. (a) They form a sort of chain from the east of Kashmir to the heart of the peninsula. The heights of Central India act as the skeleton alive with all the larger rivers of India, except the Indus to the

<sup>1</sup> Rv. i. 92. 4. *Ved. Ind.*, Vol. I. p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Unādivṛtti*.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonell, *H.S.L.* p. 158.

<sup>4</sup> Rv. i. 62. 11; 71, 1; 104, 3; 105, 8, 112, 19; vi. 53. 4; vii. 13. 2; x. 43. 1.

Av. iii. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *C.H.I.*, p. 424.

<sup>6</sup> *J.A.* *op. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

west and the Kāveri to the south. (b) Then again are geographical names like Kamboja<sup>1</sup> in the extreme north-west near Tukhāra<sup>2</sup> and Cambodge<sup>2</sup> in China : Tamluk<sup>2</sup> as the port on the Bay of Bengal<sup>3</sup> and Tamluk in Guzerat in Cambay.<sup>4</sup> Laṅkā<sup>5</sup> as the name of islands in the Godāvari,<sup>6</sup> in the Mahānadi<sup>7</sup> as well as *laṅkā* as an element in a number of geographic names in the Malaya Peninsula.<sup>8</sup> And none of the above names seems either Dravidian or Indo-European.<sup>9</sup> Some like Tamluk are probably "pre-Dravidian."<sup>10</sup> (ii) Linguistic analysis confirms their non-Aryan, non-Dravidian characteristic<sup>11</sup> and establishes Austro-Asiatic affinities.<sup>12</sup> (a) Thus the ethnic pairs of names above only differ in their initial consonants; *k* and *t*; *k* and *p*; zero and *v* or *m* or *p*. This process of formation is contrary to both Indo-European and Dravidian. It is characteristic of the vast family of languages called Austro-Asiatic.<sup>13</sup> It is still preserved in Muṇḍa or Kolarian<sup>14</sup> The Muṇḍa is the remnant of a language once spoken in Central India and probably the Gangetic valley.<sup>15</sup> Schmidt<sup>16</sup> in his *Les peuples mon-khmér, trait-d'union entre les peuples de l'Asie Central et de l'Australasie* sums up, through the surviving elements in Muṇḍa,

<sup>1</sup> Aśoka Edict XIII.

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy, vi. 11. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahāvamśa*, xi. 38; xix. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Stud.*, xv. 252.

<sup>5</sup> Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*.

<sup>6</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Godāvari*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Ind.* xii. 218.

<sup>8</sup> *Karmaraṅga (Kāmalakka)* in *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, edited by Gaṇapati, II. p. 332.

<sup>9</sup> *J.A. op. cit.* p. 56.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* p. 50.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *J.A., op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>14</sup> Schmidt, B. É. F. E.—O, VII (French translation.) Risley, *Ling. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 79.

<sup>15</sup> Konow, *Ling. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. IV. Intro. p. 9.

<sup>16</sup> Schmidt, *op. cit.*



this linguistic relation between India and Austro-nesia.<sup>1</sup> In both Muṇḍa and Mon-khmêr the formation of words by prefixes and infixes is the same. (i) In both, all consonants, except *ñ*, *n*, *m*, *ṇ* or liquid *r* [l?] may again be inserted between any of those prefixes and the root. (ii) The infix *n* gives in Mon-khmêr instrumental names, in Muṇḍa abstract names denoting the result of an action. The second sense is not rare in the idioms of Khmêr, Bahnar and Nicobarais.<sup>2</sup> Judged by this similarity, it would seem probable that geographic names that begin with *ham*, *kar*, *kal*, *tam*, *tar*, *tal*, *pam*, *par*, *pal* are reminiscent of an Austro-Asiatic antiquity.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note in this connection that Weber<sup>4</sup> had already pointed out the obscure word *tābuvam*. (Atharvaveda v. 13) against the poison of serpents and its similarity to Australo-Polynesian *tabou*,<sup>5</sup> and suggested Indian migration to the Pacific islands, from Indonesia.<sup>6</sup> Barth<sup>7</sup> and Lévi<sup>8</sup> seem inclined to view the immigration rather inversely to India.<sup>9</sup> This inverse immigration towards India is contrary to historical reasons.

Levi's Austro-Asiatic intrusion his discussion of *l'hypothèse d'une invasion asiatique en Égypte*<sup>10</sup> —  
As Moret<sup>10</sup> justly points out in  
untenable  
“The principal objection can be resumed as follows: for one country to carry a particular culture to another country, it (the former) must itself possess a superior organisation; it is necessary that a centre of civilisation more advanced should

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *J.A., op. cit.* p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Atharvav. v. 13, 10: cf. Kauś. 29, 13. Lanman, *H.O.S.*, Vol. 7, p. 244.

<sup>5</sup> Weber, *Sitzb. Ak. Wiss. Berlin*, 1876, xxxi.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Barth, *Oeuvres*, II. p. 254.

<sup>8</sup> *J.A., op. cit.* p. 2<sup>re</sup> 6.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Moret, *Des clans aux empires*, pp. 179f.

<sup>11</sup> J. De Morgan, *L'Anthropologie*, 1921, XXXI. pp. 188-238, 425-68; CXXII, 39-65.

manifest itself during centuries sufficiently near.”<sup>1</sup> Now all the known facts<sup>2</sup> prove the contrary. That this pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian civilisation extends at least from Kamboja<sup>3</sup> in the north-west to Cambodge<sup>4</sup> in Indo-China, from Tamluk<sup>5</sup> in the Gulf of Cambay<sup>6</sup> to Tamluk in the Gulf of Bengal,<sup>7</sup> from Laṅkā<sup>8</sup> in the Godāvari<sup>9</sup> and the Mahānadi<sup>10</sup> to Ceylon<sup>11</sup> and the Malaya<sup>12</sup> peninsula. The surviving Muṇḍā linguistics are spread over the plateau of Chota Nagpur, districts of Madras, of Central Provinces, in the Mahadeo Hills, almost everywhere in the jungles and the heights while Aryan speeches flourish in the plains and the valleys.<sup>13</sup> And the Muṇḍās or Kolarians are only the offshoots of an absorption and intermixture of these original pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian peoples. They seem to have crossed the whole continent on their march eastward. They were a maritime people.<sup>14</sup> Hornell<sup>15</sup> has examined the ethnological origin and signification of Indian river and sea-craft. He has admitted pre-Dravidian (and necessarily pre-Aryan) elements on the meridional coast of India, and points out their striking resemblance to similar crafts in Polynesia.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand the evidence geographic, linguistic and cultural in Austronesia is much too limited to

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<sup>1</sup> Moret, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> J.A., op. cit. pp. 52-55.

<sup>3</sup> Ptolemy, VI. II. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Pelliot, B.E.F.E.—O., II. 126.

<sup>5</sup> Ind. Stud. XV. 252. Pliny, VI. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Panchadāṇḍacharitrabandha, Ed. Weber, sec. 3. Stambhatirtha.

<sup>7</sup> Ind. Stud. XVI. 397.

<sup>8</sup> Imperial Gazetteer of India, Godāvari.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ep. Ind. XII. 218.

<sup>11</sup> Rāmāyaṇa.

<sup>12</sup> Ferrand, J., 1918, II. 134, 146, 153.

<sup>13</sup> Konow, Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IV., Intro. p. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Levi, J.A., 1923, Juillet-Septembre, p. 57. “We now know that the Indians were one of the greatest navigating and colonising peoples of antiquity.”  
—Clark, J.A.O.S., Sept. 1926, p. 195.

<sup>15</sup> Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VII. No. 3, 1920.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

suggest its extrusive immigration into India. The march from India Pacificward is further borne out by later history. Indianisation of the Extreme East,<sup>1</sup> the Pacific<sup>2</sup> and even of America<sup>3</sup> was an accomplished fact long before Columbus. The route had been traced from time immemorial by these unrecognised predecessors of the Aryans and the Dravidians, first as a separate entity sharing in the fortunes of one of the earliest sea-powers<sup>4</sup> of the world, then as a composite whole one with the Dravidians and the Aryans.<sup>5</sup>

Three outstanding traits of these pre-historic predecessors are : (i) they were a sea-faring people ;<sup>6</sup> (ii) they appear on the Arabian coast (Cambay) ;<sup>7</sup> (iii) their mixed remnants are still to be found in the East coast of India,<sup>8</sup> in Chota Nagpur<sup>9</sup> and Assam.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lévi, *J.A.*, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XII. p. 360 n3. Clark, *J.A.O.S.* Sept. 1926, p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> "The plains of North America show no trace of the former existence of a highly developed civilisation. \* \* \* The first to appear is that of the Maya, about the beginning of our era."—Perry, *The Children of the Sun*, p. 1. The Maya Indians were noted for architectural and astronomical constructions.—*The Illustrated London News*, Oct. 1926. These Maya monuments psychologically unnecessary in North America were copied from Cambodia and Java where they were characteristic and traditional.—Dr. Gann, *The Morning Post*, Sept. 1926. The similarity between Maya in America and Maya in India extends further than in the mere name. cf.—Maya, Spooner, *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> "When the Pacific Ocean was first discovered by European sailors practically every island scattered throughout the vast extent of this greatest of oceans was inhabited by people whose language and customs, no less than their physical characteristics, established the fact that centuries before they had come from the Malaya Archipelago and Asia."—*Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Feb. 1926.

<sup>5</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. XII. p. 360.

<sup>6</sup> Lévi, *J.A.*, *op. cit.* p. 57.

<sup>7</sup> Weber, *Panchadandachattraprabandha*, p. 71.

<sup>8</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Tamiluk*—"ancient un-orthodoxy."

<sup>9</sup> Bisley, *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

The earliest literature of India (viz. the Vedas) knows the Aryans and the Dasyus (later Dravidians).<sup>1</sup> It also records a certain Asura people<sup>2</sup> — obviously as predecessors : first as an honoured name<sup>3</sup> then as a hated rival<sup>4</sup>, lastly as a vanquished foe.<sup>5</sup> The Asura again is emphatically a sea-people<sup>6</sup> that spread from the Sarasvatī where their chief Pūrus held their sway and ended as isolated units in Bhagadatta<sup>7</sup> of Assam and Jarāsandha<sup>8</sup> of Magadha and finally coalesced in the new ~~Ary~~ Asura-Dasa amalgamation.

An equation of these Vedic records with the pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian people of ancient India supplies Asura as the sole residue.

Historical insight is often at the mercy of present-day social sensitiveness. Thus relics of matrilineal institutions in the Vedas have been misunderstood and misinterpreted by students<sup>9</sup> whose family outlook is patrilineal. Referring to the marriage between brother and sister, Macdonell and Keith fail to realise either its genesis or the reason for the implied disapprobation<sup>10</sup> of the Vedic Arya. "Grave cases of immorality are alluded to in the Rgveda"<sup>11</sup> (incest between brother and sister, Yama and Yamī. Rv. x. 162. 5) This indictment of immorality shows how laws and very histories of nations perish while modern critics play with a handful of toys dug out of the earth, that still live and shine in modern daylight. "*Com'è duro calle, lo scendere e'l salir per l'altrui scale.*" These critics ignore that matri-

<sup>1</sup> J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XII. p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 135-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 135-8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 139.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 129.

<sup>7</sup> *MBh. Dro.* xxxi. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *MBh. Sa.* xvii. 21. 52.

<sup>9</sup> Macdonell and Keith, *Ved. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 480.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* p. 397.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 481.

lineal institutions lay down that the daughter of the king is the lawful heir to the throne, "so that any one who wishes to rule will have to marry her and reign as her surrogate. From the earliest known times in Egypt, the king was sometimes the brother of the queen: Osiris married Isis his sister."<sup>1</sup> Erman<sup>2</sup> has shown how the theoretical right to the throne belonged to the queen. Isis means "the throne-woman"<sup>3</sup> and Orisis only "the occupier of the throne".<sup>4</sup>

More interesting is the evidence of the archaic civilisations of Sumer-Assyria with which the Asura in India is sought to be connected.<sup>5</sup> The marital relation between Tammuz and his mother<sup>6</sup> has provoked purist protests.<sup>7</sup> But this is only a logical development of the archaic matrilineal system whereby the king ruled as the son of the "great mother".<sup>8</sup> The Sumer system was not exceptional. "That the son should be also the lover of the goddess is explained by Frazer, on the assumption that in ancient society the imperial power descended through the female line. In that case the heir to a throne is the daughter of a king. To retain a throne a son of a king must marry his sister, or failing a sister, his own mother. In the Sumerian myths we have both circumstances represented".<sup>9</sup> The legend of the Descent of Ishtar<sup>10</sup> and her Tammuz is an old Sumerian theme.<sup>11</sup> Tammuz is the god of vegetation and dies annually with the summer droughts. He goes down

**Marriage between brother and sister and between mother and son in ancient Sumer: Ishtar and Tammuz**

<sup>1</sup> Perry, *The Children of the Sun*, p. 241.

<sup>2</sup> *Z.A.S.*, 1909, p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Murray, *Royal Marriage and Matrilineal Descent*, *J.R.A.S.*, 45, 1915.

<sup>4</sup> Erman, *Ein Dekmal Memphisitische Theologie*, *S.K.P.A.W.*, 1911.

<sup>5</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. XII. pp. 118—139.

<sup>6</sup> Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, Oxford, 1914.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* i. 25.

<sup>8</sup> Langdon, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, Univ. of Penn., Univ. Mus. Publ. Baby Sect. x. 2. 1917.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *C.A.H.*, Vol. III p. 233.

<sup>11</sup> Ungnad und Gressmann *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, 1911.

to Hades and Ishtar follows in search. Hades abounds in heaps of offal and the gutters. Queen Ereshkigal there holds her sway. Ereshkigal tries Ishtar. In the meantime all creation on earth stands still. Ea intercedes. Namtar the god of pestilence pours the Water of Life. Ishtar returns to earth with Tammuz and "nature again becomes fruitful".<sup>1</sup> Extant Sumerian hymns are many and every year women wailed for Tammuz. The story of Tammuzi identifies female descent with descent from the "mother-goddess."<sup>2</sup>

The Sumerian legends spread over the Near East. Assyria carried them far and wide. And Assyria got them through Babylonia.<sup>3</sup> In language, the pre-Semitic-Babylonian Sumerians differed fundamentally from the Semitic Assyrians. The Sumerians invented their script of about 550 characters. The Babylonians adapted 80 to their own tongue. Not the script only, but ancient tradition the Babylonian absorbed from Sumer and ousted Sumer by about the third millennium B.C.<sup>4</sup> And Assyria carried on the legacy.<sup>5</sup> All the more easily as the social outlook was essentially the same. The Assyrian version of the Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh<sup>6</sup> depicts this great Mother-Goddess. At the Temple of E-Anna, the House of Heaven, is worshipped Ishtar.<sup>7</sup> She is the Goddess of Love: each winter she descends into Hades to seek her husband<sup>8</sup> and each spring in the mating season brings her back "when the desert begins

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<sup>1</sup> C.A.H., *op. cit.*, p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Perry, *The Children of the Sun*, p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> C.A.H., *op. cit.*, p. 233.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 226.

<sup>5</sup> Jensen, *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen*, 1900.

<sup>6</sup> Jastrow and Clay, *An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamesh Epic*, New Haven, 1922.

<sup>7</sup> C. A. H. Vol. III. p. 227.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Plato's story of Er, son of Armenios.

to put forth its emerald carpet."<sup>1</sup> She is Goddess of War seated on the cliffs of Sir-i-pul over the captives of the Semite Anu-banini of Gutium.<sup>2</sup> But above all she is the great *Mother-Goddess*, offering her bounty of milk with both hands across the ancient world, "from Babylon to Carchemish,"<sup>3</sup> from Assyria to India, "as a little clay figure or life-size image"<sup>4</sup> (compare the terra-cotta *Mother-Goddess* from Basarh and Bhita in the Patna Museum<sup>5</sup>).

This archaic institution of Mother-Goddess and mother-right was a legacy of the old world to the new, of the Sumerian-Assyrian-Indian (Asura)<sup>6</sup> civilisation to the Indo-European. It clashed with their conceptions. It was unwelcome. Judah was the forerunner of the new order of things. And Judah was perturbed.<sup>7</sup> Ezekiel notes the progressive degeneration. Sanctity of oaths ceased and sabbaths were desecrated, and ritual and moral laws no longer followed.<sup>8</sup> But when the cult of Tammuz entered the temple Ezekiel resigned himself to the inevitable doom.<sup>9</sup> The Homeric Greek was an optimist.<sup>10</sup> He adapted Ishtar-Tammuz to his own patrilineal view. He made it Orpheus seeking Eurydice.<sup>11</sup> The Vedic Arya at first looked askance at the matrilineal system

**Indo-European re-  
adjustment:  
mother-right  
giving place to  
father-right**

<sup>1</sup> C.A.H. op. cit. p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. a number of terra-cotta figurines of mother-goddesses reproduced by Spooner, A.S.B., 1912.

<sup>6</sup> Zimmern, *Marduks (Ella, Asura) Geburt im babylonischen Welterschöpfungsgeschichte*. *Hommes Festschrift*, 1917. J.B.O.B.S. Vol. XII. pp. 113-39. 1

<sup>7</sup> Ezekiel viii f.

<sup>8</sup> Jeremiah xxxii.

<sup>9</sup> Zephaniah iii. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Euripides making Apollo describe the loss of Helen as a ground for happiness to Menelaus, *vv.* 1638, 16613.

<sup>11</sup> Virgil and Ovid.

already on Indian soil. In the process of absorption and amalgamation<sup>1</sup> its patriarchal view underwent radical changes<sup>2</sup> when from the life of sheer dependance on the male in the Vedic and post-Vedic period<sup>3</sup> the wife emerges in the Maurya period<sup>4</sup> with her private proprietary rights in her dowry, her ornaments, her bride-gift,<sup>5</sup> with her protection against ill-usage by her husband<sup>6</sup> and with the liberty to marry again<sup>7</sup> if she became a widow.

The process of evolution can be traced from the Vedas onwards. Marriage between brother and sister<sup>8</sup> was evidently a *fait accompli* in ancient India, though contrary to the Vedic Aryan view. Rgveda x. 10<sup>9</sup> treats the subject as of an already existing, even long-standing custom. Like Ishtar wooing Tammuz<sup>10</sup> or Isis seeking the love of Osiris,<sup>11</sup> Yamī attempts to win the love of her brother Yama.<sup>12</sup> Yama refuses and only vaguely hints at the impropriety: "The spies sent by the gods here ever wander. They stand not still, nor close their eyes in slumber."<sup>13</sup> The Avesta knows the same custom in the story of Yima and Yimeh.<sup>14</sup> But Macdonell's<sup>15</sup> attempt to trace it to the descent of mankind

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<sup>1</sup> J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XII. pp. 246-85.

<sup>2</sup> Rv. i. 124.7; iv. 3.2; x. 71.4. "Monogamy is also evidently approved, so that some higher idea of morality was in course of formation."—Macdonell and Keith, *Ved. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 480.

<sup>3</sup> C.H.I., p. 134. Manu, ix. 2f.

<sup>4</sup> C.H.I., pp. 480-81. Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra*.

<sup>5</sup> *Artha*, p. 154. Manu, ix. 97.

<sup>6</sup> C.H.I., *op. cit.* p. 481. cf. also Ch. 87, 114, 116. "The offence of killing a woman is equal to that of killing a Brahman."

<sup>7</sup> *Artha*, 69. Manu, ix. 76.

<sup>8</sup> Rv. x. 10.

<sup>9</sup> "Not approved by the feeling of the Vedic age." *Ved. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 39.

<sup>10</sup> C.A.H. Vol. III. p. 227.

<sup>11</sup> Perry, *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> Rv. x. 10.

<sup>13</sup> Macdonell, *H.S.L.*, p. 118.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *H.S.L.*, *op. cit.*



from primeval twins takes it only half way, to the Old Testament.<sup>1</sup> Long before that Sumer-Assyria-India (Asura) had known it as an actual element of an archic matrilinear civilisation. That this custom was connected with the Asura<sup>2</sup> in India is made clear by Atharvaveda viii. 6.<sup>3</sup> The Atharvaveda, primarily a veda of the Asuras,<sup>4</sup> has put on a Brāhmanical tone of censure. The Av. viii. 5 first disparages Asuras and in the same context describes the custom (Av. viii. 6) "He who lies with thee in sleep, having become [like] a brother and like a father etc." <sup>5</sup> The whole context gives actual, normal occurrences with the Vedic Ārya's disapproval thereof.

**Marriage between brother and sister and father and daughter in the Atharvaveda in the same context as Asura**

Rgveda x. 61,<sup>6</sup> 5-7<sup>6</sup> mentions the wedlock of Prajāpati and his daughter.<sup>7</sup> The Pañchaviṃśa Br. viii. 2. 10, Ait. Br. iii. 33, Śat. Br. i. 7. 4. 1 have sought to explain it away as Prajāpati had already entered the Vedic Ārya's patriarchal pantheon. But his Dakṣa Prajāpati had later a number of daughters, e.g. Diti, Aditi, Danu, etc.,<sup>8</sup> whose progeny all call themselves after their ancestress and not their ancestors, e.g., Āditya, Daitya, Dānava, etc.<sup>9</sup> And what is significant is their close kinship with the Asuras.<sup>10</sup>

**Marriage between father and daughter in the Rgveda: the Brahmanas and Puranas connecting the issues with the Asuras**

<sup>1</sup> Adam and Eve.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Asura (Nagas in India (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XII. p. 366) and the name of "Eve (*hawa*)" the mother of all living things (Gen. iii. 20) proving that she was a serpent-ancestress." "Serpent-culte, serpent symbols, models of serpents are too numerous (*C.A.H.*, Vol. III. p. 428) to be accidental."

<sup>3</sup> The context refers to the Asuras. Av. viii. 6. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *J.B.O.R.S.* op. cit. pp. 269F.

<sup>5</sup> Lanman, *H.O.S.*, vol. 8, pp. 494-5.

<sup>6</sup> Śat. Br. i. 7. 4. 1. Ait. Br. iii. 33.

<sup>7</sup> Pañchaviṃśa Br. viii. 2. 10.

<sup>8</sup> MBh. xii. 7537.

<sup>9</sup> MBh. xii. 7737.

<sup>10</sup> *Asurā bhṛātaro j̥yēṣṭhāḥ*. MBh. xii. 1184, Rām. vii. 11. 16.

A contrast between the Vedic, Arya patriarchal and Asura matriarchal institutions may be instructive. The Arya worship male gods.<sup>1</sup> His descent is through the father.<sup>2</sup> Thus Manu is son of Vivasvat.<sup>3</sup> One of Vaivasvata Manu's nine sons is Karuṣa.<sup>4</sup> From Karuṣa descended the mighty sovereigns of the North—the Kāruṣas.<sup>5</sup> And Manu had so many sons.<sup>6</sup> But the feminine

**Contrast between patrilineal Vedic Arya and matrilineal Asura institutions**

element never figures. Reverse is the case with the Asuras. The descent is entirely matrilineal, the father is a non-entity. Dakṣa Prajāpati had thirteen daughters<sup>7</sup>: Aditi, Diti, Danu, Ariṣṭā, Surasā, Surabhi, Vinatā, Tamrā, Krodhavā, Ilā, Khasā, Kadru, Muni. Kāśyapa Prajāpati was the common father bearing a close resemblance to Dakṣa Prajāpati. The Asuras are descended from these thirteen daughters.<sup>8</sup> They are called Daityas, Dānavas, etc. after the mother, Mother-Goddess, or ancestress.<sup>9</sup> The male element never enters.<sup>10</sup> Thus the sons of noted males like Hiranyakaśipu,<sup>11</sup> Hiranyākṣa<sup>12</sup>, Gayas,<sup>13</sup> Rāvaṇa,<sup>14</sup> etc.

<sup>1</sup> C.H.I., p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell. *H.S.L.*, p. 163. "the family could only be continued in the male line."

<sup>3</sup> *MBh. Adiparva*, 69. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Bṛ. Pu.* iii. 60, 2-3; *Vā.* 85, 3-4; *Hv.* 10. 613-14; *Karūṣaśāha Prṣadhraśca*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Hv.* 11, 658. "determined fighters"—Pargitor. *A.I.H.T.* p. 85. *MBh. karūṣāh*, *Bhī* 9, 40.

<sup>6</sup> Only one daughter, rather a son Ilā turned into a daughter Ilā. Pargitor, *A.I.H.T.* ch. xxiv.

<sup>7</sup> *MBh.* i. 2519

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *MBh.* xii. 7737.

<sup>10</sup> Marīcha Kāśyapa is the comprehensive and unobtrusive father.

<sup>11</sup> *MBh. Adī.* 66, 17.

<sup>12</sup> *MBh. Śānti*, 208, 10.

<sup>13</sup> *MBh. Sabhā.* 8, 18.

<sup>14</sup> *MBh. Vana*, 276. 7. *Rām.*

are not known by their father's names, but always by the name of their ancestress, as Daityās and Dānvas.<sup>1</sup>

Remnants of Asura institutions survive in tracts where the individual Asuras in their last struggle against absorbing Aryanism settled amidst the aborigines of the land, e.g. in Assam,<sup>2</sup> amongst the Dravidians in the south<sup>3</sup> and their offshoots in the north.<sup>4</sup> Apart from epic evidence about

**Remnants of  
pure matrilineal  
Asura institutions  
in modern India:  
ancestress-descent;  
female-line; suc-  
cession of kings in  
female line**

Bhagadatta of Prāgijyotiḥ,<sup>5</sup> the matrilineal Asura element is obvious from the very name the (megalithic-monument-building) Khasis of Assam. The Khasis probably call themselves after one of the daughters of Prajāpati, viz. Khasā, the Asura-mother.<sup>6</sup> "Their

social organisation," says Sir Alfred Lyall,<sup>7</sup> "presents one of the most perfect examples still surviving of matriarchal institutions, carried out with a logic and thoroughness which, to those accustomed to regard the status and authority of the father as the foundation of society, are exceedingly remarkable. Not only is the mother the head and source, and only bond of union, of the family; in the most primitive part of the hills, the Synteng country, she is the only owner of real property, and through her alone is inheritance transmitted. The father has no kinship with his children, who belong to their mother's clan; what he earns goes in his own matriarchal stock, and at his death his bones are deposited in the cromlech of his mother's

<sup>1</sup> *MBh.* xii. 7737.

<sup>2</sup> *MBh. Dro.* xxxi. etc.

<sup>3</sup> "Some of these colonies were in the very positions occupied by the Dravidian kingdoms; and there can be little doubt that Asura colonists were the founders of these kingdoms."—Oldham, *The Sun and the Serpent*, pp. 53—63.

<sup>4</sup> Oldham, *op. cit.* 86, 87.

<sup>5</sup> *MBh. Dro.* xxxi. 1, etc.

<sup>6</sup> *MBh.* i. 2519.

<sup>7</sup> Gurdon, *The Khasis*, Intro.

kin. In Jowal he neither lives nor eats in his wife's house, but visits it only after dark. In the veneration of ancestors which is the foundation of the tribal piety, the primal ancestress (Ka Jawbei) and her brother are the only persons regarded. The flat memorial stones set up to perpetuate the memory of the dead are called after the woman who represents the clan (Maw Kynthei), and the standing stones ranged behind them are dedicated to the kinsman on the mother's side. \* \* \* Priestesses assist at all sacrifices, and the male officiants are only their deputies; in one important state, Khyrim, the high priestess and the actual head of the state is a woman, who combines in her person sacerdotal and regal functions.<sup>1</sup> The male Khasi rulers inherit the right to rule from their mothers.<sup>2</sup> The Dravidians again connect themselves with Aditi, another daughter of Prajāpati in the Purāṇas<sup>3</sup> and whether in the north (Bāhikas or Takhas<sup>4</sup> in the Punjab the Newars and the Aratṭas) or in the south proper, e.g. the Malabar coast, they go by mother-right.<sup>5</sup> The very designations like Śatakarnīputra, Gotamiputra,<sup>6</sup> etc. are significantly matrilinear. Magadha<sup>7</sup> is in tradition the great mother-goddess of the city of Pāṭaliputra.<sup>8</sup>

Matrilinear institutions may have been one of the reasons of misunderstandings about Asura. He is to patriarchal eyes evil incarnate. But posterity forgot that "where in

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* pp. xxiif.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 66-71.

<sup>3</sup> "Taking into consideration all the evidence which has been put forward, the only possible conclusion seems to be that the Dravidians, of the south of India, were of the same stock as the Asuras or the Nāgas of the north." Oldham, *op. cit.* 165. In view of what has been shown above about an early pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian maritime people in India, Oldham's opinion would be more accurate if it would modify "the same stock" into "an Asura stock grafted on the Dāsa population."

<sup>4</sup> Descended from Takha Nāga Asura.

<sup>5</sup> Richards, *Cross Cousin Marriage in South India*, i.

<sup>6</sup> V. Smith, *E.H.I.*, 1924.

<sup>7</sup> Hewitt, *J.R.A.S.*, 1888, 1890.

<sup>8</sup> Hewitt, *op. cit.*

ancient history we find consanguineous marriages in the closest possible degrees of relationship, we are not always dealing with records of licentiousness and vice,<sup>1</sup> as the historians,<sup>2</sup> ancient and modern, would have us believe, but with a system of matrilineal descent and female inheritance preserved in a royal family....I am convinced that wherever marriages are found to be closely consanguineous, there one must look for inheritance, i.e. succession in the female line".<sup>3</sup>

The period of Arya-Asura-Dāsa synthesis saw a general re-adjustment of view-points. The Mahābhārata describes the *niyoga*<sup>4</sup> origin of the Kurus and the Pāṇḍus: the Rāmāyaṇa adopts the *dattaka* device in the case of Śāntā<sup>5</sup> given by Daśaratha to Lomapāda. Both *niyoga* and *dattaka* offspring acquire the same status,<sup>6</sup> the former is reminiscent of woman's part in succession, the father remaining ineffective in either case. *Niyoga* is the last concession to polyandry before closing it for good. But the matriarchal influence on the neo-Aryan complex was unmistakeable. The Epics increased the number of Prajāpati's daughters. The Mahābhārata, (i. 2519) from 13, made them first 27 (MBh. ix. 2013), then 50 (MBh. xii. 7537). The Rāmāyaṇa<sup>7</sup> raised the number to 60. Aditi<sup>8</sup> was claimed as the mother of the Vedic Aryan deities. Asura Varuṇa<sup>9</sup> was hailed as the chief Aryan<sup>10</sup> god (next to Indra) and an

<sup>1</sup> Murray, *Royal Marriage and Matrilineal Descent*, J.R.A.I. 45, 1915 iv. 308-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* *Priesthoods of Women in Egypt*, i. 220f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> M. Bh. Ādi. 129.12.

<sup>5</sup> Rām. Bālakāṇḍa.

<sup>6</sup> Jolly, *Die Adoption in Indien*, 7f.

<sup>7</sup> Rām. III. 470. 11.

<sup>8</sup> MBh. xii. 7737.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* Oldenberg assigns them to a Semitic source. In Oldenberg's time most non-Aryan traits used to be credited to the Semites. But the Hebrew idea of Yahweh and his moral and spiritual relation to man is characteristically different from Indian Varuṇa and impersonal *ṛta* (C.A.I. Vol. II, p. 401.) Perhaps

<sup>10</sup> "Mitanni holds the key." C.A.H. op. cit. p. 401.

<sup>11</sup> C.H.I., p. 103.

Āditya.<sup>1</sup> Thus the Asuras and the Aryas were pictured as descended from two sisters,<sup>2</sup> hence cousins. And female deities Durgā,<sup>3</sup> Kālī,<sup>4</sup> etc. found recognition in the new Hindu Pantheon. The legal position of a woman became firmly established.<sup>5</sup> The mother-right made room for father-right but with the popular proviso—*yatra nāryaḥ pūjyante ramante Sarvadevatāḥ*.<sup>6</sup>

Thus the Asura in India taught the Indo-European Vedic Ārya respect for woman. The matricide Orestes<sup>7</sup> was a rude reminiscence for the Indo-European. Gradually man grew more moral than his gods. Even then the timid palliations of Aeschylus,<sup>8</sup> Sophocles<sup>9</sup> and Euripides<sup>10</sup> lack assurance, if not conviction. The initial instinct was intact. It is not yet dead. Nietzsche<sup>11</sup> dreamed of a "good European."<sup>11</sup> And forthwith he fell into a nightmare about woman—Du gehst zu Frauen? Vergiss die Peitsche nicht!"<sup>12</sup> The Vedic Ārya attitude is similar to the Greek.<sup>13</sup> Matricide is a grave crime but admits of expiation.<sup>14</sup> Much later<sup>15</sup> develops genuine disapprobation—*mātrhā saptaṃ narakam praviśat*.<sup>16</sup> Schiller's "wein,

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*.

<sup>2</sup> *Brhadār. Upan. Br. 3. MBh. xii. 1184.*

<sup>3</sup> Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> "The offence of killing a woman is equal to that of killing a Brahman."—Hopkins, *The Four Castes*, p. 98.

<sup>6</sup> Actual respect paid to women in a Hindu household fully bears out this position.

<sup>7</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, III. 303-312.

<sup>8</sup> Aeschylus, *Orestes*.

<sup>9</sup> Sophocles, *Electra*.

<sup>10</sup> Euripides, *Electra* and *Orestes*.

<sup>11</sup> Barker, *Nietzsche and Treitschke*, Oxford Univ. Pamphlets, 1916, p. 9.

<sup>12</sup> Nietzsche, *Also Sprach Zarathustra*, erster Theil, 'Von alten und jungen Weiblein.'

<sup>13</sup> "The Delphic religion regarded matricide as a crime requiring expiation, but also a sacred duty." Wedd. *The Orestes of Euripides*, p. xxi.

<sup>14</sup> *Kaushitaki Upaniṣad*, iii. 1.

<sup>15</sup> *Kāśikā Vṛtti on Pāṇini*, iii. 288.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

weib und gesang" continues the dictum of the Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā that "women, dice and drink" are the three chief evils of life.<sup>1</sup> The Taittirīya Samhitā sums up contemporary conceptions—"a woman is inferior even to a bad man."<sup>2</sup>

The Asura changed all this. It brought forth the claim of mother-right and made a woman the sovereign of the South.<sup>3</sup> He called Magadha after the great mother-goddess of the city. Latest research<sup>4</sup> has demonstrated the non-Aryan character of Varuṇa—"At the present state of knowledge it is possible only to observe that it is uncertain whether the god Varuṇa—the forerunner of Ahura-Mazda—is really Indo-European." Sidney Smith's *The Relation of Marduk, Ashur and Osiris*,<sup>5</sup> indirectly helps in the realisation of Indian Asura Varuṇa.<sup>6</sup> Uṣas, Vasiṇī and Nṛtū are obvious prototypes of Durgā, Kālī and their various forms. The Dravidian Asura<sup>7</sup> countries of the South have perpetuated this mother-goddess. "This concept of maternity is expressed in the main Gopuram of the temple of Madura, in an unending series of superstructures of milk-laden breasts."<sup>8</sup> The Mahābhārata enforces it in the *svayamvara* of Draupadī with an expiring glimpse of polyandry. The Rāmāyaṇa exalts this virtue of respecting a woman in the *ekaptnīva* of Rāma besides the *patidevatā* Sītā. The real exponent was Rāvaṇa. Herodotus<sup>9</sup> never minimises the prowess of the Persians; as a shrewd historian he realised the risk of a corresponding diminution of Greek valour. The naïve Indian scholiasts forget that if it is highly creditable for a helpless woman like Sītā to remain chaste in the house of a hostile despot like Rāvaṇa, a part of the credit is due also to the hostile host

<sup>1</sup> *Maitr. Sam.* iii. 6.3.

<sup>2</sup> *Tait. Sam.* vi. 5.8.2.

<sup>3</sup> *C.H.I.*, p. 424.

<sup>4</sup> *C.A.H.*, Vol. II, p. 401.

<sup>5</sup> *J.B.O.E.S.*, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

<sup>6</sup> *Rv.* i. 24. 14.

<sup>7</sup> *Oldham*, *op. cit.* 53-58.

<sup>8</sup> Keyserling, *The Travel Diary of a Philosopher*, 1925 (Reece), Vol. I. p. 89.

<sup>9</sup> History of War between the Greeks and Persians.

and his innate respect for a woman however completely at his mercy. Descent through a great mother means descent through women<sup>1</sup> and the descendants of Diti, the Asuras of India, had not forgotten the Sumerian-Egyptian-Babylonian-Assyrian<sup>2</sup> legacy of matrilinear institutions, though slowly giving way to a patrilinear system.<sup>3</sup>

"Spirit," said Brewster, "is the last thing we will concede; it upsets the work of fifty years." Asura in India is even less admissible, he represents an unrecognised undercurrent of fifty centuries. But if, as has been justly claimed, a country's culture should be judged by the position it accords to its women, then in the words of Oldham,<sup>4</sup> "it would seem, indeed, as if the Asuras had reached a higher degree of civilisation than their Aryan rivals." For to these Asuras, the too-long misunderstood descendants of Diti and her sisters, belongs the credit not only of an intelligent quiescence in the neo-Aryan Hindu Arya-Asura-Dāsa body-politic<sup>5</sup> but a composite patrilinear body-social recognising at the same time the mother-right and the Mother-goddess.

<sup>1</sup> Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

<sup>2</sup> J.B.O.R.S., *op. cit.* p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> Indo-Aryan India now follows mainly patrilinear institutions, except in Assam and the South.

<sup>4</sup> Oldham, *op. cit.* 53-4.

<sup>5</sup> J.B.O.R.S., *op. cit.*, vn. 284-5.



## VI—Ostracism in Ancient Indian Society

By Manmotho Nath Ray, M.A.

The society leaders of the ancient and the mediæval world devised the system of rejecting from their fold such of the members as were guilty of breaking the well-established laws and customs of that particular society. This procedure went by the name of excommunication or social ostracism (बहिष्कार or पातित्यम्) and was mainly intended to serve as the highest censure to be pronounced only on grave offenders; and though not irrevocable in each and every case, it was primarily meant to have a salutary and disciplinary effect upon the soul.

The objects that this measure sought to achieve, were (i) to maintain the intrinsic purity of the society; (ii) to keep intact its peculiar laws and customs, and (iii) to incapacitate the undesirable elements from creating further mischief.

This measure was introduced to punish the worst enemies of the society. Therefore, as an instrument of punishment, it had a corrective as well as a deterrent value. The one influenced the conduct of the individual, while the other acted on the society as a whole. By putting the offender under ban for some time, by depriving him for a certain period of time of all the privileges that the society confers on man, it sought to improve the future conduct of the individual; while by making an example of him, it aimed at preventing the repetition of the offence by other members of the society.

But as an instrument of punishment there is ever present the danger of its being misused by unscrupulous society leaders. When the self-seeking Satan sits tight on the throne of God, when self-interest completely overshadows the mental vision of man, when, in a fit of delusion and weakness, he puts his self before the soul, then and only then, there is a fear of

its being abused; and instances may be cited in support of our contention. In Mediæval Europe, for example, when the Empire came into conflict with the Papacy, then the theocracy, we are afraid, blunted the edge of this instrument by making a constant use of it.

In fact, it appears to me this form of punishment was in vogue in almost all the ancient societies of the world. From the Old Testament we learn that this form of punishment was prevalent in the ancient Hebrew society, (1) and we are told that whole cities or nations were "banned" or "ex-communicated." (2) The Jewish book of usages, the Talmud, also recognises this form of punishment, and we know for certain that the Prince of Philosophers, Spinoza was expelled from the Jewish communion as late as the middle of the seventeenth century for contempt of law. The early Christian Church of the days of the Apostles and after, also introduced this form of punishment by excluding the offenders from all church privileges. But whatever be the disabilities that a society sought to impose on its refractory children, excommunication was on all hand regarded as being "medicinal" in its character.

In the present paper, however, I propose to describe the working of the system as it obtained in Ancient India.

The Padma Purāṇa defines a Patita in the following words :

महापापो पाप्म्या युक्तः पतित उच्यते (3)

One guilty of committing a major or a minor sin is Patita.

Parāśara supports the above conclusion in these words :

कलौ पतति कर्मणा । (4)

In the Kali Age a man becomes a Patita through his actions.

Says Gautama :

द्विजातिकर्मभ्यो हानिः पतनं परत्र चासिद्धिः (5)

"Patana" means incompetence to perform the duties assigned to the twice-born and failure in the next world.

Says the Vāmana Purāṇa :

स्वधर्मयः सुखस्य परधर्मं समाचरेत् ।

अनापदि सचिद्विद्भि पतितः परिकीर्त्यते ॥ (6)

One who embraces another religion, deserting his own, even under peaceful conditions, is called a Patita by the learned folk.

Thus we find that a person guilty of committing a major or a minor sin, or guilty of deserting his ancestral faith was to be termed a Patita; and that it was intended to bring about a temporary paralysis, and at times the death, of his soul in that it rendered him unfit to perform the duties entrusted to the twice-born for the time being.

The term "responsible action" implies इच्छा (desire) and कृति (effort). Man is not immediately responsible for his desires, but responsibility steps in as soon as effort (कृति) comes in between the desire (इच्छा) and the action.

Now, the ultimate object of actions may be प्रेयस् or hedonistic; or it may be अप्रेयस् or non-hedonistic. Hedonism has pleasure for its end; pleasure realised by the senses alone; the soul, that little spark of divine effulgence, occupies only an unimportant place in this system of thought.

Hedonism may be divided into two classes—the rank one, and the nobler one. In our country rank hedonism was preached by Cārvāka and his disciples, who believed in the policy of "sipping ghee with borrowed money." Their theory is hardly worth considering in that they hardly make any distinction between the soul and the senses. They believe in the fiction that what is pleasant to the senses must be pleasant to the soul. They are concerned with the immediate present and leave the future out of consideration. It must be noted here that the compilers of the Dharma Śāstras have not given any attention to the theory that condescends to give no place to the soul.

Or hedonism may be of a nobler type. It seeks to secure a glorious future by sacrificing the immediate present. It is

a form of hedonism in that it has pleasure for its ulterior motive. But unlike the doctrine of Cārvāka it does not identify the soul with matter. Recognising the fact that the soul has a separate place in the human system, it seeks to disengage it from matter and thus unconsciously lead human beings to the region of the highest pleasure. It is this sugar-coated pill which the compilers of the Dharma Śāstras have prescribed for their wayward and erring clients. They have called this path the प्रवृत्ति-मार्ग. अथर्व, however, is the immediate concern of the निवृत्ति-मार्ग or the Path of Cessation and as such it seeks to restore the soul to its pristine purity. But we are not directly concerned with it just at present. The ultimate object of the compilers of the Dharma Śāstras was to lead men to the निवृत्ति-मार्ग through the प्रवृत्ति-मार्ग—the followers of which had to pass through a course of self-discipline that produced ज्ञानम् and served to dispel the darkness caused by अज्ञानम् or Ignorance.

It is to be noted here that it was for the benefit of the pursuers of the प्रवृत्ति-मार्ग that the Code of Injunctions was prepared—all bristling with prescriptions (विधि) and prohibitions (निषेध). विधि-मार्ग is only another name of the प्रवृत्ति-मार्ग.

At this stage a few remarks regarding the outstanding characteristics of the Prohibitive laws may not be out of place. These, as a rule, step in wherever there is a natural proneness in man to overstep the Path of Right Conduct. Man never in the remotest corner of his heart entertains the idea of playing with the Sun. Therefore the prohibitive laws do not deal with such cases. They also deal with cases rescinding the laws propounded previously. These, it is unnecessary to add, are largely influenced by considerations of time and place.

Just as a free-lance who has never subjected himself to discipline, comes to look upon it as a source of discomfort, in the same way it is natural for an outsider to regard these injunctions with disfavour. But not so for the initiated one.

As soon as the period of his novitiate is over, he comes to look upon these **आप्तवाक्यानि** or authoritative sayings in the light of the dictate of his higher self. Thus, when the foundation, in the shape of his **संस्कार**s, has been well laid, he is at once elevated above the level of the moral plane, beyond the region of good and evil.

With these preliminary remarks we will now proceed to consider the violation of particular injunctions (**विधि-विधेय**s) that ultimately led to excommunication in ancient Indian society.

But before actually setting forth in detail the various sins and crimes that constituted an offence under this head, it would be advisable for us to take cognisance of the different terms used by different writers to indicate the punishment awarded.

I. **बहिष्कार** or extradition from society. This form of punishment was awarded in cases of non-observance of certain religious practices as well as in those of breach of the moral laws. Expiatory rites were rarely recommended in such cases, and with a view to drive home the gravity of the sin it was attended with certain public ceremonials.

The terms allied in sense to the above are **त्यजनीयः** or **परित्याज्यः** or fit to be cast out; **अवन्माष्यः**, not fit to be spoken to; **असम्भोष्यः** or **अपांक्षीयः**, not fit to become a commensal; **असंवाह्यः**, not fit to become a marriage relation; **कुण्डाशी**, one disowned by one's friends and relatives, the good and the **Brāhmaṇas** (7); and (**जिरवसित**) or the outcasts by birth, e.g. the **Caṇḍālas** and the undertakers (**मृतप**), the plates and dishes used by whom had to be rejected. (8)

II. **पातित्यम्** or the state of being degraded. A moral or religious offence that ended in the loss of one's position in society. Generally it was followed by expiatory rites that once more purified the offender's body and soul. At times it was followed by public ceremonials,

The terms allied in sense to the above are जातिभ्रंशकरः, संकरीकरण) and अपात्रीकरण ।

I. (a) Extradiction or excommunication from society, बहिष्कार, has been recommended for the non-observance of the following religious rites and ceremonies :

- (\*) " For degrading the Vedas. " (9) But this sin could be atoned for "if the sinner submitted to the humiliation of living on alms for a year ; (10) or observed the Kṛcchra penance for twelve nights. " (11)
- (ii) For non-performance of the twilight devotions. (12)  
" If a twice-born fails to say the twilight prayers intentionally he should observe the Kṛcchra penance for a year. If failure in this respect is due to his occupation or profession, he should observe a lunar penance and make the gift of a cow. If failure is due to his atheistic tendencies, he should observe a Prājāpatya penance. " (13)
- (iii) " For negligence in paying a visit to the sacred places that lie on one's way to Setu-Tirtha. Such persons should be excommunicated from the society of the twice-born like the Antyas. " (14)
- (b) The following sinners should be cast out (व्यवर्ज्यः or परिवाज्यः) :—
  - (i) Persons guilty of committing the four major sins, if they refuse to observe the prescribed penances. (15)
  - (ii) The Vratyas, the degraded ones (पतित) and those of impure origin for three generations. (16).
  - (iii) An ostentatious fellow (इम्भिन्), a controversialist, a Pāṣaṇḍa (17) and a deceptive fellow (वक्त्रवृत्तिः) (18)
  - (iv) A woman guilty of approaching a disciple, or her preceptor ; or of killing her husband ; or dallying with an outcast (वृद्धिस्त) (19).
- (c) A Brāhmaṇa, who marries a girl of the menstruating age, above eleven, called a Vṛṣālī, must not be spoken to, nor should he be invited to a dinner party. (20) The gravity of

the sin will be realised when one comes across the penance prescribed for enjoying the company of a Vṛṣali for a single night. Such a Brāhmaṇa had to spend full three years living on alms and constantly repeating the sacred texts. (21)

And for committing a sin that went to exclude the sinner from society at repasts (अपक्वः), the expiatory rites were to eat during a month at each sixth meal-time only ; or to recite the Sāmhita texts and to offer the daily oblations to fire. (22)

II. (a) The term पातित्वम्, as has already been said above, suggests the idea of the loss of the position in society previously occupied by the sinner.

(i) The foremost place under this head was formerly occupied by the Vratyas. " The members of the three orders if not invested with the sacred thread before 16, 22 and 24, respectively, came to occupy this unenviable position in society." (23) " The Vratyas are descended from parents belonging to the same Varna, but because they remain uninvested with the sacred thread, they are not authorised to repeat the Savitri." (24) But these Vratyas could partake in Vedic rituals after celebrating the Vratya Stoma sacrifice (25) or observing three Kṛcchras. (26)

(ii) A Brāhmaṇa by marrying a Sūdrāṇī comes to lose his soul, for in no time he is degraded to the status of a Śūdra. (27) Similarly a परिवेत्ता, the younger brother who married before his elder brother, was considered to have been a great sinner. Nobody cared to marry his daughter with him nor any priest cared to officiate in the ceremony. (28) But all concerned could atone for the sin in the following way: The elder brother ( परिवेत्ति ) had to observe two Kṛcchras, the newly-wedded wife one only ; her father a Kṛcchrāti-kṛcchra ; and the younger brother ( परिवेत्ता ) one Śāntapana.; (29) or all concerned had to observe a lunar penance. (30) The

same was the punishment meted out to a Brāhmaṇa who married a girl guilty of a major sin, which had not been amended for by her father. (31)

- (iii) In the matter of food and drink, if a Brāhmaṇa ate onions, garlic, fowls, mushrooms, village pig and leeks ; (32) or accepted food on the occasion of Śrāddhas, (33) or ate or drank noisily, (34) he was degraded thereby. But one could expiate for the sin of eating forbidden food by observing a Santapana or a lunar penance ; (35) or a Tapta-Kṛcchra, (36) and for eating on the occasion of various periodical Śrāddhas one might get rid of the sin, if one observed the various prescribed penances. (37) Similarly a Brāhmaṇa was degraded to the rank of a Śūdra if he took to drinking wine. (38) But one might atone for the sin in various ways. (39)

- (iv) In the matter of occupation and profession, the Brāhmaṇas who earned their bread and salt by working as cattle-breeder, trader, handicraftsman, servant, or as an actor or dancer, were to be treated as Śūdras in the courts. (40) Similarly a Brāhmaṇa who dealt in meat, lac or salt was at once degraded to the rank of a Śūdra, and in three days, if he took to selling milk ; and he was reduced to the status of a Vaiśya in the course of a week if he sold other prohibited articles ; (41) he was also degraded if he dealt in indigo, (42) women, wine, meat and salt, (43) or worked as a carpenter, a painter, or as a goldsmith, (44) or being a poison-healer, if he remained indifferent after hearing of a case of poisoning, (45) or if he revealed the mystery of the Vedas, etc. to the Śūdras. (46) But it must be noted in this connection that the law-givers have prescribed penances in most of the cases mentioned above.

- (v) In the moral plane as well, the brothers who overstepped the laws regarding "deputation", (47) or those guilty



of having marital relations with a Candali or an Antya, (48) were degraded. Different writers have suggested different remedies for the latter offence (49) but no expiatory rites have been prescribed for the former one.

(vi) Then in the laws regarding the partition of property we find that the following persons were degraded :

1. Brothers born of mothers belonging to various castes on refusal to contribute their mite towards the marriage expenses of their sisters. (50)
2. Iniquitous inheritors who refused to supply food and clothing to those who were debarred from inheriting property. (51)
3. Children who appropriated the ornaments used by womenfolk on the demise of their husbands. (52)

(vii) In the matter of faith, a नास्तिक who refused to bow down to the authority of the Vedas, (53) or he who deserted his own religion under peaceful conditions (54) the Pāṣaṇḍa, the विकर्मस्थः (defying the laws laid down in the Vedas and the Smṛtis), (55) the Vāmācaras, the Panca-rātras and the Pāsupatas, who used to disparage the Vedas, the Devas and the twice-born, (56) and those who refused to do their duty ( धर्म ) by their family, relatives and their country ; who ceased tending the fire, gave up a vow, or violated a promise, were punished with degradation. (57) But the compilers of the Dharma Sastras have prescribed various expiatory rites for the sins mentioned above. कृच्छ्र and अतिवृत्त्युक्त have been prescribed for practising नास्ति कथम्, for instance, (58) taking three baths daily\* for a year, lying on grass and living on alms for leaving off tending the fire (59), and so on.

(viii) In the same way persons who were keen on observing नियम but who cast यम to the winds, (60) or who failed to do their duty (61) were degraded.

Those who undertook a sea-voyage were also degraded.

(62)

(b) Besides, there are some उपपातक s that implied the loss of caste or degradation (जातिभ्रंशकरः) (63) on the part of the sinner. They are "cow-killing; officiating as a priest for the undesirables; violating the wife of another man; bartering one's self; deserting the father, the mother, or the preceptor; giving up self-culture; marrying before the elder brother, or in any way participating in such marriages; violating virgins; breaking of vows; sale of tanks, gardens, wife or children; usury; living the life of a Vratya; deserting friends; paying and accepting a fee for studying and teaching; selling proscribed articles; mining; working with machines; administering medicines and offering sacrifices with a view to procure the destruction of the enemy (अभिचार); cutting down live trees for fuel; prostituting the wife; accepting food offered by a despicable person; neglecting to tend the fire; theft; failing to clear debts; studying unholy books; working as an actor; approaching women who drink wine; killing women, Śūdras, Vaiśyas and Kṣattriyas; and decrying the Vedas; striking a Brāhmaṇa; smelling wine and other prohibited articles of food; treachery; and practising sodomy with a man." (64)

"Killing a Brāhmaṇa; wine-drinking; violating the bed of the preceptor, or a female relation connected with the father or the mother; following prohibited trades and professions; associating with excommunicated people; and rejecting the caste-fellows; destroying the fetus; perjury; disloyalty; lying in the presence of the Guru, using the Vedic mantras unnecessarily; rendered a man unfit to become a commensal." (65)

"Undertaking sea-voyages; appropriating deposits made by a Brāhmaṇa; lying with reference to land; serving a Śūdra; or taking birth from a Śūdrāṇī." (66)

"The following were condemned to lead the life of a Patita for two years: those guilty of approaching women who must not be approached; of defiling the female friends of the superiors, and maidens; of approaching the outcasts, and the undesirable

ones ; of administering medicines, of officiating as the village priest ; of leading the life of an actor, or of a dancer ; and of tending the cattle." (67)

It should be noted here that the compilers of the Dharma Śāstras have prescribed expiatory rites for almost all the sins mentioned above.

(c) The following sins were regarded as degrading (संकरो-करण) : " Killing an ass, a horse, a camel, a deer, an elephant, a goat, a sheep, a fish, a serpent or a buffalo." (68) The sinner was expected to live on barley-gruel for a month, or to observe a कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्र penance. The following sins went to debar a person from the due discharge of his duties (अपचीकरण) . They are " accepting money from an undesirable person ; trading ; serving the Śūdras ; and lying." (69) The guilty person is advised to observe a तप्तकृच्छ्र or a श्रौतकृच्छ्र or two महासाक्षपन s for the purification of his mind and body.

(d) It is queer to note here that excommunication was made use of by the ancients as an instrument of punishment to humiliate the vanquished party ; and we are told that Sagara having defeated the Śakas, the Kāmbojas, etc. who had taken possession of the kingdom of his father Vāhu Rāja, inflicted this punishment on them. He is said to have half-shaved the heads of the Śakas, clean shaved the Yavanas and the Kāmbojas, and forced the Pāradas to preserve their beard. He also prohibited them from studying the Vedas and repeating the वषट्कार (70.)

(e) The following are said to have been the causes of the degradation of the Kṣattriyas and the Vaiśyas : acceptance of gifts, teaching, selling prohibited articles, and officiating as a priest. (71)

In the same way जप and तपस्, visits to the sacred places, embracing Sannyāsa, repeating the sacred texts and worshipping the Devatās are said to have been the perennial source of degradation of the women and the Śūdras. (72) Again, women guilty of submitting to the embraces of lowcaste persons, destroying the fetus, harbouring jealousy against the husband

(75) were similarly degraded. But the compilers of the Dharma Śāstras have laid down penances for women who have gone astray (74) and for the destruction of the fetus. (75)

A few broad facts emerge from the statements made above :

- (i) that most of the sins and crimes mentioned above could be neutralised by definite Prāyaścittas ;
- (ii) that a sinner remained a Patita for such period of time only as he did not make amends for the sin ;
- (iii) that it was only a temporary measure ranging from three days (for a पतितकृत्य) (75) to twelve years (for killing a Brāhmaṇa) ; (77)
- (iv) that its primary object was to procure the purification of the body and the soul.

But there were certain cases in which Prāyaścittas, too, failed to purify the sinner, and such sinners were cut off from the society for good. The killers of children, of women and of suppliants for protection, and ungrateful creatures were not to be admitted to society even if they had made ample amends for the sin. (78)

On the other hand there were certain near and dear ones, who, though ostracised, were not to be shunned by one another on pain of a heavy fine ; the father, the mother, the wife, the priest and his client were forbidden to disown one another ; (79) nor could one disown the ostracised preceptor ; and under no circumstances was one allowed to disown one's mother. (80) " One should supply her with food and clothes, though cast out, without speaking to her. " (81)

It has been already said that social ostracism or excommunication was the highest form of censure that the ancient world could pass on the conduct of a person guilty of certain specified sins and crimes. Therefore, in order to make its decision effective, society all of a sudden withdrew every conceivable kind of intercourse from him with the object of making him understand, once for all, the extent of his dependence

ence on the good-will of his brethren, and how dangerous a game it was to attempt to violate the most cherished institutions of society. The offender too, realising his loneliness in a world full of smiles, of joy, of sweet companionship and of happy interdependence, readily came to terms by making suitable compensation for the sins and crimes that he had committed in a fit of weakness and delusion.

The ancient Hebrew society used to forfeit all the substance of the offender and exclude him from the congregation for a definite period of time; the Jewish society in certain cases forced the offender to go into mourning for thirty days, absent himself from the synagogue, and separate himself from all his fellows by a distance of not less than four ells (called the "niddui"); the early Christian Church excluded the offender "from all church privileges"; while the old Anglo-Saxon society withdrew the protection of the law from such offenders.

The ancient Indian society too, yielded place to none in the matter of imposing numerous disabilities and restraints on the shoulders of its erring child. The degraded one, we are told, could claim no share in the paternal property. (82) If the first-born, he came to lose his right of primogeniture, and his special share went to the younger brother. (83) Nobody would accept food at his hands nor anyone would eat with him. (84) His fire too, was unacceptable, (85) nor could he act as a witness, (86) nor would anyone transact business with him. (87) In short, to all practical purposes, he was cut off from all worldly affairs. (88) No one would speak to him, or sit with him, give him a share of the wealth. (89) Nobody would take a seat in the same carriage with him, or lie on the same bed, or officiate as the priest for him, or have sexual intercourse with him, or teach him. (90) Indeed, people are warned against offending him, or being jealous of him. (90A).

[If anyone happened to accept a gift from him, he had to observe a *Prājāpatya*. (91) If anyone ate food viewed by an

outcast, he had to drink the पंचगव्य. (92) If anyone spent a month or a fortnight with a Patita, he had to subsist on cow-urine and barley-gruel for fifteen days, (93) touch the right ear on speaking to him, (94) sprinkle water profusely on the bed if it was touched by him. (95) If anyone happened to get into the family of any member of the Four Varnas, then he had to burn down the dwelling-place and to remove to another place, and perform the prescribed penances. (96) If anyone happened to drink his water, he had to take the ब्रह्मकूर्च ; and observe the Parāka, if done intentionally. (97) One had to observe the Kṛochra for a year, if one ate at his house intentionally ; or the lunar-penance, if done so unintentionally ; (98) and reject the earthenwares and sprinkle the entire house with cowdung and water for three days, (99) if it was visited by him.

Such then were the social disabilities imposed on outcasts and the restraints put on the good folk who dared to mix with them.

Now we will turn our attention to the religious disabilities that lay in store for them.

On the demise of an ostracised person, his relatives did not observe the period of mourning prescribed, (100) nor did they make offerings of water for the satisfaction of the departed spirit. If anyone died as a Patita, his children had to observe sixteen Prajāpatyas, and if childless, his relatives had to observe ninety Prajāpatyas. (101) If an outcast stepped into a temple or a mansion, it was to be purified by being washed with cow-urine. (102) An ostracised person was not to be invited to a Śrāddha feast. (103) He could not be initiated to the Śaiva sect. (104) No one would officiate for him in a sacrifice, or accept gifts. (105) Besides these social and religious disabilities from which an ostracised person had to suffer, he was looked down upon as a criminal too, and as such he fell under the competence of the royal wrath. "A king is advised to kill without trial an incendiary, a poisoner, a cruel person, the bad characters, the

cheats and the ostracised. But he is required to make two concessions. He should banish an ostracised Brahmana from the state by branding him with a dog's foot and by placing him on the ass-back ; while he should banish a loose-charactered woman, a destroyer of the fetus and one jealous of her lord, after cutting off her nose and ears." (106) Again, it was regarded as a great sin to mix with these depraved beings, intentionally or unintentionally. It has been solemnly asserted : " He who associates with an outcast, himself becomes an outcast after a year ;—not by sacrificing for him, teaching him or by forming a matrimonial alliance with him, but by using the same carriage or seat, or by eating with him." (107)

But there was a way out of it, for we are told that " one associating with any of these outcasts, must perform the prescribed penances ", (108) which have been already dealt with. Then, with regard to ostracised women, it has been laid down that they too, like men, had to labour under all the disabilities noted above. Only this much concession was made in their case that they had to be supplied with food, drink and clothes, and that they had to be housed near by. (109) Expatriating on the same theme another writer says that " the hut constructed for her, should be humble ; for her sustenance only a handful of rice should be given, and a piece of dirty, worn-out cloth should be given to her ; all the same, even under such circumstances, she must not be allowed to mix with other persons." (110)

It is interesting to note here, in this connection, the kind of life the Patitas were expected to lead : says Baudhāyana : " Let them assemble for the purpose of celebrating religious rites ; let one officiate for the other ; let one teach the other ; let them marry amongst themselves ; and when sons are born let them restore these to the Āryan fold. For excommunication does not produce atrophy of the senses. It is a matter of common experience that even persons with defective limbs give birth to able-bodied children." (111) Then he proceeds to explode the theory advanced by Harita who was in favour of expelling the children of the Patitas too, from society.

The practical value of the forms and ceremonies connected with this affair lay in this, that by exposing the guilty man to the public gaze, it served to deter other persons from repeating the crime, and it also went to impress the offender with the gravity of his sin. In Scotland, for instance, it was customary to pronounce the "major excommunication" by means of dashing lighted candles to the ground violently and thus putting them out. (112) In ancient India, however, we guess that these were not resorted to very frequently. I am inclined to believe that these were taken recourse to under the following circumstances :

**Ceremonies connected with ex-communication and with re-admission**

- (i) In cases of **बहिष्कार** or excommunication, they were made use of regularly ;
- (ii) In cases of the violation of the moral laws ; and
- (iii) In certain cases, when the sinner obstinately refused to observe the prescribed penances.

The ceremonies connected with excommunication were as follows :—

"The **सपिण्ड**s and the **समानोदक**s were required to offer a libation of water, as if he were dead, outside the village, on an inauspicious day, in the evening, and in the presence of the relatives, officiating priests and teachers.

"A female slave was required to upset with her foot a pot filled with water, as if it were for a dead person ; his **सपिण्ड**s and **समानोदक**s were to remain impure for a day and a night." (113) After this ceremony, the guilty man was "socially" dead, and on his actual death nobody went to cremate him, nor anyone made libations of water, nor did anyone speak to him. But, if prompted by his good sense, or struck by remorse, he duly observed the prescribed penances, in that case he was ceremonially re-admitted to society. In that case "his **सपिण्ड**s and **समानोदक**s were to bathe with him in a sacred pool and throw down a new pot, filled with water. But in the present case he



was required to consign the pot to the water. Then he stepped into his house, and performed his duties as before." (114) After this his caste-fellows are strictly forbidden to reprove him for his previous conduct, or to shun him in any way. (115)

Those guilty of killing a cow or a Brāhmaṇa have always been looked down upon by the Indian

### Illustrations

society. Thus, when Gautama chased a cow that had trespassed into his cornfield and she dropped down dead then and there, naturally he and his wife were excommunicated by the colony of the neighbouring R̥sis ; and when he retired to a secluded spot to observe suitable penances, his rich field was taken possession of by his envious neighbours. Of course it was a manufactured affair and the guilty R̥si soon purified himself. (116) Similarly Atri was ostracised by his brother Munis for having killed a Brāhmaṇa in the course of a boundary quarrel. (117) Again, the Brāhmaṇa Mahāmāti was ostracised by his caste-fellows for having murdered his father. (118) It is a well-known fact that the Brāhmaṇa warrior, Aśvatthāmā, urged on by the spirit of revenge was guilty of murdering Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna and a host of other warriors, while they were asleep. Then afraid of the Pāṇḍavas, he escaped to the peaceful bank of the Revā, peopled by numerous ascetics. These innocent people having come to know about his black deed with the help of their occult power, at once turned him out. He was accorded the same sort of treatment wherever he went, till he sought refuge with Vyāsa. He was advised by the great R̥si to pay a visit to the Setubandha, as a matter of penance. (119).

Association with the low-caste people, specially the outcasts, such as the Caṇḍālas, the Pukkusas, etc. has been prohibited by the Śāstras, lest the high caste people should contaminate their self by keeping their company. We are not surprised, therefore, to learn that when the Prince Trai-Āruṇa, being cut off with a shilling by his father, Satya Vrata, for his immoral conduct, out of spite, took up his residence with the Caṇḍālas, he degraded himself so far as to kill the holy cow of Vasiṣṭha. (120)

The Brāhmaṇa, Kāśyapa, a reputed poison-healer, was ostracised for having neglected to save the life of Rājā Parikṣit, having accepted a bribe from Takṣaka. (121) Again, we are told that the Brāhmaṇa Sumati was excommunicated, and later on, thrown into hell, for having initiated a Śūdra into the mysteries of ह्य and वय. (122)

Indian society has never tolerated misconduct on the part of a woman, and specially so, if she were a widow. Thus, we are told that a Brāhmaṇī widow, Sumitrā by name, an inhabitant of Kekaya, when found guilty of misconduct, was at once extradicted from the Gotra formally ;—on that occasion we are told that the people pulled her by the hair, and overturned an earthen pot full of water. (123) Similarly, when the young widow Śārada of Anarta conceived by favour of Umā, the village elders lay their heads together, and sending for the young widow, decided to banish her after clipping her nose and shaving her head. (124)

At the very outset it has been pointed out that as an instrument of punishment, excommunication was a dangerous weapon in the hands of the society leaders, because it was liable to be misused. Ancient Indian society too, we are sorry to note, was not free from blame. Deva Śarman, a pious Brāhmaṇa of Camatkārapura in Anarta, was ostracised by his friends and relatives, for having officiated as a Brāhmaṇa on the occasion of a Śrāddha ceremony performed by a Kṣattriya prince in memory of his father who had died of snake-bite. The prince, it should be noted here, was guilty of killing an Antya, but had pleased Deva Śarman highly by cleansing daily the Brāhmaṇa's W.C. (125) The Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Anarta ostracised Suśila for having honoured Durvāsa who had cursed them. (126) They also ostracised Candra Śarman for having prescribed a penance to the sinner, Mani Bhadra, in return for a sixth of his property. (127) Their defence was this that Candra Śarman had not consulted three other Brāhmaṇas, as has been laid down by Manu. (128) Again, we are told that Brahman, while celebrating a sacrifice in Anarta, rejected the services offered by

the Nāgara Brāhmanas and engaged other Brāhmanas to officiate as priests. So out of spite the latter restrained their caste-fellows from joining it on pain of ostracism. (129)

We are told that Atri, Utathya, Śaunaka, Bhṛgu and others degraded themselves to the rank of Śūdras by marrying Śūdrāṇī girls. (130) Elsewhere we are informed that reputed bad characters were cut off from the society for good. Such was the case with Dṇḍa Kara, the Śūdra robber, (131) the Śūdra Urvipsa, (132) and the Śūdra Nityodayā. (133)

This done, I will now proceed to describe the working of the institution as it obtained in the Dharmāranya society (watered by the Suvarṇā), (134) (near Sītāpur). (135) Amongst other things the leaders of the society decided that "nobody should be allowed to eat or drink with the sinner cast out by the Brāhmanas; nor should anyone give him a daughter in marriage, and those who were guilty of breaking the rules, should be likewise cut off. None should eat with or enter into marriage relation with the sinners....." (136)

The Nāgara Brāhmanas of Guzerat, it appears, were particularly enamoured of this form of punishment, so it became necessary to found a separate colony for the ostracised persons on the banks of the Sarasvatī. The pious Brāhmaṇa Candra Śarman who had been unjustly ostracised, is said to have taken the lead in this matter. (137)

So long we were speaking of, what would be now styled, the ancient "Hindu" society. But social ostracism as an instrument of punishment was not unknown to the Buddhists of India too, in the sixth century B.C.

Shortly before his Parinivvāṇa, we are told, the Lord enjoined on Ānanda to impose the "Brahma-danḍa" on the monk Canna. Ānanda asked "But what sort of penalty is the Brahma-danḍa?" Whereupon he received the answer, "Let Canna say whatever he likes, the brethren should neither speak to him, nor exhort him, nor admonish him." This penalty resulting in declaring a person "socially dead" was afterwards inflicted with the happy result that Canna felt remorse, mended

his ways, and ere long attained the status of an Arhat. (138) Again, during the Buddha's lifetime a dissension occurred at one of the monasteries of Kauśāmbī, when a Bhikkhu, through ignorance of law, committed a breach of discipline; the monks attached a magnified gravity to the offence and punished him by "Ukkhepana" or excommunication. (139) Then Aśoka also threatens to "compel such monks or nuns as were guilty of creating a schism in the church to wear white robes." (140) References to excommunication are to be had in other texts as well. (141)

At a time when rank riot and dead disorder prevailed outside one's immediate surroundings, when

**Conclusion** insecurity of life and property was the watchword of the day, when every stranger was an enemy, it cannot be denied that the institution, though dead and gone now, worked wonders in maintaining discipline and the healthy tone of the society; for the punishment of excommunication was on all hands regarded as being "medicinal" in character. It is dead now because the world we live in has outgrown its utility. Rising above the narrow bounds of sectarianism and the clash of communalism, man now-a-days looks upon as the wide world as his own home. This is because the railway, the steamer, the automobile and the telegraph wire have all combined to make the world shorter for him. Thus brought face to face with the wide world he has changed his old-world ideas, widened his sympathies, and condescends now to think in terms of Universalism. Thus with the change of ideas, he has abandoned many of the institutions that held sway in ancient times, and social ostracism or excommunication is one of them.

## VII—The Originals and Parallels of Stories in Mr. Bompas' Folklore of the Santal Parganas

By Kalipada Mitra, M.A., B.L.

Most of the stories in Mr. Bompas' *Folklore of the Santal Parganas* in the first part have been acknowledged by the author to contain many incidents appearing in stories collected in other parts of India. Many of them have again been derived from Buddhistic and Sanskritic sources. A good number also, I believe, owe their existence to the folklore of the Bengalis with whom the Santals have come into contact. As I read them my memory of many a nursery tale heard in infancy comes back to me like the reminiscence of the mysterious scent of flowers smelled long ago, so long ago indeed that there is only a dim yet a quaint and persisent consciousness about it.

Let me take some interesting stories from the *Folklore* and trace them to their original sources. The treatment, however, is not exhaustive.

In the story entitled *Karmu and Dharmu* (No. V. pp. 32ff.) we see that when Dharmu goes with his wife to the Ganges to propitiate Karam Gosāin, he met on the way a fig tree with fruits full of grubs, a mango tree, a cow, a buffalo, a horse, an elephant, some money under the banyan tree and four other women who were all suffering, and who bade them ask Karam Gosāin why they were so troubled and how they would be relieved. Similarly in story (No. LXXIII); *The Seven Brothers and the Bonga Girl*, the boy setting off to the sea is requested by three old women and an alligator to ask the Bohmae birds how their troubles should cease. In the *Gāmaṇi-Canḍa Jātaka* (No. 257) "uncle" Canḍa is commissioned, as he was proceeding

to the royal court, by the headman of a village, a light-o-love, a young woman, a snake in an anthill, a deer, a serpent king and a number of ascetics, to ask the king why they suffered from their peculiar troubles and he agreed to do so. The king explained everything. In the Tibetan version of the tale (Schiefner and Ralston's *Tibetan Tales*, "Ādarsamukha" pp. 32ff.) Dandin, as he was being taken to the king for judgment, was commissioned by a crow to ask the king the reason why it remained upon that tree with dry leaves and took no delight in other green trees; the gazelles why they could not take delight elsewhere, the snake why it crept out of the hole with ease but crept back with pain; a young wife why she hankered after her father-in-law's house while she was in her father's, and after her father's while in her father-in-law's house, and a snake and ichneumon which always quarrelled—all which he undertook to execute. Similarly in a story in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. LIII. pp. 271, 272) the *Meaning of Dharmam* we see that the boy, when going to the Sannyāsi to ascertain the meaning of *Dharmam*, is asked by a raja, a nāga (snake) and a mango tree to find out for them why the *bāndh* of the raja's lake did not stand firm, why the nāga did not die, and none ate the fruit of the mango tree. This is of course done.

The story of the *Changed Calf* (No. XII) is briefly this: Cowherd Sonā bought a bull calf. As night overtook him he came to a village and put up with an oilman. The latter advised him to put it in the stable along with his own bullock. But he coveted it. At midnight he got up, moistened some oilcake, plastered it over the calf and claimed that the bullock bore the calf. Sonā called the villagers to decide the case. They came and said: "Why should the bullock lick any but its own calf?" and gave their verdict in favour of their villager the oilman. Not satisfied with the decision Sonā appealed to a jackal and a night jar. The worthy judges were dozing. The night jar said that it dreamed that one egg was sitting upon another without the mother bird's intervention in the hatching

process. The jackal pretended that in a dream he was eating fishes that all got roasted in the sea that had caught fire. "Impossible!" cried the villagers. But the table was turned on them by the grave judges who coolly retorted that it was not so impossible as a bullock calving. Sonā got back his own calf, of course.

This tale had in all probability its ultimate source in the Jataka tale (Test No. 13) in *Mahosadha Jataka* (No. 536. See Cambridge translation, Vol. VI. pp. 167, 168.) The king sent a fat-bellied bull, anointed with oil and turmeric, to the villagers of the East Market Town commanding them to deliver him and send him back with the calf. On the advice of Mahosadha a bold villager came to the palace gate and set up a wail crying that his poor son had been in labour for seven days and could not bring forth. Cried the king: "Impossible, men do not bear children." "How could the bull calve?" pleaded the villager. The king was satisfied with the counterquip. In a Tibetan version of the tale (Schiefner and Ralston's *Tibetan Tales*, "Mahaushadha and Visakha," pp. 140, 141) the king sent to Purna five hundred oxen bidding him milk them and send him milk, curdled milk, butter, cream and cheese. Mahausadha sent a father over whose belly was fastened a wooden bowl wrapped up in cloth and who was rolling to and fro over the ground in labour and a son who cried in the hearing of the king, "May he who in the world protects the world preserve my father and let him propitiously give birth to his child," and so forth as before.

A very close parallel to the Santali story is found in *Bilua Nasa* (pp. 81, 82) in the *Folktales of Orissa* by Mr. Upendranarayan Datta Gupta (S. K. Lahiri, Calcutta, 1923). The son of the king and that of his minister travelling *incognito* came at night to an oilman's house and tied their horses to the *gandi* (hollowed base of the oilmill). The oilman removed them at night and when questioned about them in the morning claimed them as his property "as they had evidently been brought forth by his *gandi*." A jackal (*bilua*) was called upon to adjudicate

on the claims. But he was dozing. He pretended that he had to keep awake the whole night, for as the sea was on fire he had to blow from his mouth the whole night to put out the flames. "Absurd!" cried the oilman, "who would believe that the sea was in flames?" "Certainly he who will have us believe the wooden *gandi* of an oilmill could bring forth horses!" The horses were, of course, restored to their owners.

Similarly in Ho Folklore (story No. 24) the *Story of a Dakua* (J.B.O.R.S. Vol. IV., pp. 327-29) the Teli (oilman) pretended that the ox which the Dakua tied to his oilmill overnight was brought forth by his mill. The fox who was cited as a witness dozed before the king who asked him why he did so. "The sea," said he, "caught fire last night and I had to pass a sleepless night in trying to put out the fire." The ox was restored to the Dakua.

The *motif* is a familiar one, that of the "Impossibilities." The absurdity of the pretence of water catching fire reappears in story No. 76 of *Folktales from Northern India* (Ind. Antig., Vol. LJV. Supplement, p. 40). Akbar gave Birbal a fortnight's time to make him a Hindu. Birbal's daughter appeared before the court, represented herself to be His Majesty's washerwoman, said she was in gross error, for as she put the royal clothes into the water, the water caught fire and burnt up the clothes. "Whoever heard of water catching fire?" enquired His Majesty. "And whoever heard of a Mussulman becoming a Hindu?" was her retort.

In another story she retorts that she came to wash clothes in the Jumna as her father was brought to bed of a son as a set off to the Emperor's command that Birbal should bring him the bullock's milk. (See Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX. i. p. 190.)

In the footnote on p. 129 of the Cambridge translation of the *Jātaka* Vol. II (No. 218, *Kuta-vāṇija Jātaka*) reference is made to the *Judgment of the Jackal* in *Northern Indian Notes and Queries*, III, 214, *The Traveller and the Oilman* in Swynnerton's



*Indian Nights Entertainments*, p. 142, and the story of an oilman in Stumme's *Tunische Märchen*. Vol. II.

An excellent note on the "Impossibilities" *motif* appears on pp. 250, 251, Vol. III and on pp. 64-66, Vol. V in the *Ocean of Story* by N. M. Penzer where full information has been given. The *motif* travelled westwards from India, and we need not be surprised when we find it re-appearing in such stories as "Die Kluge Bauerntöchter" (in Grimm's *Märchen*, No. 94) [where a man fishing with a net in the streets retorts to an erring king: 'It is just as easy for me to catch fish on dry land as for two oxen to produce a foal'] and "Das Märchen vom sprechenden Bauche" in Kaden's *Unter den Olivenbäumen*, pp. 83, 84.

The story of the *Koeri and Barber* (No. XIII), must doubtless have been suggested by the tale of *Tilakarsika-katha* in the Kathasaritsāgara (story of *The man who sowed roasted seeds*. N. M. Penzer, Vol. V. p. 67, cf. No. 260 *Celui qui semait des graines de sésame rôties* on p. 273 of *Cinq cents contes et Apologues, tome II* by Chavannes (translation), story No. 67 in Julien's *Les Avadanes*, and the *Crop of Fried Maize* in *Orient Pearls* by Shovona Devi). In the Santali story some modification has been made. The Koeri in order to put the barber (who imitated him) to difficulty "announced that he was going to sow *but* (pulse) and, therefore, ordered the servants to bring out the seed and roast it well that it might germinate quickly." The barber roasted his seeds, only a few plants germinated well (i.e. from seeds which escaped roasting), so his crop was better than the Koeri's. Here the barber was more fortunate than his prototype in the original.

In the story of the *Laughing Fish* (No. XVIII) we read that a merchant who had five sons got from the Raja a tank which had been silted up. When he dug it, he found two fishes in it. These were presented to the king. They laughed and the king asked the merchant to explain it. The merchant unable to unlock the mystery and fearing harm from the king advised his sons to flee the country. The eldest son in the course of his wandering married a princess who explained why the fishes

laughed. "If you wish to know the reason," said the princess to the raja, "order all your Rānis to be brought here." The Rānis were summoned accordingly. Then the princess said: "The reason why the fishes laughed was because among all your wives it is only the eldest Rāni who is a woman, and all the others are men."

The original occurs in the *Kathasaritsagara* in Ch. V. "*Ahasad gatajīva'opi matsyo vipuṇimadhaga*". A fish in the market laughed aloud though dead. This is explained by a Rākṣasi. "The fish said to himself: 'All the king's wives are dissolute, for in every part of the harem there are men dressed up as women, and nevertheless while these escape an innocent Brahman is to be put to death,' and this tickled the fish so that he laughed".

This story reappears in the *Buka Saptati*, in J. H. Knowles' *Folktales of Kashmir, Why the Fish laughed* (pp. 484ff.), Jacob's *Indian Fairy Tales*. N. M. Penzer has an elaborate discussion in Vol. I. pp. 46-48.

*The Oilman's Bullock* (No. XXIV) has probably been suggested by the *Nandivisāla Jataka* (No. 28) and appears in a modified form. In the Santali story the bullock fights the raja's elephant and wins the wager. In the Jataka story the bull wins a wager of two thousand for his master the brahmin by pulling alone the whole string of a hundred carts. In the *Kaṇha Jataka* we read that the grateful bull who is reared up by an old woman pulls many carts, wins a thousand pieces and makes over the amount to the granny.

Here is the summary of the Santali *Story on Caste* (No. LI): Among the Musahars was a girl so beautiful that she seemed more than human. Her parents wanted not to marry her to a man of their own caste, but to give her away to him who was the greatest being. As Chando the Sun-god was considered to be the greatest person they came to marry their daughter to him. Chando replied that the Cloud was even a greater being than he as the latter could bring about his obscuration by hiding his face and quenching his rays. They

therefore came to the Cloud but he said that the Wind was even greater than he, for he could blow him away in a minute. Therefore they came to the Wind who likewise declared the Mountains to be stronger than he, as he could not move them. Now they approached a Mountain with a request to accept the suit; but he said that the ground rats were stronger as they could and did burrow holes in him and he could not resist them. They now came to a Ground-rat. He however denied that he was the most powerful being on earth, saying that "the Musahars were more powerful, for they lived by digging out ground-rats and eating them." Accordingly they married her to one of their own caste. A moral follows with a quaint humour purporting to prove that one's own caste is the best.

The original is to be found in the *Pañcatantra*, Book III. "On War and Peace," story No. 9, which was subsequently utilised by storytellers and have many versions, viz. *Tantrakhyaṅika*, Southern *Pañcatantra*, the Nepalese *Pañcatantra*, Kṣemendra's *Brhatkathāmañjarī*, Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Purnabhadra (Jain), and as the story travelled, the old Syriac version (Schulthess's German translation), the Arabic *Kalila and Dimna*, Derenbourg's edition of John of Capua's Latin, Keith-Falconer's translation of the younger Syriac, Wolff's German translation of De Sacy's edition of the Arabic, etc. The detailed references are given in the excellent edition of Edgerton's *The Pañcatantra Reconstructed* (American Oriental series, Vol. 2, 1924) pp. 340ff. I am giving below the translation of Somadeva's version of the story contained in N. M. Penzer's the *Ocean of Story* (Vol. V., 190, 1926, pp. 109, 110):

For once upon a time a hermit found a young mouse, which had escaped from the claws of a kite, and pitying it, made it by the might of his asceticism into a young maiden. And he brought her up in his hermitage, and when he saw that she had grown up, wishing to give her to a powerful husband, he summoned the sun. And he said to the sun: "Marry this maiden, whom I wish to give in marriage to some mighty

one." Then the sun answered : "The cloud is more powerful than I ; he obscures me in a moment." When the hermit heard that, he dismissed the sun, and summoned the cloud, and made the same proposal to him. He replied : "The wind is more powerful than I, he drives me in any quarter of the heaven he pleases." When the hermit got this answer, he summoned the wind and made the same proposal to him. He replied : "The mountains are stronger than I, for I cannot move them." When the great hermit heard this, he summoned the Himālaya, and made the same proposal to him. That mountain answered him : "The mice are stronger than I am, for they dig holes in me." Having thus got the answers in succession from those wise divinities the great Ṛṣi summoned the forest mouse and said to him : "Marry this maiden." Thereupon the mouse said : "Show me how she is to be got into my hole." Then the hermit said : "It is better that she should return to her condition as a mouse." So he made her a mouse again and gave her to that male mouse. Thus the moral is manifest :

*Sūryaṃ bhāṭāraṃ utariya parjanyaṃ mārutaṃ girim |  
Svayonim musikā prāptā yonir hi duratikramā.*

Another tale, in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* entitled *Story of the Ambitious Chandāla Maiden* (Vol. V. pp. 85, 86) furnishes a parallel. It is this :

A simple and a good-looking Chandāla maiden decided to marry a universal monarch, and one day seeing him making a progress round the city she followed him. Seeing him bow down to a hermit, she considered the latter to be a greater person and now she followed him. When the hermit knelt down before Śiva in an empty temple, she thought the god to be greater, till a dog came up, lifted a leg, and behaved after the manner of the dog tribe, when she thought that the dog was superior even to Śiva. She now followed the dog who entered the house of a Chandāla and rolled at his feet. She now concluded that the young Chandāla was superior to the dog, and satisfied with her own caste, she chose him as her husband.

Let us take another story entitled the *Four Jogis* (No. LVIII) where the theme is the unconscious and chance finding out of mischief-makers. The four jogis discussed how they should please the rāja when begging of him. As they were passing along they saw a field-rat burrowing. One of them exclaimed: "I know how I shall beg of him. I shall say: 'See he throws up the earth. Scrapety scrape!'" Another seeing frogs jump into a pond got his text and exclaimed: "I shall say, Plumpety, Plump! down he has sat." The third seeing a pig wallowing in the mud burst out, "Rub away, rub away! Now some more water! Rub away, rub away! I know my boys what you are going to do." By this time they came in sight of the rāja's city and the fourth jogi ejaculated, "Highways and byeways, what a big city! The kotwal is going his rounds, his rounds!"

They got a man to write down these four forms of address and presented it to the rāja. The rāja looked perplexed for he could not make head or tail of it. The frightened jogis took to their heels.

Now the tahsildar, the palace chowkidar and the royal barber had entered into a conspiracy to rob and murder the rāja. At night the tahsildar and the chowkidar set about cutting a hole through the mud wall of the rāja's room. The puzzled rāja kept on reading the paper over and over again. As the tahsildar and the chowkidar had half cut their way they heard the rāja saying: "See he throws up the earth, scrapety, scrape!" On this they crouched down, when the rāja read, "Plumpety, plump! down he has sat!" and followed it by "Highways and byeways, the kotwal is going his rounds, his rounds." The culprits fearing detection fled away. The next morning the barber came to shave the rāja and when he whetted his razor to cut his throat, the rāja looking at the mysterious paper repeated "Rub away, rub away! now some more water: Rub away, rub away! I know my boy what you are going to do." The barber thinking that he was discovered revealed the whole plot.

A Bengali folktale furnishes an exact parallel to how the barber was discovered. A poor beggar of a brahman was advised

by his wife to beg something of the king for their livelihood. Pondering over how he was to address the king as he was going along he saw in his way a bull urinating in drips and rubbing the earth with his hoof. He took this as his text and composed this doggerel<sup>2</sup>:

*Khura gharṣaṇaṃ khura gharṣaṇaṃ chirik chirik pāni*

*Tomar yā maner kathā tā tō āmi jāni*

i.e. you are rubbing away with the hoof and dripping a little of water, I know what is in your mind.

As he came to the palace he saw a barber whetting his razor to shave the king (apparently, but he had really plotted to cut the throat of the king), and greeted the latter in the above doggerel. Now *khura* (phonetic) means a razor, and the barber thinking that the verse applied to him and that he was detected confessed his guilt as in the Santali story. The brahman was of course rewarded.

There are two other Santali stories, the *Stolen Treasure* (No. LXVIII) and *Catching a thief* (No. XCVIII) of the same type. A trickster finds out the thieves by a chance hit as he called out (page 208) "Find, or Fail, I have at any rate had a square meal." Now the two thieves were named *Find* and *Fail*, and they thought that they were discovered. So they confessed their guilt. [In a *Tam-o'-shanter* type of a Bengali tale the brahmin crossing a marsh on a wintry and damp evening saw a party warming themselves by a little fire, and desiring to warm himself he jogged in with *Sar re bhāi, tāpāi*, "Move down, brother, a little, let me warm myself." But these were ghosts and one of them was named *Tāpāi*. The poor brahmin got out of the scrape by luckily coming upon the genealogy of *Tāpāi*.]

In a similar way by a chance hit at a name the culprit is detected in a Bengali folk-tale which is briefly this (see Daksīnāranjan Mitra Majumdar's *Thākurmār Jhulī*, pp. 241-42, 7th ed., Calcutta, 1329 B.S.):

A necklace worth a lakh of rupees was missing from the palace. Astrologers and soothsayers came crowding, but none

could divine where it was. Now a poor but lucky brahman (who got some reputation for finding out things) was asked by the king to discover it on pain of being thrown into prison. The poor man demanded two days' time and came home. He racked his brains, drank *lotās* of water, and in distress appealed to the great goddess Jagadambā in these strains : " Alas, mother Jagadambā, you are killing me and my children ! Show me some remedy. O Jagadambā, was this in your mind ? " Now this last sentence was heard by a female garland-maker named Jagadambā alias Jagā, as she was passing by the brahmin's house. She used to supply flowers to the royal harem, and she it was who stole the necklace. Thinking that she was found out by the redoubtable brahmin she came in, fell at his feet and confessed her guilt. Then it became clear to the brahmin how *Jagadambā nāma nite Jagā dharā dila* (Jagā was found out as I took the name of the great goddess Jagadambā).

A similar tale I read in the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, but as the book is not before me I fail to quote the reference.

We get parallels in the Jātaka tales, viz. the *Thūsa-jātaka* (No. 338) and *Mūsika-jātaka* (No. 373). In the *Thūsa-jātaka* we read that a world-famed teacher of Takkaṣilā taught four stanzas to the Prince of Benares and said to him : " My son, after you are seated on the throne, when your son is sixteen years old, utter the first stanza while eating your rice, repeat the second stanza at the time of the great levée, the third as you are ascending to the palace roof, standing at the head of the stairs, and the fourth when entering the royal chamber, as you stand on the threshold." On his father's death he became king. He got a son. When the latter was sixteen years of age he wanted to kill his father by putting poison in his food. The king, when the rice was just served in the bowl, spoke the first stanza :

With sense so nice, the husks from rice  
Rats keen are to discriminate ;  
They cared not much the husks to touch  
But grain by grain the rice they ate.

The prince thinking himself discovered went away after bowing to the king and lay concealed in the garden. His evil advisers gave him another plan to kill his father. At the grand levée the prince should gird on his sword, stand among the councillors and strike off the head of his father when the latter was off his guard. At the grand levée the king uttered the second stanza :

The secret counsel taken in the wood  
By me is understood,  
The village plot soft whispered in the ear  
That too I hear.

At another time the prince stood at the top of the stairs of the royal closet. The king then spoke the third stanza :

A monkey once did cruel measures take  
His tender offspring impotent to make.

After a fortnight the prince lay beneath the king's couch intending to slay him as soon as he came. The king as he entered the royal chamber uttered the fourth stanza :

Thy cautious creeping ways,  
Like one-eyed goat in mustard field that strays ;  
And who thou art that lurkest here below,  
This too I know.

The prince now confessed everything. He was bound in chains and thrown into prison still the king's death. After his funeral rites they set the prince on the throne.

In the *Mūrika Jātaka* too the king baffles the attempts of his heir to kill him by repeating stanzas at critical moments. The story is this : Prince Yava (lit. Barley) of Benares was being taught by a world-famed teacher of Takkasilā. His horse had a sore on his foot. A mouse used to come from the neighbouring well and nibble the sore place. One day the horse unable to bear the pain kicked off the mouse dead into the well. The teacher composed the first verse and gave it to the prince.



The horse had strayed into the barley field and the teacher composed the second stanza. The third stanza he composed by his own mother-wit and gave it to the prince.

The prince after his father's death became the king of Benares. His only son when he was sixteen years of age wanted to kill him. One evening the king sent a female slave named Mūsikā to the tank saying : "Go and cleanse the surface of the tank. I shall take a bath." She went and found the prince there who had already come in advance to kill his father. The prince cut her in two and threw the body into the tank. The king came to bathe. Everybody said, "To-day the slave Mūsikā does not return. Where and whither is she gone?" The king went to the edge of the tank, repeating the first stanza he learnt from his teacher at Takkasilā :

People cry, "Where is she gone ?

Mūsikā, where hast thou fled ?

This is known to me alone,

In the well she lieth dead.

The prince fled in terror but seeing that nothing was done against him for a week he wanted to kill his father again and one day stood sword in hand at the foot of the stairs. The king came repeating the second stanza :

Like a beast of burden still,

Thou dost turn and turn about,

Thou that Mūsikā didst kill

Pain wouldst Yāva eat, I doubt.

The prince took to his heels again, but after a fortnight thought of killing his father by a blow from a shovel. So he took a spoon-shaped instrument with a long handle and stood poisoning it. The king climbed to the top of the stairs repeating the third stanza:

Thou art but a weakling fool,

Like a baby with its toy,

Grasping this long spoon-like tool,

I will slay thee, wretched boy.

And all happened as in the previous story.

In a story entitled *The Warning of the Dancing Girl* (*Folk-tales of Northern India, Supp. I.A.* ; Vol. LIII) the prince who wanted to kill his father as he sat at the darbar, becomes ashamed and stays his rash hands when the dancing girl sings

*Bahut gayi, thori rahi, aur yah bhi pal pal jat ;  
Thori der ke waste kahe kalank lagat ?*

For the original of the story of the *Unfaithful Wife* (No. CII) we have probably to refer to the story of the *Pañcatantra* (story 3C. *Cuckold Weaver and Bawd*, see Edgerton *Pañcatantra Reconstructed*, pp. 50ff. for translation Penzer *Ocean of Story* Vol. V. pp. 223ff.). The Santali story is briefly this :— The wife of a man carried on an intrigue with a certain jugi. On being asked by his elder brother he watched his wife. One night she got up very quietly from her bed, left the house, and after some adventure she came to the jugi's house. The man noticed everything, became disgusted with her, returned home and bolted the door of his room from within. She then came up, found her entrance barred and asked to be let in. As she met with nothing but abuse and rebuff, she took a heavy stone and threw it into a pool of water near the house. The husband thought that she was drowning herself and came out to her rescue. Meanwhile she stepped in, entered the room and in her turn barred her husband out for the night. On the following morning the man gave his wife a sound thrashing and turned her out. But she kept on weeping and wailing. The man lost his patience and threatened that if she did not keep quiet he would come and cut off her nose. Now, an old woman, the emissary of the jugi, came and asked her to go to her lover. The wife pleaded that she would be found out by her husband but might go if the old woman would sit in her place and keep on crying, so that the husband might believe that she was still in the courtyard. The old woman agreed and "she wept to such a purpose that the husband at last could not restrain his anger, and rushing out into the darkness with a knife, cut off the nose, as he supposed of his wife." The guilty wife came back and bade the old woman go her way after having clapped

the nose on the cut and advised her to hold it tight for it would grow. Then she took her old position and "began to lament the cruelty of her husband in bringing a false charge against her and challenged him to come out and see the miracle which had occurred to indicate her innocence. Her husband took a lamp and went out to see. When he found her sitting on the ground without a blemish on her face, although he had seen her with his own eyes go to the jugi's house, he could not doubt her virtue and had to receive her back into the house."

The tale in the Pañcatantra is this :—The unchaste wife of a weaver donned her adornments and was starting to go to her lover when her bibulous husband came back tipsily and after an introductory address "Harlot! My friends have been telling me of your evil actions" beat her black and blue and tied her to the post in the middle of the house. When he had gone to sleep, the procuress, a barber's wife, came and asked her to go to her lover who was likely to die, and volunteered to take her place. Accordingly the bawd released her from her bonds and sent her off to her lover. The weaver, rising from sleep, began scolding her, and as she made no reply, lest her strange voice should discover her, he grew more angry, cut off her nose, turned and went to sleep again. The wife returned, let her loose, and bade her go away. The poor procuress departed taking the nose with her. The weaver's wife arranged herself as she had been before with a semblance of bonds. When the weaver began to scold again she said to him reproachfully: "Fie, wicked man, who could dare to disfigure me, a pure and faithful wife? Hear me ye Rulers of the World Regions! As surely as I know even in my thoughts no strange man and no one other than the husband of my youth, by this truth let my face be undisfigured!" Having spoken thus she said to her husband: "O most wicked man! Behold my face! It has been just as it was before!" Then that stupid man's mind was bewildered by her tricky words. He lighted a lamp and beheld his wife with her face undisfigured. His eyes bulged, his heart was filled

with joy, and kissing her he released her from her bonds, and fell at her feet, and embraced her passionately and carried her to the bed.

The story of the *Jackal and the Leopards* (No. CXXIII) may be divided into two parts. The first part has numerous variants in the folklore of the people of Bengal (e.g. in Jogindranath Sarkar's story of *Majantali Sarkar* where the part is played by a cat and not a jackal, cf. in this connection that the hero of the *Bilāra-jātaka*, No. 128, is a jackal and not a cat), of the North-Western Provinces (story No. 61, supplement to the *I.A.* Vol. LIV), of the Kolhans (story No. 5 *The Jackal and the Tigers*, page 456 of Bompas's *Folklore*), where the jackal tyrannises over the tigress and her cubs and brings about the death of the tiger through sheer luck.

The original of a portion of the story is probably the *Sigāla Jātaka* (No. 152) where the jackal is shown to be in love with the lioness who remained behind in the lair while her brothers ranged for food. She complained to her brothers of the mean overtures of the jackal. Six of her brothers were killed when they sprang at the jackal that lay in a crystal cave high up by striking against it. The seventh, however, killed the jackal by a mere roar.

For the second part of the story where the wily jackal tricks the crocodile by misrepresenting that she had caught in her jaws not his leg but a root of the *arjuna* tree (whereon he used to sit to drink water from the tank) and thereby frees his leg we may compare Bengali tales as given in Daksinaranjan Mitra Majumdar's *Thākurnar Jhuli*, p. 213, and in a story book by Jogindranath Sarkar and in *The Jackal and the Crocodile* in Steel's *Tales of the Panjab* (p. 232 where Miss Crocodile is amorous). I am inclined to take *The Jackal and the Crocodile* (No. CXVII, p. 331ff) where the jackal posing as *guru mahāśaya* of a village *pāṭhsālā* teaches the five children of the crocodile (who were asked to repeat *Ibor Obor Jakoro Sotro*) and ultimately gobbles up four of them, to be derived from the well-known Bengali

folktale of *Śiyāla Paṇḍita* published by Majumdar and Sarkar (already quoted). The only difference is that in the Santali story the crocodile ultimately kills the jackal.

In *Ramai and the Bonga* (No. CLVII) the Bonga gave Ramai the power to understand the language of ants. This is the famous *sabbāruta jānana mantam* (the charm whereby one can understand the language of all animals) frequently occurring in the Jātakas and referred to in an article of mine entitled the *Bird and the Serpent Myth* (vide *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, Vol. XVI, pp. 161ff.). We read : " One day as he was eating his dinner he dropped some grains of rice and two ants fell to quarrel over one grain and Ramai heard them abusing each other and he laughed out loud." When he let out his secret to his wife, which he was forbidden to do, he lost it. Now this is what we read in the *Kharaputta-jātaka* (No. 386). King Senaka got from the Nāga king whom he saved " a charm giving knowledge of all sounds " which he should not disclose to anyone for " if you give anyone this spell, you will at once enter the fire and die." From that time he understood *the voice even of ants*. One day as he was eating, a drop of honey, a drop of molasses and a morsel of cake fell on the ground. An ant seeing this comes crying : " The king's honey-jar is broken on the dais, his molasses-cart and cake-cart are upset ; come and eat honey, and molasses and cake." The king hearing the cry laughed. The queen nearly prevailed on him to impart her the charm when he was saved by Sakka in the form of a goat making love to a she-goat in front of his chariot. The *motif* of the danger of imparting secret and the providential rescue from the danger have gone down to later folklore, e. g. the later versions of the Pañcatantra, *Pakṣiprakraṇam*, *Nirmal Hathoka* and the Arabian Nights and the Puraṇas (*Viśvabhārati Quarterly*, July, 1926). In the footnote of p. 174 Vol. III. of the Cambridge Translation of the Jātakas we are asked to look for variants of No. 386 in *Orient and Occident*, Vol. II. pp. 133ff. (Benfey),

In the story of the *Beginning of Things* (No. CLX) the Brahmin somehow understood the language of birds. In the story of *The Good Daughter-in-law* (No. LXV) she learns the art of understanding the language of birds and seeing the disembodied souls of men. This feature occurs largely in the Jātakas, Tawney's *Kathākośa* and in fact in the folklore of every country. *Folktales of Kashmir*, pp. 78, 90, 91 ; 412, 413, 432 ; Jātakas (Camb. trans. No. 181, 195, etc.) Penzer, *Ocean of Story*, Vol. I. pp. 150, 151 ; Vol. IV. p. 145 may be consulted.

A very common feature in folklore, viz. the mention of a token which indicates that danger has befallen the narrator occurs in the *Tiger and the Calf* (No. CXI. p. 321), where the cow set a bowl of milk and said to her calf : "The tigress has resolved to eat me ; watch this milk and when you see it turn red like blood, you will know that I have been killed." Similarly in the *Story of the Rakshasas* (Day's *Folktales of Bengal*, p. 71) Champa Dal's mother gives him a small gold vessel containing a little quantity of her own breast milk telling him to conclude that his father has been killed if the milk get a little red, and that she herself has been killed if it turns redder. In the *Cāmpēyya-jātaka* (No. 506) the serpent king Cāmpēyya (Cambridge trans. Vol. IV. p. 283) leads his wife to the side of a lucky pond and says : "If any one strike me or do me hurt, the water in this pond will become turbid. If a rock bird carry me off, the water will disappear. If a snake charmer seize me, the water will turn to the colour of blood." In the *Orient Pearls* (p. 156) the Elephant-wrestler gives his pupil a sword saying : "If ever thou seest blood exude from it, then know me to be in danger and come to my assistance if thou carest." In the story of *Four Friends* in Chilli's *Folktales of Hindustan* the brightness of the sword indicates the life of the Prince and Tasma Shah restores the brilliancy of the sword and revives the Prince. In the *Tales of the Punjab* Prince Lion-heart gives to his three friends a barley plant to indicate how he would be faring. Instances could be multiplied *ad nauseum*.

This idea is associated with sympathetic magic and is "the passive side of the Life-Index *motif*." Penzer says (*op. cit.* Vol. I. pp. 166, 167) : "In several cases a person before setting out on a dangerous journey will leave an object which will show if that person is hurt or killed. This idea dates from Ptolemaic times where in the *Veritable History of Satni-Khamoïs Tnahsît* has to go to Egypt and says to his mother 'If I am vanquished, when thou drinkest or thou eatest, the water will become the colour of blood before thee, the sky will become the colour of blood before thee.' While even earlier, in the nineteenth dynasty, the misfortune of an absent brother will be shown to the one at home by his beer throwing up froth and his wine becoming thick."

It need not be imagined that this idea travelled to India during Ptolemaic times when there was a brisk commercial intercourse between India and Egypt. For India revelled in many exquisite and puzzling phases and elaborations regarding sympathetic magic, the attachment and detachment of the soul, and so forth.

In this connection may be mentioned the "External Soul" *motif* which appears in the *Seven Brothers and the Bonga girl* (No. LXXIII) where (p. 224) the mother agreed to find out in what lay the life of the jogi. The pumpkin vine and the sword were tried fruitlessly till the jogi told the truth. "In the middle of the sea is a cotton tree and on the tree are two Bohmae birds. If they are killed, I shall die." It would be tedious to give references so multitudinous are they. A full discussion of this *motif* occurs in Penzer, *op. cit.* Vol. I. pp. 129-132.

The *Act of Truth* *motif*, another familiar feature, occurs in *The Charitable Raja* (No. LIX. p. 185). "Then his wife prayed to the Thakur that if she were really the wife he had lost and had been faithful to him, she might be restored to health ; water was poured over her and she was at once cured of her disease." Another instance occurs in the *Goala and the Cow* (No. LXXVII), where the wife whose husband was changed

into a donkey by the curse of a cow restores him to his original form by depositing truly before the raja (p. 266). This *motif* occurs very largely in the *Jātakas* and the *Dhammapada-atthakathā* as *succakiriyā* (see Dh. A. ii. 123-125; HOS. 29, stories i.3a; xiii. 6 and xvii. 36), in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 472 and elsewhere) and the *Jātakamālā* as *satyavacana*, and the *Avadānakalp-latā* (Bangiya Sahitya Parishat publication) as *satyayācana*, in the *Pañcatantra* (e.g. Edgerton, p. 55), the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and in fact in the fiction literature of all sects, the Jains, the Buddhists and the Hindus. For a detailed discussion of this *motif* see Burlingame, *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1917, p. 429 *et seq.*

In the story *Wealth or Wisdom* (No. LXXXVI) and elsewhere we come across the celebrated "*Letter of Death*" *motif* which figures very much in fiction, e.g. the *Kathākosa*, *Kathāsaritsāgara*, *Bhaktamālagrantha*, etc. and very ably discussed by Dr. Crooke in the introduction to Stein and Grierson's *Hatim's Tales*. See also Mitra and Grierson in the *Calcutta Review* (*Buddhist Analogue of a Bengali Story*, December, 1924, and February, 1925).

Another folktale *motif*, viz. the finding out of a lover by means of the hair floating down the stream occurs in *Ledha and the Leopard* (No. III), *How the Cowherd found the Bride* (No. XIX) and *The Caterpillar Boy* (No. LXXV), where in each case the hero is found out and married to the raja's daughter. The story of *The Flutes of Fortune and Misfortune* in *The Orient Pearls*, where the hairs of the hero reach the king's daughter, furnishes a close parallel to the first two Santali stories. In most cases, however, it is the girl's hair floating down the stream that leads to the quest of its owner, cf. the very long hair of Keshavati in *Folktales of Bengal* (pp. 86, 87), in Steel's *Tales of the Punjab* (pp. 53, 54, 90) etc. We come upon this episode in the *Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka* (No. 479) in a changed form. "Now on the bank of the Ganges there is a mango tree with beautiful flowers, which forms a kind of natural ladder. Upon this she climbed, and playing managed to



drop the wreath of flowers into the water. One day as Prin Kālinga was coming out of the river after a bath, this flower-wreath caught in his hair. He journeyed up the Ganges, saw her sitting in the mango tree and had connection with her." In the footnote the translator (Camb trans. Vol. IV. p. 144) observes : " Another familiar episode in the folk-tales, but of Protean form. It is commonly a hair of the lady's head that falls. See Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, i. 241 (India), 251 (Egypt) ; *North Indian Notes and Queries*, ii. 704 ; L. B. Day, *Folktales Bengal*, No. 4."

In the *Petavatthu-atthakathā* (*Simon Hewavitarane edition*, Ceylon, pp. 110, 111, Pv. A. II. 12) it is a mango floating down the stream that serves to bring about the union of lovers. I am giving a translation of the story :

The wife of a Upāsaka having misconducted herself with a rogue denied it to her husband and seeing a dog near swore thus : " If such a sin has been committed by me, may this torn-ear black dog eat me in various rebirths." The other five hundred women though knowing her to be false, when asked if she committed that sin or not, said " We do not know of it." Thus they lied and swore : " If we know (and conceal it), then we will be her servants in future rebirths." Then that guilty wife with her heart burning for repentance pined away. She died in a very short time, and in the Himalayan region, on the bank of a lake named Kaṇṇamuṇḍa—one of the seven big lakes there—became a Vimāna-petī (ghost) and lived. Round her vimāna there was a tank so that she might reap the fruits of her action there. The remaining five hundred women died, and for having thus sworn, became her servants and lived there. For her virtuous deeds in the previous life she enjoyed heavenly enjoyments during the day, but at midnight being impelled by the fruits of her misdeed, she used to rise from her bed and go to the bank of the tank. When she went there a black dog of the size of a young elephant and hideous in appearance, with torn ear, with large, sharp and hard teeth, with huge nails, with eyes burning like hot coals, tongue always

lolling out like the lightning, with large, shaggy and discoloured hair, comes down from there, throws her down on the ground, and taking her to the pond and throwing her down again as if he has been very angry disappears there. She also reassumes her original shape, mounts her own *vimāna* and lies down on her bed. Her maidservants also experience misery. In this way passed 5,500 years. They passed anxious times and were very miserable as they had to live without male companions.

Now there was a stream issuing out of the Kāṇṇamūṇḍa lake coming through the sluice in the mountain and which poured itself into the Ganges. Near their dwelling there was a forest tract which looked like a garden, ornamented as it were with trees such as mangoes, *panases* (jackfruit) and *labuja* bearing celestial fruits. They planned thus: "Come, let us pluck these mango fruits and throw them in this stream. Perchance some one seeing the fruits and desiring to get them may come up here. With him will we enjoy" (sensual pleasures). They did that. The mango fruits thus thrown by them were some taken by ascetics, some by wood roamers, some destroyed by crows, and some stuck on the river bank. One of them drifted along to the Ganges with the current and gradually reached Benares. There the King of Benares, with an iron net thrown round him, was bathing in the Ganges. The fruit tossed by the current gradually came and stuck to the net. Then seeing that great celestial fruit, having beautiful colour, flavour and taste, the officers brought it to the raja. The king in order to test it, took a portion and gave it to be tasted by a thief who was in prison. He said after tasting it "Never did I taste, my lord, such a mango before. This, I ween, is a celestial fruit." The king gave him one piece more. The man though old and ugly became now invested with beautiful form and youth (*yobbane thito*). The king having seen this became wonder-struck, and having eaten the fruit and perceiving special properties of it in his body asked his men, "Where can such fruits be had?" "In the Himalayas, O Lord," said his men. "May you bring

some ?" asked the king. The king then sent for the wood roamers, chose one of them for the task, gave him the requisite *vaticum*, and sent him away. He met one *tāpas* (ascetic) and then another who directed him : " From this time leaving the great Gangā, follow this small stream and go against the current till you come to a mountain gorge, then taking a torch at night enter through it. At night the river does not exist (*na ppavattati*)—thus it is passable (*gamana yoggā*). A few *yojanas* beyond you will see the mango trees." At sunrise he reached this very charming mango-grove adorned with many trees with boughs bent down with the weight of fruits, all vocal with the matins of birds, resplendent with the rays of the sun as of many jewels illumining this tract. Now the non-human females seeing him coming from afar began to run towards him crying, " He is my man, he is my man ! " The man however did not do any virtuous deeds which would enable him to enjoy their company, so he became afraid and fled away. All this he communicated to the king of Benares. The king then girt his sword and accompanied by a few followers started—greedy to eat the fruits and see the girls—guided by woodmen till he reached the mango grove at sunrise.

The same contrivance resorted to by a female *petā* to get her lover is related in *Rathakārapetavatthu-vanṇanā* (*Pv. A. III. 3, op. cit.* p. 134) : " Sā tattha purisehi vinā dibbasampattim anubhavanti vasati. Tassā dīgharattam nippurisāya vasantiyā anabhirati uppannā. Sā ukkanṭhitā hutvā atth'eso upāyo'ti cintetvā dibbāni ambapakkāni nadiyam pakkhipati. Sabbam Kāṇnamuṇḍapetavatthusmim āgatanayen' eva veditabbam." See also *Dadhvākana Jātaka* for the king's getting a mango which issuing out of the Kāṇnamuṇḍa lakes floated down the Ganges.

The *motif* of marriage by proxy occurs in the *Sons of Kherohuri Raja* (No. LXXXIV) where the eldest brother remained at home to watch his mother and " gave them his shield and sword and told them to perform his marriage for him by putting the vermillion on the bride's forehead with his sword "

and in another tale. We also get a reference to it in the story of *King Daych and Bijal* in Kincaid's *Tales of Old Sindh* (p. 16) where "Ratno rode on alone to his home and married Surat to King Anira by proxy," though no mention is made what the proxy was in this case. In the *Bride of the Sword* in the *Orient Pearls* we see the youngest charming princess married to her lord "by his proxy, the sword" (p. 118). In a manuscript copy of the *Upakathā* by Maharaja Harendranarayan Bhūp Bahadur of Cooch Bihar (which I copied and which was used as the main text for publication by the Cooch Bihar Sāhitya Sabha) I find mention of marriage by proxy where the bride is wedded to the sword. Dr. W. Crooke observes in *Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (O.U.P., 1926, p. 333): "Rajputs and other high castes represent by the sword the absent bridegroom and to it, as his representative, the bride is married. The custom probably originated in a desire for secrecy, and as a means of avoiding danger to the youth by visiting a strange clan the members of which may resist his removal of the bride" and quotes Tod, i. 359, Forbes Rasmāla, 624, and Russell, *Tribes and Castes*, iii. 77.

I refrain from writing an elaborate note on an animal choosing a king, mostly a caparisoned elephant, and sometimes a hawk. In the *Orient Pearls* we have a story *The Hawk the King-maker*. We find mention of this feature in the Jātakas (No. 445, 537, etc.), Knowles' *Folktales of Kashmir* pp. 17, 159, 169ff., 309, with an elaborate footnote on p. 159, and in fact in all the fiction literature of India. Dr. Crooke's note in the *Introduction of Hatim's Tales* (Stein and Grierson, p. xxxv) on the *Story of Yusuf and Zulaikha* (No. VI.) is most interesting. Another very elaborate discussion on *Pañca-divyādhivāsa* or choosing a king by divine will will be found on pp. 175-177 of Penzer's *Ocean of Story*, Vol. V. (1926). It is needless for me to reproduce this or write an additional note.

In *Another Lazy Man* (No. XCI. p. 276) "two snakes began to issue from the nostrils of his bride; their purpose was to kill Kora....." reminds us of the *Sutā Saṅkha śāp* in Mitra

Majumdar's *Thākurmār Jhui* (story of Rūptarāsi, p. 168). For the killing of snake that mysteriously enters a room intending to kill the hero see story of *Phakir Chand* (*Folktales of Bengal*, pp. 45, 46), *Tale of Raja Vīkrāmadityā* (No. X in *Hatim's Tales*, p. 71) and Knowles' *Folktales of Kashmir*.

The *motif* of getting a son by eating some fruit given by a Jogi [and the Jogi's claiming a son (born when the consecrated fruit is eaten)] seen in the Santali tales occurs very largely in the *Jātakas*, *Divyāvadāna*, and in almost all Indian Folk literature I have read. The idea of conception by eating a fruit and in other abnormal ways is fully discussed by Hartland in his *Legend of Perseus* and *Primitive Paternity*.



## MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS

### I—A Note on the Kongada Country

By Binayak Mishra, Calcutta University

The country bearing the name Kongada has been mentioned in Hiuen Tsang's accounts as well as in many epigraphic records ; but as to its identity no satisfactory investigation has yet been made.

Hiuen Tsang says that from Karnasuvarṇa he proceeded 700 *li* (about 240 miles) in the south-westerly direction and reached the Ucha (Utkala) country. Again, from Ucha he proceeded to Kongada which was at a distance of 1,200 *li*. I suggest that his distance of 1,200 *li* is from Karnasuvarṇa whence Hiuen Tsang proceeded straight in one and the same direction up to the Kalinga country. If this suggestion be not tenable, there will then arise a great confusion and the Kalinga country may be supposed to have been located to the far south of Madras City according to the distance given by the Chinese traveller. It is, therefore, safe to assert that Hiuen Tsang must have measured the distance of Kongada and that of Kalinga from Karnasuvarṇa, and in that case the distance of Kongada from Ucha should be 500 *li* (about 170 miles). If, again, Jajpur (a subdivisional town in Cuttack) be taken as the capital of the then Orissa, as maintained by some scholars, it will be easy to hold that the village Ganjam, locally called Ganja, in the district of Ganjam in the Madras presidency, which is about 200 miles from Balasore in Orissa, was the capital of Kongada. Hiuen Tsang's description as to the location of the capital of Kongada is also in support of this assertion. The aforesaid village Ganja is

bound by the river Rīṣikulya on the north and east, as well as some portions to the south of it, by the Bay of Bengal, and it is situate on the angle of the sea as noticed by Hiuen Tsang. Further, this village name Ganja, may be supposed to have been derived from Kongada. Again, there are innumerable dilapidated temples in this village, which indicate the Brahminical influence in Hiuen Tsang's time. Besides, if we make a railway journey from Ganjam towards the south some petty towns on our right and left will be within our sight, as described by the Chinese traveller.

We are to note again, that almost all the copperplate charters of the rulers of the Sailodbhava family of Kongada has been discovered in the district of Ganjam and the places mentioned therein are to be identified in the same district. For instance, the hill Kṛṣṇagiri mentioned in Mādhavarāja's plate, edited by Dr. Hultzsch in E.I., Vol. VI. may not be other than the hill Kṛṣṇagiri in Kallikota estate in the Ganjam district; again, the village Villagram which was granted to a Brahmin by Daṇḍi Mahādevī in *Kongada Maṇḍala* (vide E.I., Vol. VI. p. 133) is distinctly identical with the village Belgan near Aska in Ganjam. Taking all these facts into consideration, it may be suggested that Kongada is identical with Ganjam.

## II—Vada-Vidhi

By H. R. Rangaswamy Iyengar, M.A., Mysore

Vāda-vidhi is a work on logic referred to by Udyotakāra without the author's name in his vārtika on the Nyāya Sūtra, 1.1.33.<sup>1</sup> Readers of the Nyāyavārtika were, therefore, in the dark as to the authorship of this Vāda-vidhi. Professor S. Vidyābhūṣaṇa<sup>2</sup> and, following him, Professor Keith,<sup>3</sup> suggest for the author the name of the well-known Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti, author of Nyāyabindu on the assumption that the Vāda-Nyāya,<sup>4</sup> a work of Dharmakīrti now preserved in Tibetan, is identical with the Vāda-vidhi ; the reason for it being that what has been quoted by Udyotakāra from the Vāda-vidhi<sup>5</sup> is similar to what we find in the Vādanyāya.

But it seems to me that the identification of the two works is not convincing. The two books cannot be considered to be the same merely because their title begins with "Vāda." A critical writer like Udyotakāra could not have committed a schoolboy's error of naming a text badly ; and certainly not when he is mentioning it without the author's name. Moreover the definition of "Pratijñā" cited by Udyotakāra from the Vāda-vidhi bears only a semblance of similarity to that given by Dharmakīrti in his Vādanyāya. The text as it stands in Tibetan<sup>6</sup> may be rendered into Sanskrit either as "Pratijñāca-

<sup>1</sup> Yadyapi Vāda-vidhau Sadhyābhichhānam Pratijñeti Pratijñālakṣaṇa-muktam Cf. Nyāya Vārtika, p. 117 (Chowkhamba series).

<sup>2</sup> S. Vidyābhūṣaṇa : *History of Indian Logic*, p. 124 footnote 1, also cf. his introduction to the Bilingual Index of Nyāya-bindu, pp. ix. and x.

<sup>3</sup> Keith : *Indian Logic and Atomism*, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bstan-hgyur. MDo. ce. folios. 384-316. Cf. S. Vidyābhūṣaṇa : *History of Indian Logic*, p. 318.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. S. Vidyābhūṣaṇa : *Bilingual Index of Nyāya Bindu*, pp. ix. Cf. Nyāyavārtika, p. 117 and dam-bchah-pa-yan-bsgrub-bya-betan-pahi-phyir-ro-vāla-nyāya. MDo. ce. leaf 399.



Sadhyānirdeśāt ” or as “Pratijñāca-sadhyābhidhānāt.” The “Sadhyā-bhidhānam Pratijñā ” of the Vāda-vidhi does almost correspond to the latter rendering of the text. But such an identity cannot be avoided ; for any work on logic that has to define “Pratijñā ” must use either the term “Sadhyānirdeśa ” or “Sadhyābhidhānam.” Pramāṇasamuccaya of Dīpnāga, for instance, which has been accepted by scholars to be an earlier work, contains a passage,<sup>1</sup> the Tibetan version of which may be rendered into Sanskrit in either way. And because the passage can be rendered into “Sadhyābhidhānam Pratijñā” we cannot jump to the conclusion that the Vāda-nyāya of Dharmakīrti was known to Dīpnāga. On similar logic we cannot conclude that the Vāda-vidhi is the Vāda-nyāya. Further, if we press the identity of the two works, the Vāda-vidhāna-ṭīkā, a reference to which has been made by Udyotakāra in the same passage<sup>2</sup>, would have to be identified with the Vāda-nyāya Ṭīkā of Vinītadeva which is now preserved in Tibetan.<sup>3</sup> This is well-nigh impossible, for it would make a late writer like Vinītadeva a contemporary of Udyotakāra, which is against the accepted conclusion of scholars.

It might further be pointed out that except the passage under discussion which bears a superficial and inevitable resemblance to the one in the Vādanyāya, I have not come across in the Nyāyavārtika any other passage from the works of Dharmakīrti. And this is quite in consonance with the character of Udyotakāra himself. A critical writer like him would only attempt to controvert the views of the Buddhist logicians, like Vasubandhu and Dīpnāga, who had become famous āchāryas, rather than those of a contemporary like Dharmakīrti (according to the assumption), who had yet to make his name. In support of it we can cite more than one passage where the views of Vasubandhu and Dīpnāga have been criticised by Udyotakāra. There is, for instance, a reference to a conception of the

<sup>1</sup> 'bgrub-bya-bstan pa shes-pa-hdir. Pramāṇa-Samuccaya, Chapter II.

<sup>2</sup> Yadyapi Vāda-vidhāna-ṭīkāyām Sadhyatīti Śabdasya.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. History of Indian Logic, p. 321.

three-membered syllogism which, according to Vācaspati, was held by Subandhu or Vasubandhu.<sup>1</sup> Dīpnāga's definitions of "perception" and "inference" have also been criticised by him in the Vārtika.<sup>2</sup> In fact, Udyotakāra stands out as a Hindu champion to resist the attacks of Dīpnāga on Brāhmanic logic.<sup>3</sup> We have therefore to conclude that the Vāda-vidhi in question must be the work of either Vasubandhu or Dīpnāga.

The facts that I have discovered in certain Sanskrit and Tibetan texts, to which I had access during my stay at Viśva-bhārati, Śāntiniketan, and which I had to study for the purpose of restoring into Sanskrit the Tibetan text of the Pramāṇa-samuccaya, do not however establish the claims of Dīpnāga to Vāda-vidhi's authorship. Traditionally Dīpnāga is known for his Pramāṇasamuccaya. Nowhere in any Indian philosophical work is Vāda-vidhi ascribed to him. There is, on the contrary, a direct reference by himself in his well-known work to a "Vāda-vidhi" by the 'Āchārya'.<sup>4</sup> We know for a fact that Vasubandhu was a great logician who preceded Dīpnāga and belonged to his school. It is therefore probable that Dīpnāga here refers by 'Āchārya' to Vasubandhu and Vāda-vidhi is a work

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nyāya-Vārtika-Tātparyā-Tīkā (I.1.37) p. 203. Atra Subandhunaḥ pratijñā-dayastrayovayava durvihita Aksapaḍala-kehanenātyuktam.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Nyāya Vārtika on N. S. I. 1. 4, p. 41 and (N. S. I. 1. 5) p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> 'Aparetu manyante pratyakṣam kalpanapodamiti.'

<sup>4</sup> 'Aparetu manyante anumeyoṣṭha tattulya [Sadbhāvonastitāsati']

Cf. Tātparyāṭīkā, p. 102—'Samprati Dīpnāgasya lakṣaṇamu-panyasyati. 'Apara iti' and Tātparyāṭīkā, p. 127 'Samprati Dīpnāgasya svakīyalakṣhaṇa prapañcārtham Vākyam' Cf. Pramāṇa Samuccaya I-3 and II. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Kuṭārikā-jñāna nivr̥tti hetuḥ, kariṣyate tasya māya nibandhaḥ-Nyāya-vārtika p. 1. cf. (Tātparyā-ṭīkā). 'Dīpnāga prabhṛtibhīrāvachinaiḥ ācchāditam Śāstram na tatva nirṇayāya paryāptamiti' Udyotakāreṇa Svanibandhodyōṣṭena tadapa-niyate.

<sup>6</sup> The Tibetan name is 'Rtsod sgrub.' Ordinarily the word 'Sgrub' of Tibetan is equivalent to the Sanskrit 'Siddhi.' But sometimes it is rendered into 'Vidhi'. Cf. Tibetan Amarakoṣa (A.S.B.) where 'Tadviśeṣa Vidheh' is rendered into Tibetan:—'De-ji-khyad-par-sgrub' : p. 2. C. Cf. Pramāṇa-Samuccaya. I. 14. The term 'Āchārya' is significant. It must mean either Dīpnāga's own Āchārya or a well-known writer of Dīpnāga's school.

by him. This surmise of mine has been corroborated by Dimnāga's own vṛitti or gloss on the pramāṇasamuccaya which is also preserved in Tibetan.<sup>1</sup> There the commentator Dimnāga ascribes Vāda-vidhi to Achārya Vasubandhu.<sup>2</sup> We have also an additional proof from the Chinese source, for Professor S. Vidyābhūṣaṇa points out that there was extant a work by name Vāda-vidhi ascribed to Vasubandhu known in Chinese translation as Ronki.<sup>3</sup>

The Vāda-vidhi is identical with the Vāda-vidhi mentioned by Udyotakāra. While Udyotakāra refers to the work of Vasubandhu only once, he criticises his views often. I have already spoken of his conception of the three-membered syllogism. In addition to it, his definitions of Pratyakṣa and Anumāna are stated and criticised by Udyotakāra.<sup>4</sup> Of course the author of the Vārtika does not name the author whom he quotes and criticises. But here also, the vṛitti of Dimnāga on the Pramāṇasamuccaya comes to the rescue. The same definitions which appear in Udyotakāra are *in toto* mentioned and criticised by Dimnāga in his Pramāṇasamuccaya;<sup>5</sup> and the vṛitti on both the passages point out that the views criticised are those from the Vāda-vidhi.<sup>6</sup> To support the vṛitti, I have discovered a line in the Tātparyā Tīkā of Vācaspati<sup>7</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mdo ce folios 13 to 96 of S. Vidyabhūṣana. *History of Indian Logic*, p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rtsod-sgrub pa ni slob dbon bbyeg guen gyi.....

<sup>3</sup> Cf. S. Vidyabhūṣana; *History of Indian Logic* p. 267.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Nyāya Vārtika on N.S. 1.1.4, p. 40. 'Tatortthāt Vijnānam Pratyakṣam' and on N. S. 1.1.5 (p. 54) 'Apare tu bruvate nāntariyakārthadarśanam tadvidera. numānamiti.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Pramāṇa-Samuccaya ch. I, 15, ch. II. 25.

(i) don-de-las-ekyes rnam-par shes-mnon-sum yin...

(ii) de-la-med-na-mi-bhyut ba-ran-rig.

<sup>6</sup> (a) Rtsod-pa-Sgrub pa ni slob dpon dbyig guin gyi...

(b) Rtsod pa Sgrub pa nas ni—

med na mi bhyut pahidon mthon ba de rig pa rjes su apagpaho ses  
brjoddo—Pramāṇasamuccaya-vṛitti II. 25.

Cf. Tātparyatīkā p. 99. tadevam pratyakṣa lakṣaṇam Samarthya vāsubandhavam tadvat pratyakṣalakṣaṇam Vikalpayitu-mup anyasyati.

definitely assigns at least one of the views to Vasubandhu. On these considerations we can safely conclude that the Vāda-vidhi referred to by Udyotakāra is a work of Achārya Vasubandhu and is different from the Vāda-Nyāya of Dharmakīrti. There is, therefore, no ground for making Udyotakāra a contemporary of Dharmakīrti and assigning a late date to him<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. S. Vidyabhusana : History of Indian Logic, p. 124, and footnote 1  
 Leith : *Indian Logic and Atomism*, p. 26.



## Obituary Notice

**Sir John Bucknill, Kt., K.C.**

The study of history, archæology and ornithology has suffered a heavy loss by the death at Patna, on the 4th October 1926, of Sir John Bucknill, Chief Justice of the Straits Settlements from 1914 to 1920 and Puisne Judge of the Patna High Court from 1920. Sir John was a keen naturalist, and was the author of two publications dealing with the ornithology of Surrey and Cyprus. In 1923 he was President of the Numismatic Society of India and his legal publications included the Imperial Ottoman Code in 1914. A scholar of sound judgment and amiable personality, Sir John was, for a number of years, a member of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society and President of the Managing Committee of the Patna Museum. The Society places on record its appreciation of his services.



## NOTES OF THE QUARTER

### Proceedings of a Quarterly Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held at the Radhika Sinha Institute on the 18th November 1926

1. In the unavoidable absence of the President, His Excellency Sir Henry Wheeler, who had promised to preside, the chair was taken by the Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick. Lady Wheeler and the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj, recently elected a Vice-Patron of the Society, were among those present; and there was a good attendance of members and visitors, the meeting being thrown open to the public.

2. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal introduced the lecturer, Rai Bahadur Ramprasad Chanda, Superintendent, Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. Mr. Chanda delivered a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, on "The Antiquities of Mayurbhanj."

3. Sir B. K. Mullick thanked Mr. Chanda on behalf of the Society for his extremely interesting lecture and Mr. E. A. Horne moved a vote of thanks to the chair.

E. A. HORNE,

*Honorary General Secretary.*

## **Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held at the Society's Office on the 21st November 1926**

### *Present.*

Mr. V. H. Jackson, Vice-President (in the chair).

The Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick.

Mr. G. E. Fawcett.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. E. A. Horne.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 26th September 1926.

2. Read a letter from Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, dated the 27th September 1926, resigning his membership of the Council.

Resolved that his resignation be accepted, with regret.

3. Appointed Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri General Secretary in place of Mr. E. A. Horne, proceeding on leave.

4. Confirmed the payment of Rs. 41-7-0 to the Oriya Pandit on account of travelling expenses (see item 12 in the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council).

5. Considered letter, dated the 20th October 1926, from Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham in connection with the publication of the Buchanan Reports.

Resolved that, in the case of each of the four volumes under preparation, Buchanan's sketch map be reproduced by the collotype process, on a scale of 8 miles to the inch; and that, for the present, 600 copies of the map accompanying the Purnea Report be printed.

6. Considered the draft prepared by the sub-committee appointed to revise the Society's rules (see item 4 in the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on the 15th March 1926).

Resolved that the draft, as amended, be adopted.

Resolved further that the draft be printed for circulation among members and submitted for confirmation at the next annual general meeting.

E. A. HORNE,

*Honorary General Secretary.*





# BIHAR & ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

## Annual Report for 1925-26.

### I.—MEMBERSHIP.

The total number of ordinary members actually enrolled on the 31st December, 1924, was 167. During 1925 the Society lost 7 members by resignation, and one by death, and the names of 8 members were removed, on account of long-standing arrears in the payment of their subscriptions—the total loss being 16. The accessions to membership during the same period were as follows: 6 members, elected in the previous year, paid their subscriptions and were enrolled in 1925; and 24 new members were elected (including 9 institutions, which became subscribers to the Journal), of whom 16 paid their subscriptions and were enrolled—making a total net gain of 6. Hence the total number of ordinary members actually enrolled on the 31st December, 1925, was 173. A new life-member was elected this year, but has not yet paid his subscription. The total number of life-members actually enrolled remains 13, therefore. The total number of honorary members of the Society has been raised from 11 to 12 by the addition of the distinguished name of Dr. Hermann Jacobi, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Bonn; making a grand total of 198 members.

### II.—JOURNAL.

The four quarterly parts of Volume XI (1925), and the index to Volume X, have been published during the period under review. Part I of Volume XII (March, 1926) is in the press. Parts III and IV of Volume XI formed a double number, mainly devoted to the publication of the text (edited with introduction, notes and appendices, by Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, C. S. I.) of the Buchanan Journal for the Shahabad District; and the thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Oldham for the admirable way in which he has discharged the task which he undertook at the Society's request.

A new and attractive feature of recent issues of the Journal has been the space devoted to reviews of books.

The Editor of the Journal, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, has received valuable assistance from Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri throughout the year,

### III.—MEETINGS.

The last Annual General Meeting of the Society was held on the 5th February, 1925, the president of the Society, His Excellency Sir Henry Wheeler, presiding. The Vice-President (the Hon'ble Sir Hugh McPherson) reviewed the work of the Society during the past year; and an address on the subject "Om Mani Padme Hum" was delivered by Professor Dr. Sten Konow, an Honorary Member of the Society. On the 20th March, 1925, a Quarterly Meeting was held, the Vice-President (the Hon'ble Sir Hugh McPherson) presiding; when Mr. P. C. Manuk, Barrister-at-Law, delivered a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, on the Ajanta caves and paintings. On the 4th December, 1925, another Quarterly Meeting was held, the new Vice-President (Mr. V. H. Jackson) presiding; when Professor Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, a member of the Society, delivered a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, on Hindu Monuments in Java.

Meetings of the Council, elected at the last Annual Meeting, were held on the 8th March, the 2nd August, the 13th September, and the 18th November 1925; and on the 8th and 15th March, 1926.

### IV.—LIBRARY.

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh continues to be Honorary Librarian.

The acquisitions during 1925 numbered 563 volumes (Sanskrit and Pali 71), representing 274 books—of which 179 were purchased, 31 presented, and 64 received in exchange. On the 31st December, 1925, the Library contained 3,098 volumes as compared with 2,535 volumes at the end of 1924. The Society has been able to complete, by exchange, its set of the Z. D. M. G. (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*). The Society has been successful in obtaining a complete set of the new series of the Hakluyt Society's

publications, and of all the volumes in the original series relating to India, the Middle East and the Far East. A presentation set of the five handsome volumes of Sir Aurel Stein's "Serindia" was received from the Government of India. Among other notable acquisitions are the superbly illustrated volumes on Barabudur ("Beschryving van Barabudur"), edited by Krom and Van Erp.

#### V.—SEARCH FOR MANUSCRIPTS.

The Hon'ble the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga has given Rs. 5,000 as a first instalment towards meeting the cost of publication of the descriptive catalogue of Mithila Sanskrit MSS., prepared under the supervision of Mr. Jayaswal and Dr. Banerji-Sastri. The catalogue will be complete in 22 parts, contained in 8 volumes. The printing of the first volume—on Dharmaśāstra—is nearly finished; and it is hoped that it will be ready for publication shortly, with critical introduction and index. The printing of the catalogue has been entrusted to the Khadgavilas Press, Bankipore.

The search for Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. was resumed during the year, the field of work being now the Bhagalpur District. From an examination of the materials already to hand, it is hoped that the selection of this field will be justified by the results.

Government having promised the necessary financial assistance, it is proposed to resume the search for Sanskrit MSS. in Orissa as soon as the services of a suitable Pandit for the work can be obtained. His services will also be utilised to prepare, with a view to publication, a descriptive catalogue of the Oriya Sanskrit MSS., already catalogued.

#### VI.—GENERAL.

The Society has suffered a serious loss in the retirement of Sir Hugh McPherson. The last meeting of the Council, over which he presided as Vice-President, was held on the 18th November, 1925; when the Council placed on record their deep sense of obligation for all that Sir Hugh McPherson had done to restore life to what was a practically moribund institution, when he resumed office as Vice-President three years ago. At the same meeting of the Council, Mr. V. H. Jackson was

unanimously elected Vice-President of the Society, in succession to Sir Hugh McPherson.

It is gratifying to be able to record that plans have been prepared, and funds allotted, for providing a building for the Patna Museum, at an estimated cost of two and three quarter lakhs. In the same building suitable accommodation will be provided for the library and offices of the Research Society.

Exchange of publications has been effected with the following since the date of the last annual report:—

Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore.

Patna University.

Journal of Indian History.

Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, Batavia, Java.

Oriental Societies of Holland, Denmark and Norway (joint publishers of *Acta Orientalia*)

#### VII.—FINANCE.

The annual statement of accounts is being presented by the Honorary Treasurer.

E. A. HORNE,

*Honorary General Secretary.*

13th March 1926

